

" nded by:

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE



JANUARY-1972



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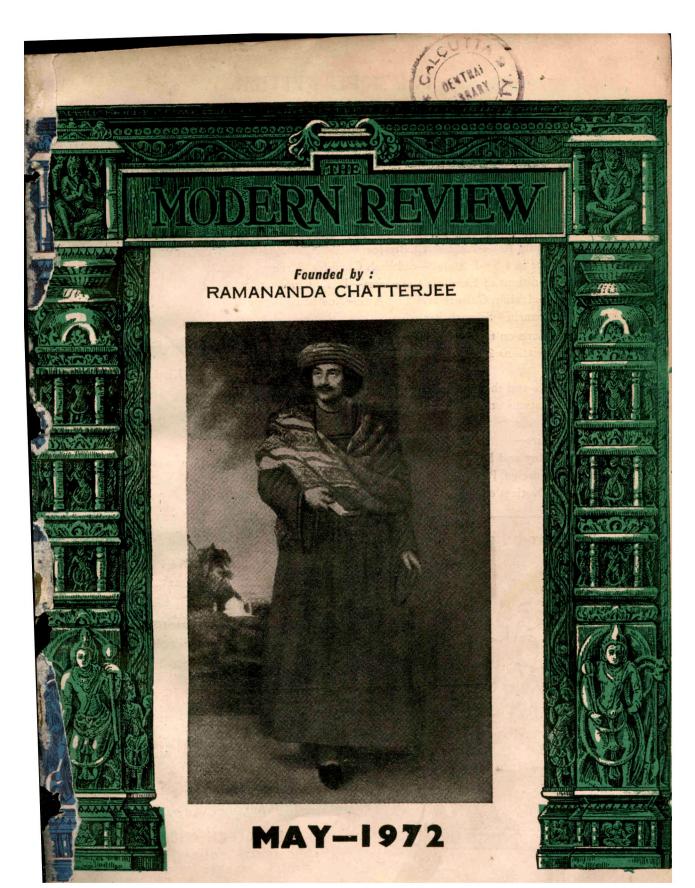
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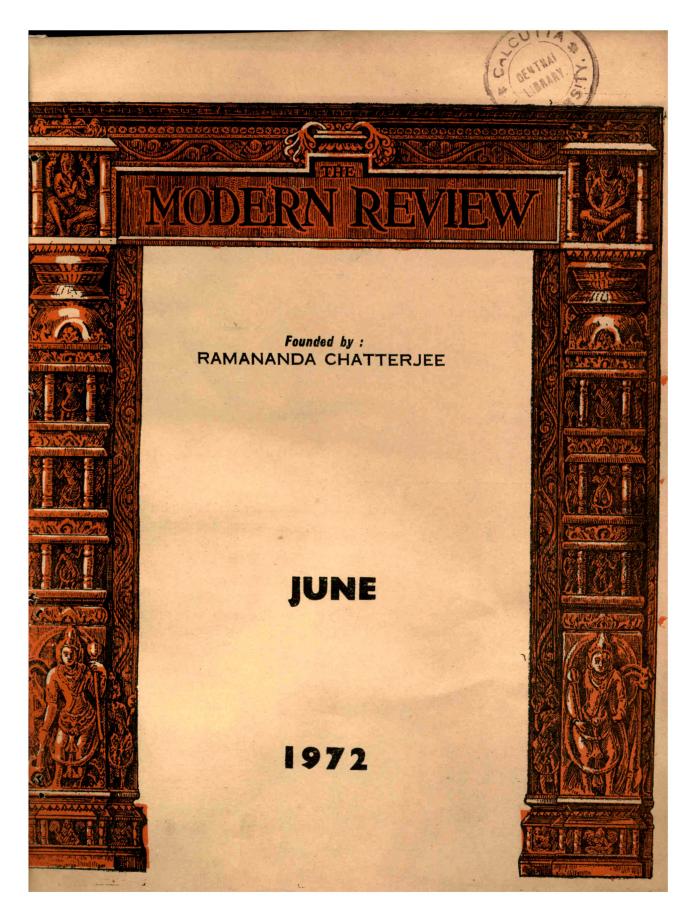
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THE MODERN REVIEW

0551





1972

Vol. CXX-X No. 1

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NOTES

Game of Patience ends in Trial of Strength

It all began years ago when Mahammad Ali Jinnah wanted to have a separate state for the Muslims of India. He preached that the Muslims were a different nation and were therefore entitled to organise a land of the Muslims in which believers in Islam could live separately. He said India had two nations, the Hindu nation and the Muslimnation, and the latter should be permitted to create a second state in India, calling it Pakistan (the land of the pure). The Muslim nation, he said, had one culture (Islamic one language (Urdu) and culture), political-social outlook (The Muslim outlook). So Pakistan was carved out of India, but it was in two pieces. West Pakistan comprised Punjab, Sindh, the North-Western Frontier province and Baluchistan and East Pakistan consisting of East Bengal. West Pakistan had a very big territory but a small population while East Pakistan had a larger population living in a much smaller area. The peoples of Pakistan were in fact quite dissimilar in culture, language, way of life and socio-

political outlook. The West Pakistanis thought they were superior to all Indians, as well as to the Muslims of East Bengal. Possibly because the Bengalis were smaller in size, spoke a softer language, sang melodious songs and ate fish. The West Pakistanis were led by the Punjabi Muslims who were tall, heavily built, arrogant, more educated compared to the Pathans and Baluchis and numerically superior to the other races of West Pakistan. They thought their size entitled them rule Pakistan, monopolise business and services, and lord it over everybődy else. Fanciful tales of a single Pakistani being equal to 3, 4 or 7 Indians emanated from Pakistani sources as inspired by the Punjabi Muslim army officers. This vainglorious attitude did not bother the Indians because they knew how superior the Punjabi Muslims were as well as their historical background vis a vis the Sikhs, the Dogras, the Gharwalis and the Rajputs; not to mention the other warlike peoples of India. But this tall talk and self assertive fondness for imposing upon others induced the Punjabi led West Pakistanis to plan out a scheme of

exploiting the poor, ill educated helpless common people of Pakistan, particularly the Bengalis of East Pakistan who did not possess big muscles nor were mercenary soldiers by profession. The West Pakistanis monopolised the military as well as the civil services. They managed to get all the contracts, most of the business opportunities and managed to invest most of the money obtained from foreign countries in the form of aid or loans in West Pakistan where the new capital of Pakistan, Islamabad, was built with money extorted from the poor peasants of East Bengal. Even very essential dykes and break water walls were not built in the deltaic areas of East Pakistan, which were frequently lashed and swept by cyclones and tidal bores; so that the funds could be spent in building palaces in Islama-, When very recently a devastating cyclone hit the Ganges delta and tidal waves following it destroyed hundreds of villages; not only did Islamabad ignore the terrible calamity for nearly ten days, sending no rescue teams nor food or medicine for the thousands who were rendered utterly destitute by that terrible onslaught of wind and water ; our even the assistance provided by foreign countries was misused and the people were eft to die of starvation and disease.

East Pakistan had been resenting the exploitation and the neglect that it experienced at the hands of the autocrats of West Pakistan for many years. Some years ago there was a grave upsurge of mass anger and wrath when the Bengalis were told they would have to accept Urdu as their state language. Writing Dengali in the Arabic script was also attempted to be forced on the Bengalis. In that fight for preserving the mother language, the Bengalis won and Bengali was made a parallel state language with Urdu. About that time some leading persons of East Pakistan were arrested, among whom was Sheikh Mujibur

Rehman. But that case did not develop very far and the arrested persons were released.

Towards the end of 1970 General Yahya Khan, who had inherited the autocratic powers that General Ayub Khan weilded as Chief Martial Law Administrator of Pakistan, wanted to hold elections in Pakistan with a view to terminate the military regime which had been continuing for more than a decade, and to introduce democracy in the country. He thought of this as he had been told that his supporters were absolutely sure of winning in the elections. This hope was based on totally wrong information. In the elections his opponents of the Awami League won 98% of the seats in East Pakistan. They also won an absolute majority in the counting of West and East Pakistan together. Yahya' Khan was stunned by this unexpected development. He therefore planned a strategy to remain in power which was as fantastic as it was inhuman, base and utterly sinful. He started deploying more and more soldiers in East Pakistan and hatched a diabolical plot to make West Pakistan the ruling country of the state for all times to come. He knew that if he could reduce the number of Bengalis by about twenty millions, East Pakistan would then be the permanent junior partner in the state of Pakistan. This could be achieved by chasing many millions out to India and by slaughtering two or three million hand picked men, women and young persons. By the third week of March 1971 Yahya Khan had collected enough soldiers in East Pakistan to try out his scheme. He therefore called a meeting in which he said he would discuss the terms of terminating the military regime in Pakistan. On the 25th of March 1971 the meeting was suddenly concluded. Mujibur Rehman was arrested and taken away to West Pakistan by plane and Yahya Khan also left for Islamabad. He left instructions with his commanders to begin a general

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slaughter of all members of the Bengali intelligentsia, abduct all women, shoot down all students, technical men, skilled workers, business and professional men and priests of religion. Before long a million men, women and children were mercilessly slaughtered, 50000 women were raped, killed or carried away and thousands of villages were burnt down and their inhabitants made to flee the country. The number of those who ran away went up to ten million or more.

This terrible scheme of a genocidal campaign might have worked out successfully as visualised by its sadistic master minds but for the unexpected emergence of a new force which stood in the way of the West Pakistan army. This was the Mukti Fouz, the army of liberation, constituted by deserting Bengali soldiers, armed policemen and bold youngmen who procured any kind of arms and started killing Pakistani army men wherever they could be found. The Pakistani soldiers began a propaganda immediately that these men were Indian Army Jawans in civilian clothes. They started firing on the Border Security Force men of India as they found the BSF did nothing to prevent people in civilian dress from entering Indian territory. The Pakistan army people protested that the Indians were helping the Mukti Fouz and 'even suggested that members of this force received training and arms from India. The Pakistani soldiers had been chasing thousands of East Pakistan people into Indian territory every day. Out of these refugees the Mukti Fouz obtained many of their recruits and these peaple obtained arms from abroad in large quantities which were provided to them by East Pakistan people living in Britain, France and other countries. The Mukti Fouz soon changed its name to Mukti Bahini and organised its different bands everywhere in East Bengal which had nearly a hundred thousand armed

men in them. They made life very hazardous for the soldiers of Pakistan who progressively began to stay within the fortifications of their cantonments and dared not move about freely in the territory they occupied. It made their hate-India propaganda more intensive though the provocation came solely from Pakistanis who had chased ten million refugees into Indian territory and forced India to spend two crores of rupees a day on these refugees. The firing on Indian border outposts went on unceasingly, but the Indians took no aggressive action. During November 1971 the Pakistanis tried heavy shelling of Agartala in Tripura state and they attacked Indians on the border with large tank formations. An attempt was also made to bomb Calcutta from the air; but all these efforts failed to achieve anything. Many Pakistani tanks were destroyed and three Sabre-jet planes were shot down. The Guns were also silenced. Yahya Khan said about this time that he would be going to war in ten days. It looked as if he meant it and that the game of patience would change into a trial of strength.

On the 4th of December the Pakistan Air Force made a surprise attack on a number of aerodromes in north India. Amritsar, Srinagar, Agra and other important cities were in the list of places attacked. Pakistanis also declared that they were at war with India. The Indian air force promptly retaliated and a number of Pakistani aerodromes were bombed. Air battles ensured in which may Pakistani planes were brought down. The Pakistan army tried to invade India in force in numerous places without much success. In East Pakistan the Pakistan army went on the defensive and took revenge on the innocent civilians many of whom were collected by them and slaughtered in Dacca, Sylhet, Kusthia, Jessore, Comilla, Mymensingh, Brahmanberia, Chittagong, Khulna and other

places. The Indian army, backed by the Mukti Bahini forced its way into Bangla Desh. as East Pakistan began to be called now, and town after town fell with the Pakistan army retreating to new positions. The c-in-c of the Indian forces called upon the Pakistanis to lay down their arms which they did after a few day. In the mean time the Indian navy had destroyed many ships and submarines of the Pakistan navy, bombarded Karachi Chittagong heavily and completely blockaded all ports of Pakistan. The Pakistan air force dic not exist in the Eastern Zone and the losses suffered reduced the size of the Pakistan air force by more than 30 per cent. The civil government of East Pakistan resigned and took shelter in the Red Cross Zone of the Hotel International in Dacca and the Pakistan army in the East surrendered soon after. Mrs. Indira Gandhi declared a unilateral ceasefire in the western front after this and called upon the President of Pakistan to join in the ceasefire.

Thus ended the fourteen day war and a new state emerged in Asia which was carved cut of Pakistan by force majeur. Pakistan was created twenty four years ago by a series of civil riots and communal clashes. The new tate of Bangla Desh came into existence in answer to the genocidal campaign carried on by the Pakistan army in East Pakistan. Pakistan was created by bloodshed and, it Looks as if, it will also disintegrate by bloodhed. There is little hope that the Baluchis the Sindhese and the Pathans will tolerate The Punjabis of Punjabi rule for very long. Pakistan are incapable of living amicably with others. But one has to wait and see.

Release of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman

When Sheikh Mujibur Rehman was whisked off to West Pakistan by General Yahya Khan on the 25th of March 1971, he disappeared, in a manner of speaking. For no

one knew anything about his whereabouts after that date. Some said he had been murdered, others said he was in jail and Yahya Khan said he was going to be tried for high treason by a military court. In fact Yahya Khan gave out certain stories of his alleged trial on occasions; but the trial was postponed suddenly and nothing further was heard about it until Zulficar Ali Bhutto came on the scene as President of Pakistan after the surrender of the Pakistan army at Dacca and the general cease fire in the West. Mr. Bhutto had given out that he would have a conference with Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, but no one knew whether he had any talks with the Sheikh. Statements alleged to have been made by the new President of Pakistan refer to Sheikh Mujibur Rehman as the proposed chief of a loose federation of the two Pakistans or ascribe to the Sheikh other superior distinctions as conceived by the concocters of the ideas behind these statements. These are in fact the wishful thoughts of persons who would like to prevent the disintegration of the Islamic Republic. The Sheikh would not be likely even to discuss the affairs of Bangla Desh without going back to that country. And once he goes back he would come to know of the million persons who have been slaughtered in cold blood by the West Pakistanis and of the 50000 innocent women who have been dishonoured, tortured and even subjected to bayonetting in some cases, which caused the death of many and crippled others for life. He would also know of the killing of school children and babies and of the murder of thousands of intellectuals, technicians and professional men with the idea of destroying Bengali culture and national productive potential. This massacre was going on even on the day the Pakistani army surrendered. Whan Sheikh Mujibur Rehman comes to know the gruesome details of West Pakistan's Zihad against East Bengal's populaNO res

on the majority of whom were Muslims, would he like to be associated in any manner with the soulless son's of Satan who perpetrated these inhuman atrocities? We do not think so. Moreover the people of Bangla Desh have decided that they will not be a part of Pakistan any longer. There is no reason to think that they will change this decision even if the Sheikh asked them to do so.

The U. S. A. Ignore Human Values

The United States of America under President Nixon have reached an all time low in moral decline in their foreign policy and international behaviour. In the beginning the USA justified their evil actions and associations by saying that they had to conduct themselves like that in order to contain communism within certain areas. But later, when the arms they supplied to their allies were used against well established democracies, the story of containing communism did not convince any one. In 1965 Pakistan used arms supplied by Americans against India and America took no action against Pakistan for this violation of the terms on which the arms were supplied to them. The supplies continued and in 1971 Pakistan again used American tanks, planes, warships and other arms against India. The Americans not only forgot to pull up Pakistan for their misuse of the arms which were meant for use against communists; but they also overlooked Pakistan's close alliance with China and the arms aid they had been receiving from China, The USA too became more friendly to China than they had been ever before. Who was then containing communism, and where? Had it now changed to Russia, which now provided the communist manace to the USA? But that could hardly be; for Russia was an ally of Pakistan and Pakistan was blood brother to Jordan as well

as to the UAR, and the last named state took Rassian aid in a very big way!

The Americans not only helped Pakistan with arms but sent a fleet to the Bay of Bengal to add a new dimension to their fellowship with a military autocracy that was friendly to communist China and was deeply involved in the mass killing of a million unarmed men, women and children, the rape of 50000 innocent women and the slaughter of hundreds of school boys, doctors, teachers, lawyers, technicians, skilled workers and so forth, which was carried out in order to prevent the government of a country, by the people of that country, for the people of that country. So the previous propaganda about containing communism no longer works. Why did America then send her youngmen to die in the jungles of Vietnam? Why is the US air force pounding the Vietnamese countryside with supersize "near-nuclear" bombs? We do not know of any act of war against the USA that the Vietnamese have been guilty As for Pakistan's shells, bombs and bullets fired upon Indians; why have the USA supplied them to the military autocracy of Pakistan? They may say they have treaty obligations. But why have they made such treaties with the military autocracy of Pakistan? What advantage are the USA getting or expect to get by helping Pakistan to destroy the Bengalis of East Bengal? Are they expecting to set up an American empire in Asia? If not, is it the hope of monopolising Asiatic markets that is luring the United States of America to get involved in large scale genocide, the bombing of other peoples' villages and townships and other acts of aggression against people who have done no harm to Americans? The expenses that the Americans incur and the lives that are lost can hardly justify this sort of creation of markets for American goods. The Americans are

creating an evil reputation for themselves which will eventually react against the sale of USA products in Asiatic markets. Moreover, self assertion when carried to such limits can always lead to large scale international conflicts which the USA surely wish to avoid.

Ehutto's Part in the Genocide

Zulficar Ali Bhutto is now trying to create an image of a reformer for himself. We have however a clear recollection of what he had done in the past and we therefore do not think he can be a democrat and a reformer who will arrange to do the greatest good to the greatest number. He has always been a self-willed p ay actor with little attachment to realities. A reformer in the modern world can not work on assumptions which ignore human rights and permit the granting of special privileges tc priests or army generals. The question of theocratic rights also arises and a political reformer can not believe in a religious ccmmunity which is 'pak' or pure or in the existence of other religious communities which art 'na-pak' or impure. Believers and nonbelievers cannot be treated separately in the field of political rights in a state whi h claims to be a republic. In Pakistan only Muslims can be Presidents, high officials, ministers and ambassadors. As a reformer, therefore, Zulficar Ali Bhutto will have to follow in the footsteps of Mustafa Kamal Pasha and not mitate Mahammad Ali Jinnah, Ayub Khan or Yahya Khan. But Mr. Bhutto has in the past been a thorough going West Pakistani and has supported Yahya Khan in all his autocratic excesses. It was Bhutto who went to Dacca very hurriedly just before the 25th of March 1971 and (probably) suggested to Yahya Khan the procedure he should follow in order to make the Bengalis politically ineffective. Yahya Khar could not have ordered elections just to establish doubtlessly that the Bengalis of the Avani League were in a thundering majority. Yahya might have had some good intentions which changed to total devilry under some influence. Whose influence? Mr. Bhutto's and that of the Generals? Only Yahya Khan can say who inspired him to try to reduce the Bengali superiority of numbers by murdering a few million persons and by driving out some more millions out of East Pakistan. He can also tell us who advised him to start a war with Iedia in West Pakistan. Mr. Bhutto was running from Washington to Peking to carryout Yahya's instructions. Or was he Yahay's chief adviser right from the beginning? Was it Mr. Bhutto who advised Yahya Khan to accept the cease fire on the 17th December 1971 and to resign and leave matters to Mr. Bhutto as Yahya Khan's nominated new President of Pakistan. Yahya Khan could then avoid consequences by saying he was no longer President of Pakistan and Bhutto can plead for world approval of his program of reforms as Pakistan's new President. His image then will be one of total goodness.

Foreign Summaries of Bangladesh Affairs

As far as we the people of the Indian subcontinent are concerned the Pakistani exploitation, repression, persecution and slaughter of the peoples of East Bengal (now called Bangladesh) have been a gruesome historical episode terminating in the disintegration of the Islamic Republic and the emergence of a new state out of the ashes of the one time East Pakistan. The outside world could have easily understood the whole affair in all detail if there had been less interested propaganda by the American press which tried to put the blame for the Indo-Pakistan war on India. But slowly the facts of the case are coming out clearly from the artificially raised confusion which the American papers created at the command of President Nixon. R. W. Apple summarised the facts in a very capable the New Statesman of 24th manner in

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December 1971. He said, "Viewing the thing from afar, three things seemed immediately clear:

- (1) "That despite the noticeable Indian salivating at the prospect of licking the Paks, the Paks were responsible for the war, if it is ever possible to assign responsibility;
 - (2) "The Indians were sure winners; and
- (3) "The friendship of the Indians would do a lot more for the United States than the friendship of the Pakistanis. Thus the Presidents' attitude seemed immediately wrong headed. That was not so surprising, but the passion with which his views were expressed (at least until the rhetorician in Henry K's office banned the word 'aggression') was more difficult to comprehend."

In the same journal Rehman Sobhan wrote in another article: "Nixon's penchant for Yahya was always understandable in terms of the traditional US commitment to Pakistan's West-wing based ruling classes. But he has only succeeded in alienating both Indians and Bengalis, who will long remember the American President's malign role in their moment of crisis."

Pakistan's shelling of Indian border outposts for months before the war broke out; their tank attack in the Bogra sector in order to break through and destroy Indian communications long before open war began; their air attack in the Jessore border in which two. Sabre-jets fell in flames within India-all demonstrate how Pakistan provoked war. Then when the Pak air force openly bombed a number of Indian aerodromes and declared war on India, a state of war came into Nixon said, ignoring all facts, existence. India was the aggressor nation. He also made gestures by ordering intimidating American 7th fleet into the Bay of Bengal. But his bluff was called by Indian's Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi who ordered the

continuation of the war until the Pakistan Army surrendered at Dacca. After that she announced a unilateral cease fire in the West Pakistan front where everything was going in India's favour. This made American propaganda difficult and various people in other countries too began to speak against the Nixonian interpretation of the war of Bangladesh. A section of the US press also came out with strong criticism of the false propaganda that President Nixon was initiating against India.

Bharatiya Banga Desh and Bangla Desh

Bangla Desh means the land of Bengal. East Bengal after the partition of India in 1947 had been renamed East Pakistan by the rulers of Pakistan. Sheikh Mujibur Rehman called this area Bangla Desh and declared independence for it as well as its dissociation from Pakistan. A part of Bengal therefore now becomes a free country and a part remains in India. What we call West Bengal again is not the whole of the Indian part of Bengal. The Districts of Singbhum, Manbhum, Santhal Parganas and Purnea which are parts of Bengal remain attached to the State of Bihar in India. This was effected by order of the British as a punitive measure after the swadeshi movement in which Bengal played a leading role. The congress under Jawaharlal Nehru forgot to rectify this British injustice as it suited his plans of establishing the Hindi speaking areas of India as a majority region. Moreover if Bihar had to give back Singhbhum and Manbhum to Bengal; it would have virtually no industries nor mining of any value.

However, now that the name Bangla Desh has been taken by the ex-Pakistani state of East Pakistan; the name West Bengal has little significance. It should therefore be changed to Bharatiya Banga Desh to distinguish it from independent Bangla Desh. And the lost districts of Singhbhum, Manbhum,

Santhal Parganas and Purnea should be rejoined to this Bharatiya Banga Desh. If Bihar suffers any heavy loss of revenue due to such reorganisation of territory the Centre can adjust its subventions to West Bengal and Eihar and so arrange things as will not damage Eihar's financial position. If Bihar feels sad about its loss of territory we may mention that certain Bhojpuri regions are now attached to Uttar Pradesh which can be given back to Eihar as Bhojpuris are Biharis par excellence.

American Spies In India

People say that the USA have filled up India with all sorts of persons who carry on espionage for the USA. There are others who s ay in India and try to establish the reputation of Americans as great benefactors of humanity and as supporters of India's religious tenets, some do spying as well as humanitarian and cultural work and these last named are the most dangerous. For these men are usually doctors, teachers, engineers, preachers religion, singers of religious songs and similar types, whom apparently no one would suspect of spying. But they do their underhand work nevertheless, efficiently and wholeheartedly, for the glory of the Stars and Stripes. The Government of India should engage a special squad to discover what goes on behind the various masks which these men use to hide their true personality.

Was the Khukri Sunk by Americans

A grave doubt that assailed the heads of our government towards the end of 1971 was

connected with the sinking of the Indian frigate Khukri allegedly by a submarine. The doubt arose for many reasons. Firstly the Pakistan navy had been so badly mauled that any surviving ships or submarines would have been seeking shelter at the time of the attack on the Khukri rather than be out in search of adventure. Secondly, the Pakistanis took two days to discover their alleged success in sinking an Indian warship, which makes one think they had nothing to do with that submarine attack; but that a friend of Pakistan made a surprise attack and sank the Khukri. The Indian navy was not expecting any attacks at the moment from Pak submarines or all ships would have been careful about any possible attack. They would not have taken any precautions against attacks by US, British or Russian submarins, as India was not at war with any of these nations. The USA are strongly denying that any of their submarines attacked the Khukri: although India had not officially accused the USA of any such act of war against India. Their denial is based on the name of the alleged attacker of the Khukri. ambassador Mr. Keating says the US has no nuclear submarine called Fargo (Indian newspapers have said the US submarine Fargo sank the Khukri). The US however have two nuclear submarines named Pargo and Sargo. This war of accusations between Indian newspapers and the American officials is still continuing.

RECOGNITION AND BANGLA DESH

N. S. GEHLOT

The Declaration of Independence by Sheikh Mujibur Rahaman on March 26, 1971 as a result of the denial to transfer political powers to the elected representatives, led to the open barbarities of West Pakistani forces on the defenceless public of Bangla Desh. This has brought about the problem of recognition to Bangla Desh on democratic and humanitarian grounds. The intelligentsia, especially of India, strongly feel that the Government of India should immediately grant recognition to its neighbour-Bangla Desh in order to put a stop to the atrocities in that country and thereby it should protect the democratic values on the Indian Sub-But the Government of India continent. thinks that it should take "a decision" only when that will not damage her national interests.1

The theory of recognition has been a subject of controversy in International Law since a long time. The nations could not decide in general as to on what grounds a Government should recognize a newly formed Government. Practically, national interests have been the deciding factor more than the principles of International Law. In brief, the principle of International law has been ignored by the world community which has given a severe blow to the efforts of the United Nation Charter.²

By according of recognition, a State "only and exclusively becomes International person and a subject of International Law.3

Hall is of the view that recognition "allows a State to enter into the family of States" and thereby a State exercises sovereignty, because it possesses the marks of a State. Similarly, in the words of Jessup, "recognition is the act

by which another State acknowledges the political entity of a State which possess the attributes of Statehood".5

The above referred definitions make it explicit that without the seal of recognition, a State is not entitled to move in International Society, nor is its existence accepted in international intercourse. But the opinions are again sharply divided as to whether or not recognition is a legal act. They are also not certain about the political or the non-political nature of recognition. 'Charles De Visscher holds that recognition is "a strictly legal institution governed by precise legal criteria since it decides the participation of human collectivities in international relations.⁸ But Marshall Brown differs on above view-point and opines that recognition is purely a political act in International Law⁷ Another international authority holds that both the elements eventually play their role in the theory of recognition.8

The criteria to accord recognition is also a disputable matter in the theory of Recognition. In the words of Oppenheim, recognition should be given to a Government which "enjoys the habitual obedience of the bulk of the population with a reasonable expectancy of permanence can be said to represent the State in question and as such to be entitled to recognition" Moreover, States have also followed the principles of effectiveness. Substantially, the following attributes are essentially judged in granting recognition.

- i) Sufficient control over the territory that a Government declares to have claimed.
- ii) The permanency of the rule.

- ii) The Voluntary Support of the population; and
- iv) The independence of the Govt. and its willingness to carry out the International obligations. 10

The Article 4 of the U. N. Charter also indicates about these factors before considering the application of a State for its admission in the world-body. The Article lays "a legal duty" on the member States to recognize a State in case it has all adequate requisites.

Since International Law is based on the consent of the member-States and has no binding authority, the States do not strictly fellow the principles of recognition and act according to their discretion. The theory, therefore, is "a mere instrument of power-politics" in international law. The States grant or refuse to accord recognition, according as it suits the rival policies in a particular region.¹¹

Practically, the major powers—the United States, Soviet Union, Britain and France-have adopted an independent policy in case of recognition.

The United States in the very beginning recognized those Governments which were rightful in their existence, and which were formed by the 'will' of the people.12 On this criteria America gave recognition of Texas in 1937, Panama in 1903 and the Soviet Union in 1934. More interesting is that President Roosevelt accorded recognition to De-Gaulle's Gozt, in 1943 when it had no foothold on France proper. But America even to-day has been Following the policy of non-recognition in case of the communist China in Asia on the ground that communist China has not completed the conquest of its entire territory and is reluctant to carry out International obligations.13

Great Britain did not recognize the American Govt. till 1783 while France recog-

nized the United States in 1778 for its own interests. Britain could recognize Algerian Republic Govt. in 1958 while France did so in July 1962.

By the end of the Second World War the United States followed a policy of haste in recognition. If In case of the Israeli provisional Government, America granted de-facto recognition within a few hours in May 1948 and dejure in 1949 after the general election. Here America valued the principle of democratic march. If After the formation of the United Nations, America recognized those States which were set free from the colonial rule. Great Britain also accorded the implied recognition to those Governments who had the marks of stability, public support and ability to carryout the international obligations. If

Russia released a note in November 25, 1918 stating that Moscow would recognise a Govt. only when it had existed in power in fact and reality. 17 Motivated by this principle it adopted the principle of self-determination in its policy of recognition and accorded recognition to many new States of Afro-Asian countries which emerged out of Colonial Rule after the Second World War.

But Super-powers have not so far taken any initiative to accord recognition to Bangla Desh, which became a Democratic Republic on 18th April, 1971, declaring freedom at home and friendship abroad. The freedom fighters of Bangla Desh are fighting for two objectives; first for attaining a democratic way of life and, second, the removal of the Colonial Policy of West Pakistan. The USA and Britain have always recognized the democratic Governments at the earliest (as in case of Israel) and the Soviet Union also recognized the anti-colonial movements and the Governments as early as possible (as in case of Communist China), but they have not

made up their mind to accord recognition to Bangla Desh although disturbances and i nstability of the Bangla Desh variety were there in case of Israel and People's Republic of China at the time of their birth. They, perhaps, deem that their long period selfinterests cannot be attained by according recognition to Bangla Desh. That is the reason why these countries have tried to avoid i nvolvement by declaring the affairs of Bangla Desh as an "internal matter" of West-Pakistan.

So far as America is concerned, it believes in a United Pakistan. Moreover the Nixon administration is worried about the enormous American investments in West Pakistan¹⁹. That is the reason, perhaps, that America is mute over the support of Peking to Pakistan because Peking is also urging for a United Pakistan. Great Britain is also worried about the British owned factories, plantations, jute, tea and other products of Bangla Desh.

Politically, the Big Powers are reluctant to interfere in the events of Bangla Desh because they themselves have their own internal problem "in which they do not wish to see the interference of other powers. For instance, the United States has its Negro Problem, Britain has North Ireland and the Soviet Union has the non-Russian minorities. These powers also diplomatically calculate that in case of the split of Pakistan the power equation on which their foreign policies are based, strengthen the Indo-USSR alignment. support to Pakistan is meant to keep American and Russian influence away from Pakistan; where as America's intention to Pakistan is to keep China away from Pakistan and India from Russia.²⁰ The Western powers also think that Sino-Pak alignment is checking both India and Moscow. That is why this has caused no worry either to London or to Washington. The publication of Bowles'

autobiography "promises to keep" also reveals that the policy makers of America have always been keenly interested in Pakistan for their national interests²¹. The United States hurriedly assisted with 10 million dollars, when a Cyclone devastated East Pakistan in Nov. 1970, within 10 days of the incident; while two months have passed away but Washington has given only a meagre token aid to the refugees of Bangla Desh.²²

It is also the estimate of Moscow that bloody war will continue as long as Peking's support is with West Pakistan. This would result into guerrilla warfare in East Pakistan, which would certainly put a heavy strain on West Pakistan economy. This burden would stir up public opinion against the Yahya Khan regime. For ending of the war and accepting the existence of Bangla Desh will happen only when Bangla Desh would become a Vietnam here. Only then Moscow will develop its relations with Bangla Desh.

Under all these estimations of the Big Powers the Government of India must pursue a fair and for-sighted policy towards its neighbour Bangla Desh. The policy of non-alignment would never serve our purpose. India is not supposed to sit on the fence over the events of Bangla Desh. The stakes of war are as high as were in 1962 and 1965.²⁴ The continued war in that area would provide instability to our eastern borders which would leave a bad repurcussion on the sensitive areas of West Bengal and Nagaland. Our interest however, is in ending the war in Bangla Desh²⁵.

The viable friendship of Bangla Desh would provide us two major gains. Firstly, the security of our eastern borders will remain assured. Secondly, the Kashmir issue will perhaps be settled for ever. Now West Pakistan cannot speak for "self determination"; for, it has refused to allow 75 millions people of Bangla Desh to exercise the same right²⁶.

This will happen only when India accords recognition to Bangla Desh. Our policy of recognition should always be guided by our self-ir terests as in the case of the Big-Powers. The Republic of Bangla Desh has proved its political existence despite having a war in the country. The Government of Bangla Desh has full fledged support of its population and is also willing to enter into the World commun t7. In fact, the Government of Bangla Desh principally fulfils all the conditions of recognition. India, should do its duty keeping these faces in view. India is the largest democratic country in the community of nations, and hence it should not let down the martyred masses of Bangla Desh. India should rememremember that the delay in giving recognition vil hurt both-India and Bangla Desh-and help the China-Pak alignment. It is, therefore, essential for the Government of India to recognise Bangla Desh without following the short-sighted state-craft of the Big Powers who are only after establishing their influence and no: world peace.

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N. B.—Bangla Desh is now an independent country. The Pakistan army has surrendered. India has recognised Bangla Desh but the World Powers are still marking time.

THE POLITICAL POWER OF THE PENTAGON

GERARD BRAUNTHAL

In democratic political systems, the military is supposed to play a secondary role in the decision-making process. In theory, civilian leaders of the nation are to render decisions in the realms of domestic and foreign policies. But given the instability of the international situation, military establishments in some democratic countries have mushroomed dangerously, and have not been content to let decisions affecting them be made solely by civilian leaders. They have demanded and received a voice in the decision-making process.

Such has been the case in the United States in the post-World War II era. There militarism has been escalating into gargantuan proportions—as the critics see it. But this development is of recent vintage. Before World War II, when the United States was pursuing an isolationist posture vis-a-vis some areas of the world, the military establishment was small, weak, and held little prestige. Contributing to this state of affairs was the fear of the Puritan settlers of the eighteenth century about a standing army and conscription and President Washington's warning against expansion military apparatus.

True, as a consequence the United States did not pursue a policy of pacifism and peace on all occasions. It became involved in a number of wars and glorified its military heroes. But only World War II produced a major mobilization of its resources and manpower to halt the Axis powers, and an end to its isolationist foreign policy. In addition, as a result of the cold war, the military establishment was not dismantled as it had been after World War I. As the United States moved into a world power position, its military leaders, such as Generals Marshall and

Eisenhower, moved into civilian posts in government, industry, and even education.

The military establishment has its operational center in the Washington headquarters, known as the Pentagon. This establishment comprises more than 3 million troops scattered all over the globe, has more than 400 major and 3,000 small bases in foreign countries, receives more financial support in the budget than all the civilian departments (minis ries) in Washington combined, and supplies arms to 63 nations. The Pentagon appetite for financial support is never-ending; yearly it requests funds from the government for costly new weapons systems which strain the tight budget situation.

The alleged need for new weapons systems necessitates close connections with the giant defence industry. Ten major firms are almost completely dependent on government contracts for their survival. In order to attract new contracts or renew old ones, such firms maintain a large staff of former officers on their payroll, whose primary function is to lobby in One descnse firm, General Washington. Dynamics, alone recently employed 136 exofficers, of whom 27 were former generals or admirals. Such officers know the right people in the Pentagon, and have a better chance of scoring success in obtaining contracts than civilians.

This military-industrial complex, whose growth President Eisenhower criticized in his farewell address in January 1961, exerts significant influence on public opinion, the mass media, and the organs of government. The Pentagon employs a large staff in a public relations capacity to woo the public for greater support of its policies. Such policies include

nct only the costly arms race vis a-vis the Scviet Union, but also a maintenance of a rigid anti-Communist posture reflecting little change from the crest of the Cold War years. Pentagon public relations officers still bombard the mass media with releases, anti-Communist cartoon strips, documentary films; provide speakers for civic groups; and schedule information trips for the press, industry, and education leaders. This calculated effort to win over public opinion has paid off; the public until recently has supported without reservation all defense efforts and the anti-Communist foreign policy.

A favorable public opinion also eases the Pentagon efforts to win over the legislative and executive organs of government, the two primary centers of political power. Close ties are maintained with Congress, which controls the important purse strings, and which determines where in the United States military bases will be built or dismantled. Thus ninetysix legislative assistants in the Pentagon are assigned just to the job of cultivating the favor of Congressmen, especially those in key armed services committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives. New members of Congress are urged to join the reserves of the armed services, and are promised trips abroad. Congressmen who vote for higher military expenditure are promised that some of the money will flow back into defense industries located in their district or into the construction of a new base. As a consequence, it has happened on a number of occasions that Congress appropriated more money for the Pentagon than was even demanded by the Executive branch.

Tous, the Pentagon has been aware of the necessity of also wooing the Executive branch. It exerts influence at various levels, ranging from direct talks with the President and his foreign policy advisor, presently Henry.

Kissinger, to voicing views at sessions of the National Security Council. The NSC, created under the National Security Act of 1947, comprises as members the secretaries of state and defense, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the director of the Central Intelligence Agency. It plays an important role in the executive decision-making process, since its recommendations bearing on foreign and military policies cannot be disregarded lightly by the President who has to make the final decisions.

What have been the results of these manifold activities on the part of the Pentagon? Undoubtedly, they have helped to shape major foreign and military policies of the United States in the postwar period. At times, against the advice of the Department of State, but more often with its support, the Pentagon was able to convince the President to build military bases overseas; to rearm West Germany and Japan; to intervene in Lebanon, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Southeast Asia; and to maintain an anti-Communist posture.

But there are rays of hope that a moderate turning point in foreign policy objective is at hand. Vietnam has been an object lesson to at least some Pentagon policymakers—and to other national leaders - that the United States cannot indefinitely remain the policeman of the world and crush every incipient Communist or leftist movement in the Third World; that the Communist blocd is not monolithic and therefore not the danger it seemed a decade or two ago; that the arms race and high defense expenditures must be curbed; that national priorities must be reversed, and the civilian sector be strengthened in view of the serious domestic crises besetting the nation. Should such changes occur in the future, and one can only be mildly optimistic in view of entrenched interests at all policy-making levels, then the United States might regain some of the sympathies it enjoyed in earlier spans of its history.

FINANCING OF AGRICULTURE BY COMMERCIAL BANKS Indian Banks To Help Green Revolution

ARUP CHAKRABARTI

The Indian commercial banking system is said to have entered a new phase with the debut of planning. Perhaps no aspect of the 'banking revolution' is more striking and more significant than the commercial bank's progressive entry into hitherto neglected and relatively risky areas of operation, particularly in the agricultural sector. Such development is rather inevitable in an economy where agriculture forms the backbone of the country, contributing nearly 50 per cent of the national income and providing livelihood to 75 per cent of the country's population.

Despite the importance of agriculture in the national economy, for a long time, commercial banks in India were, by their very nature, shy of entering into the agricultural sector. Nearly forty years ago the Central Banking Enquiry Committee in India revealed the fact, that "the joint-stock banks play little direct part, and the Imperial Bank much less, in the supply of credit to agriculturists". The same view have been echoed in more recent writing. In 1960, the All India Rural Debt and Investment Survey of the Reserve Bank of India told the same story that the commercial banks account for a very small percentage (0.4 per cent) of the total credit provided to the farmers. Reporting in July 1969, the All India Rural Credit Review Committe has emphasised that the commercial banks, especially the nationalised banks, should

embark on intensive efforts for provision of agricultural credit.

This neglect of agriculture by banks should not be construed as deliberate. It was rather the logical outcome of the environment in which modern banks were born. Most joint-stock banks in India were set up by the doyens of industry and trade, and they were born out of the needs of the businessmen. Naturally, the financial structure of the country evolved as a counterpart of its industrial structure. Bank credit was thus funnelled into trading and industrial sectors, neglecting most often the genuine needs of the so-called "Priority Sectors" like agriculture, small industries etc.

To this might be added some peculiarities of subsistence farming that made the banks more cautious in their loan policy towards this sector. For reasons, such as the small size of individual loans, heavy risks of non-payment due to variations in production, and lack of adequate security of acceptable type, it was but natural for banks to turn down farmers' requests for loans without loss of goodwill.

The Changing Role of Commercial Banks

But to-day that is not the case. Fortunately, commercial banks, of late, have reoriented their policies so as to increase substantially their involvement in agricultural finance.

Picneering efforts have been made by some of the banks especially the State Bank of India, to form branches in hitherto unbanked and underbanked regions, the number of which is said to have exceeded 1000 between 1961 and 1966. The level of scheduled banks' advances to agriculture reached Rs. 25.2 crores at the end of October, 1968. Despite such commendable efferts, the problem cannot be said to have been solved. It is held that if progress in agriculture is to be hastened, as it should be, the flow of bank credit must be even greater.

It is a fact which admits of no doubt that the financing of the 'New Strategy' or agricultural development, as embodied in our Fourth Five Year Plan, would require more credit. In the final year of the Fourth Five Year Plan the total requirement for agricultural finance is expected to go up by about Rs. 1550 crores, besides Rs. 1650 crores needed for medium and long-term capital. Thus, the yawning gap is most likely to develop between rising credit needs and sluggish supply of institutional finance which, would be very critical if banks do not extend their helping hand further to the rural area.

The Problem of Small Farmer

The problem of agricultural finance, could not however, be solved by a mere injection of additional credit into the system. Rather banks have to pay particular attention to the needs and interests of the poorer peasantry who constitute more than 59 per cent of the farming community. So long though these farmers numerically formed the largest group of the cultivating population they continued to suffer on account of their uneconomic position; the big landlords and the rich peasants have garnered the lion's share of the benefits. It is now increasingly felt that the cream of benefit of increased credit should percolate lower down

to the neglected stratum of farmers on whom depends a large part of increased production.

Once the banks come forward to supply credit to the impoverished farmers, it would go a long way to curb the unquestionable power and influence of indiogenous money lenders and big landlords who have so far constituted the biggest single source of rural credit. Such rural 'Shylocks' would find it but increasingly difficult to exact the 'pound of flesh' from poorer peasants. Additionally, the entry of commercial banks into rural and semi-urban areas would open out new avenues for mobilisation of rural savings, and thus the scope for commercial banks to increase their investment in rural and semi-urban areas would be considerable.

Serious Odds

There are, however, serious odds against commercial banks' ventures in the rural sector. In the first place, the co-operative institutions, because of the special privileges enjoyed by them in the rural economy, may have an upper hand over the commercial banks. Moreover, if the individual cultivators are financed by both the agencies, this would result in over-tinancing and unnecessary duplication of efforts.

To clear these road-blocks and also to play a really vital role in the rural sector, commercial banks should simplify their policies and procedures of advancing loans. Much truth is there in the view that banks have to go out to revolutionalise their own attitude before they could help revolutionise agriculture. For this 'the bankers' traditional static, negative, safety-conscious and urban-centered attitude will have to give way to a new dynamic, positive, rural-biased outlook with willingness to take calculated risk.

Moreover the existing procedures followed

by banks in advancing loans, such as the eligibility of loans and certificate of ownership of land are redundant and time consuming, and cause much harassment to agriculturists. All such cumbersome rules should be scrapped and banks should tailor standards according to the genuine needs of the farmers. For instance, since the banks do not regard land as good security and since farm lending involves some risk, the banks should grant loans on the basis of the character, integrity and ability of the farmer-borrower, and the productive potential of the farm rather than on security alone. Further since farm income fluctuates from year to year, the repayment schedule should allow for variations to fit in with these income fluctuations.

Expansion of Rural Branches

From the standpoint of Banks what is even more difficult, although necessary, is that, they will have to branch out in villages and taluka towns which may not be very paying in the short run. Moreover, such rural offices will have to be manned by officials conversant with rural manners and customs, and prepared to face the hardships of rural life. Such men may not be readily available to the commercial banks. Fresh blood should, however, be infused into the system by devising proper recruitment policies and training facilities. Pending availability of such expertise the process is likely to be slow.

In sum, therefore, the entire approach of the commercial banks towards agriculture has to be thoroughly re-oriented, if they are to compete with the cooperative banks, on the one hand, and win the confidence of agriculturists to attain the two-way traffic of advancing credit and soliciting deposits. The goal is, no doubt, challenging but it is one which we believe, is realistic and attainable.



YOUTH AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Dr. M. O. MATHEW

High unemployment in many developing countries represents a tremendous waste of manpower and a major source of social unrest. The problem of employment is of a rapidly concern to the governments, increasing There is anxiety in employers and workers. government when increasing numbers of young people, who have left schools and colleges and are unable to find jobs, roam the streets in lawless bands. There is anxiety in Trade Unions about the weakness of their bargaining position in a situation crowded with surplus Employers are anxious about the impact on their markets when there are many dependents and few bread winners. Finally, there is anxiety among the unemployed themselves, who, lacking training and skills, see little hope of ever-emerging from the vicious setting of unemployment, poverty, and despair.

Until recently economists tended to regard unemployment in less developed countries as a symptom of under-development which would disappear as development proceeds. If this were so, it would be sufficient to concentrate on promoting rapid economic growth and development, and employment could be left to look after itself. But experience shows that this is not so. On the contrary, countries that are undergoing rapid economic growth are still faced with increasing unemployment, and it is virtually certain that the scale of the problem will increase dramatically in the years ahead.

In describing the nature and extent of unemployment and under-employment in developing countries, it is necessary to define who are the unemployed. Unemployed are those who are willing to work but have no

work. Unemployed are those who are doing something even if it brings only a pittance. This leads to overcrowding of the low productivity service sector by people who, in industrialised countries would remain unemployed and draw unemployment compensation. The terms under-employment and 'disguised unemployment' have been used to describe the situation in which many people do some work but less than they could or would like to do. In India, we have unemployment and under-employment, both of great magnitude.

This problem curiously enough is equally grave in both rural and urban areas, among educated and uneducated and both men and women. As days pass by the gravity of the situation is bound to increase and no government can leave things to chance. Theoretically, it may be possible to argue that in a country like ours with vast natural potentialities the problem would solve itself with rapid economic gro wth and development. Unfortunately, twenty years of planning could not solve the problem. Perhaps it may not be possible to solve either since it will be a permanent challenge to any society. All what could be done is only to reduce the intensity of the problem and not to remove the problem as such. It is in this context that we have to understand the various opportunities that are open to the unemployed and the various measures taken by the government.

Unfortunately, even today in India we do not have an accurate picture of the demographic situation. The important sources of data are the Live Registers of Employment Exchanges, the National Sample Surveys for the urban areas and the Planning Commission's

estimates for the rural areas. But each of these sources has got its own limitations and the conclusions based on them are, therefore, unavoidably subject to an unknown margin of error. A modest estimate of current unemployment places it at 20 millions, while President V. V. Giri in his booklet "Jobs for Millions" places it at 50 millions. As for the underemployed in towns and villages, the lowest estimate places it around 100 millions. Thanks to our Plans, they have helped so far to create 45 million jobs, 33 millions in non-agricultural sector and 12 millions in agricultural sector. But owing to huge increase in population the jobs proved insufficient. Moreover, the backlog of unemployment at the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan is expected to be in the order of 28 millions, excluding the unemployed and under-employed in the rural areas.

The magnitude of this problem can be clearly understood by looking at certain statistical figures. Educated unemployment has been steadily increasing over years. In 1965, educated unemployment was about 8.41 lakhs and in 1969 it has risen to 15.26 lakhs. Every year, more than 2 lakhs of educated unemployed are added to the unemployed force. The number of unemployed matriculates and undergraduates has more than doubled between 1965 and 1969 whereas during the same period the number unemployed graduates and postgraduates has increased by two and half times. The number of unemployed engineering graduates and dipoloma holders which was 23,700 in 1966 has risen to 60,700 in 1970. The Institute of Applied Man Power Research has estimated that by the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan there would be about one lakh jabless engineers. This estimate is based on the Planning Commission's own assumption of a 5.5% growth rate in the economy during Fourth Plan period and the maintenance of

admission in the technical institutes at 1968-69 level. If there is no backlog of unemployment of engineers at the end of the Fourth Plan period, the economy should grow at an average annual rate of 8.5% with the Engineering Sector growing at the rate of 16 to 18 per cent. We know that this is not going to happen and hence the estimated backlog of unemployment of engineers at the end of Fourth Plan period seems to be inescapable. The situation is not much different in the case of agricultural and veterinary graduates.

Unemployment position in rural areas is more disheartening. This is mainly a result of landlessness or the low intensiveness of land use. At present, 47% of farm families own only one acre of land and 22% of families own no land at all. This restricts scope for self employment. However, what is important for production in employment is not so much who owns the land, but who uses it, how efficiently it is used and with what degree of labour intensity. There is a widespread belief that large farms are more efficient than small ones. But such economies are often related rimarily to labour saving techniques and in poor countries with surplus labour and a shortage of land, it is important to save land, not labour. Land saving technologies such as improved seed varieties, fertilisers, insecticides and weeding techniques can often be applied as effectively on small farms as on large ones. It is probable that the future of agriculture lies in the mechanisation of its processes and this will lead to reduction in agricultural employment. But in the long run even mechanisation selectively applied can make for greater use of man power.

To add to the bitterness of the unemployment problem we have an unpleasant paradox. There are certain shortages of man power in an overall surplus situation in the employment market. This clearly indicates the lack of proper man power planning in our country. Waile there is a glut of engineers and science graduates there is a shortage of skilled mechanics, automobile repairers, mechanical draftsmen etc. Where there is a horde of arts raduates there is a shortage of stenographers, operators, salesmen, rel-phone tabulators, and unjuter prgrammers, caterers, industrial and 1 tl managers, etc. This situation indicates as the need for intensive and purposeful v ational guidance to channelise the man er into avenues of training which are mand in the employment market. In s context the Employment Information and attached . dance Bureau to Enversities in India can do effective counsell-. and guidiance work.

Nhat kind of measures will developing suntries like ours have to take if they are to De effective in solving this problem? The answers will certainly not be the same in all countries, though there will be some common elements. Let us see what is being done in 'acia in this direction. The priority is given o removal of the educated unemployed, particularly technical graduates. The Government has, of late, implemented various official schemes like stipendary training of graduate engineers in industry and State Electrical Power Generation Systems and their utilisation in preparatory work on irrigation and other lan projects, creation of job openings by the removal of the restriction on filling up vacant technical posts under the Central Government, recruitment for short service, commission and so on. A rough estimate puts the number of new jobs made available at about 7000 and that of training places at 12,000. As against the 40,000 or so jobless engineering graduates now, not to speak of diploma holders, with additions to their ranks every year from the frésh turn out of the technological institutions, these placements are by no means impressive or adequate.

The Ministry of Industrial Development is also having plans for training young engineers in setting up small-scale industries and providing them with ample credit and other assistance for the purpose. The nationalised banks and the Small Scale Industries Corporation are ready to help the young and talented persons who have positive plans to start new industries. In the same category, in the proposal of the Railway Minister to reserve some railway contracts for engineering graduates.

The Government of Famil Nadu has set up a cell to assess job potential for Engineers and Technicians in the various industries. The cell would get in touch with every industry in the State and find out its requirements of the various types of technical personnel in the next few years. This is a very good beginning in man power planning which has so far been conspicuous by its absence. Government of Tamil Nadu has introduced an scheme for diploma holders under which they are allowed to use the machines and tools in Government Polytechnics in the State on payment of a nominal charge. Similarly, the State Government has drawn up job oriented. schemes in 1970 appointing 5000 to 6000 additional teachers as apprentices. They will be paid-apprentices for two years and will be preferred during regular recruitments. Another scheme of the State Government in providing training for about 2400 technicians in government establishments is good as it helps the unemployed with some monetary relief and equips them with experience. Schemes of these types deserve praise as it will give the much needed self confidence and initiative to the youth for self-employment. ..

Regarding rural unemployment, the green revolution has stimulated employment opportunities in the villages. The problem is so big that the Union government has formulated a number of employment oriented schemes.

The small Farmers Development Agencies have provided credit to small farmers for irrigation, soil conservation, storage, marketing, dairying, growing, etc. poultry-raising, vegetable Another scheme for providing credit has the marginal farmers and agricultural labourers in mind. They too are to obtain substantial credit for mixed farming operations. rural works programme is carried out in drought-affected areas by providing irrigation, soil conservation, road-building, etc., in 54 districts of 13 States of India. A pilot project for the improvement of dryland areas is yet another scheme. A crash programme for Rs. 50 crores for providing employment in carrying out work of a durable nature such as land reclamation, drainage, minor irrigation, soil conservation and afforestation is in operation. 5000 agro-service centres are to be opened during the Fourth Plan Period. This is to provide maintenance and repair facilities for agricultural machinery, services for hiring out such machinery to small farmers, etc.

Yet another method of solving unemployment is large scale investments on roads. The suggestion of the Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry to invest Rs. 2,500 to Rs. 3,500 crores in road building programmes for creating 11 to 17 million additional jobs in the country is worth considering. Every crore of rupees invested in road programmes can provide as many as 12,000 jobs. Besides road

facilities thus created can generate additional 4000 jobs in the operation of road transport.

It is pertinent to note that no government with the best of will in the world can create jobs for all. Hence, the members of society will do well in seeking self employment, the opportunities for which are many and varied in our country. What we need is initiative and détermination. The governments' should not only create opportunities and climate but also remove all curbs and remove procedural and ideological brakes on the expansion of Indian industry. The truth is more bread has got to be baked before it is sought to be shared among more people. chosen measures, to promote employment may impede growth. It will only be postponing the evil day. No government should resort to such artificial and damaging devices of providing jobs for jobs sake without relevance to increasing productive employment.

To combat unemployment an all-out effort should be made to diversify activities into newer lines A good hotel-keeper or a good catarer or a good interior decorator can earn as much as, if not more than a competent engineering executive advocate. Youth must restrain practising their traditional love for 'white collar' jobs and exercise confidence and initiative for selfemployment. If Japan has progressed to Expo 1970 from the ashes of Hiroshima, why can't India do something similar?



TANA BHAGAT MOVEMENT

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

(evil spirits)

The Tana Bhagats represent a section of the Oraon tribe who consider themselves as the followers of the true religion of the Kurukhs (the Oraons). Tana means to pull. As the movement, which originated among the Oraons in Chotanagpur in South Bihar in April 1914, banded (pulled) together the Oraons, the words Tana Bhagats represent a cohesive connotation. The word "Tana" also occurs in some prayers of this section. For example, the first four lines of a prayer say:

Tana Baba tana bhutaniks tana
Tana Baba tana tan ton tana
Tana Baba tana kona kuchi bhutaniks tana
Tana Baba tana tan ton tana.
[Pull, Father, pull, pull down the bhuts

Pull, Father, pull, pull the bhuts (hiding) in corners and turnings.

Pull, Father, pull, pull, pull, pull......]
(From Namita De's translation)

The movement was initiated by a twentyfcur-year-old young man by the name of Jatra Oraon of Chipri Nawatoly village in Bishnupur of Ranchi district. Like any other reform movement it sought to persuade those who responded to its call to give up habits considered undesirable, e. g., to stop sacrifices, give up animal food and drinking liquor and to stop ploughing of fields which involved cruelty to the cattle and yet (because of the exorbitant and illegal extortions of the gevernment officers and landlords) did not help the people to ward off famine and starvation. As can be readily seen, the last item of giving up ploughing was a revolutionary slogan which immediatly affected the nontribal landlords and government officials.

According to Namita De, who obtained a doctorate degree from Patna University by writing a thesis on the Tana Bhagat movement, "Jatra Bhagat told the people that God does not want them to work as coolies and labourers under the zamindars and the non-tribals."

Another leader of the movement Sibu Bhagat, who favoured drinking, meat-eating and dancing, told his followers, "You need no longer cultivate your fields, for we fed our landlods for the last thirty-two generations and supported them by our labours, it is now their turn to feed us for the next thirty two generations." This ensured a clash with the authorities which was not long in coming. To quote Namita De again, "This movement spread throughout the Oraon country. People refused to work for the zamindars and the other nontribals. It is said that Jatra Bhagat, on his refusal to allow his followers to take up work as coolies for the construction of school in village Dokotoli, adjacent to his own village, the local police sent him up for trial along with seven of his followers to the court of the Sub-Divisional Magistrate at Gumla and they were bound down under section 107 of the Criminal Procedure Code..... Jatra Bhagat was put into the prison for a year, and was later released on condition that he will not preach his new doctrine and will keep the peace. Thus, Jatra Bhagat fell into the background but the movement went on spreading" (P 50 of the unpublished doctoral dissertation of Namita De of Patna University). Among the other leaders mention may be made of Karma Bhagat of Brinda village in Gumla thana, Lodra Bhagat of Bela area of

Ghaghra thana, Bhukla Bhagat and Narma Bhagat in Mandar thana, Narayan Bhagat of Dorada in Lopung thana, Unto Bhagat and Nathu Bhagat in Sessai thana. Namita De mentions an Oraon woman leader Hatkhuni village of Ghaghra thana of Ranchi. Unfortunately her name is not known.

The Tana Bhagat movement followed nearly twenty years after the Birsa movement. Although the Birsa movement assumed great intensity during a short period, it did not last long. However the Tana Bhagat movement has had a much longer life and can be considered to be still in existence. The Ranchi District Gazetteer notes. "There is much resemblance between the two movements, one led by Birsa Munda and the other by Jatra Oraon. Both drew inspiration from the highest Hindu philosophy, eulogising the worship of one Supreme Being. They were reformist in character and prescribed a simple and puritanic way of life for their people. They had a common objective in the attainment of freedom for their country; not only from the local landlords, but also from the foreign Church and the British power. But while the Birsa Movement being ahead of time, remained an isolated local event for the Munda Community alone, the Tana Bhagat movement got itself integrated to the freedom movement of India. The Birsa movement adopted a violent approach to its political objectives while the Tana Bhagats followed the Gandhian way of Satyagrah and Ahimsa and kept their movement non-violent throughout. The Birsa movement was short-lived as it could not match the mighty power of the British, but the Tana Bhagat movement sustained itself throughout the struggle for country's independence and saw the fulfilment of its aspiration in national freedom." (P 75 Ranchi District Gazetter 1970)

Bhagat movement was agrarian exploitation in the tribal Chotanagpur where economy began to be disrupted during the last decade and a half of the sixteenth century, with the spread and consolidation of the Mughal rule over India. Before the Mughal rule, the tribes had their leader known as the Raja who was the leader of the people; but was not the owner of the land of the people and the Raja did not claim himself to be a landlord. In 1585 the Raja of Chotanagpur was defeated by Mughal General Shahabaz Khan and was converted into malguzar or a tributary of the 'Moghul Government, "The appointment of the Raja as a revenue farmer" writes Namita De, "gave him considerable political power over his chieftains and with increasing political power, the Raja acquired economic rights over the land. The council of clan elders (Parha panchayat) and the village panchayat was superseded by the council of the Raja composed of his followers and companions, and there began a conflict between the Raja and the tribesmen." (op.cit pp 34-38) Further the introduction of the new system of payment of revenue in cash replacing the old system of payment of revenue in kind there had a considerable impact on the tribal economy which was further affected by the largescale immigration of the Hindus and the Muslims from other areas to settle in tribal land. The Raja became Hinduized and further estranged from the people.

In 1765 Chotanagpur came under the rule of the British East India Company. Permanent Settlement Act 1793 created a class of zamindars and the Chotanagpur Raja and his jagirdars were also recognized as zamindars under this Act. Holders of many rent free holdings were obliged to pay rent to the zamindars by force and the system of begari (enforced free service by the tenant to the The main source of strength of the Tana landlord) became prevalent. In 1869 a writer

observed, "When the oppressor wants a horse, the Kol (a generic name for the Chotanagpur tribes) must pay; when he desires a palki, the Kols have to pay, and afterwards to bear him there in. They must pay for his musicians, for his milk-cows, for his pan. When some one die in his house, he taxes them. Is a child born? Again a tax. Is there a marriage or pooja? A tax. Is the Thikadar (contractor) found guilty at Cutchery (court) and sentenced to be punished? The Kol must pay the fine. Or does a death occur in the house of the Kol? The poor man must pay a fine. Is a child born? Is a son or daughter married? The poor Kol is still taxed. And this plundering, robbing system goes on till the Kols run away. These unjust people not only take away everything in the house but even force the Kols to borrow, that they may obtain what they want, remaining one of Sydney Smith's account of the poor man taxed from birth to Again whenever the thikadar his coffin. (contractor) has to go to the cutchery (court) or to the king, to a marriage, on a pilgrimage, however distant the place the Kols must accompany him and render service without payment." (Namita De p 40)

The illegal deprivation of the tribals of their land continued unabated all through the nineteenth century so that by the end of the last century, to quote O. R. Dhan, "of the whole estate of Chotanagpur measuring 7052 square miles, only 96.94 square miles were in possession of the bhuinhars, 724 square miles were in Khas (exclusive) possession of the Maharaja, 1050 square miles had been given out by him or his predecessors as Khorposh (maintenance holdings to the Raja's descendants and kinsmen), while 4480 square miles were in the possession of the Jagirdars. Brit grants included 134 square mile and the remainder was given on leases, mokarari 22.5

square miles and doami 493 square miles." (Pp 38-39 Namita De)

As is to be expected under such unjust circumstances, from time to time the tribal peasants sought to shake off this unbearable and unjust exploitation and there were peasant risings in 1789 (the year of the French Revolution) at Tamar, which was put down by the military, in 1794 and 1795, 1811, 1817, 1820, 1832, 1889-1890 (the Sardari movement launched by the tribal leaders to stop beth-begari and illegal enhancement of rent), 1895 (the Birsa movement among the Munda tribes), 1897, 1900 (when troops had to be called in to quell the disturbances), and 1914 (the Tana Bhagat Movement).

The Tana Bhagat Movement got a momentum from the Non-cooperation Movement of the Indian National Congress fifty years ago. The Oraons smarting under a feeling of long-standing oppression had no difficulty in seeing the wisdom of non-cooperating with a government which had kept that unjust order intact. They joined in the no-tax campaign in the thirties and also took an active part in the 1942 Movement. The Tana Bhagats would assemble at a place and chant in chorus:

Tana Baba tana tan tun tana
gol len tana be len tana
Hakim man tana kukum man
tana tananan tana polican taña
Rakhalanchia dakhananchia
hakimanchia hukum nanchia
Ainanchia Kanunanchia
likhannanchia parhananchia
Ainan nanun kanun nanun
jindgi janam anadi nanum
Sawadi nanua wati putu
tak jindgi janam.

Which means:

Pull brother pull, pull everything, pull the government, pull the Maharaj (zamindar), pull the officer, pull the order, pull the

police station, pull the police. O God, give us right, give us possession give us reading power we will be officers, we will rule. Give us wisdom, give us law, give us writing power; we will make law, we will do justice, we will populate the land and cultivate it. We will enjoy, we do not want any more trouble till eternity."

(Pp 62-63 Namita De's translation)

Since the Tana Bhagats did not pay rent many of them were dispossessed of their land. After Independence, the Bihar Government passed a law in 1948 providing for the 'restoration to (Tana Bhagat) raivats of agricultural lands in the district of Ranchi, sold in execution of decrees for areas of rent in persuance of any movement launched believed to have been launched by the Indian National Congress from the year 1921 to 1942." According to an official survey it was found that 560 families of the Tana Bhagats had been dispossessed of their lands. subsequent amendment widened the scope of the law by bringing in all dispossessions from 1913. The original Act was to lapse by 1966 but the life of the Act has since been extended. According to Namita De's study, the Tana Bhagat lands were restored (p 74 of the unpublished doctoral dissertation of Patna University 1963).

The Tana Bhagat number 10,000 mostly found in Bishnupur, Ghoghra, Gumla, Raidih, Chainpur, Palkot, Siasai, Lapung, Kuru and Mandar thana of Ranchi District. According to Namita De, 861 families were in the Sadar (Ranchi) Subdivision, 1348 families in Gumla subdivision 70 families in Khunti Subdivision and 23 families in Simdega subdivision. Tana According to her "The Bhagats always think that they are superior to the other tribesmen who are their neighbours." (p 140). They want to be left alone by the Government which is, however, affecting their lives more and more through the various developmental and non-developmental work. "It is clear", Namita De writes in her thesis, "that the first and the most important problem of the Tana Bhagats is that of land. Since the tribesmen depend only on agriculture for their livelihood, land has become the burning problem for them. The Bhagats whose lands have been auctioned for non-payment of rent feel that they have been crippled because they do not know any other means of livelihood. They are very anxious to get back their land, which should be restored to them." (Pp 133-134). Land alienation through illegal means is still very rampant in the tribal areas. S. P. Sinha in his study "The Problem of Land Alienation of the Tribals in and around Ranchi 1955-1965," writes "The process of land alienation which started then (in the nineteenth century—SCS) is still continuing. During those 130 years the tribals have been subjected to numerous methods of land alienation. It is said that sometimes for a seer of salt and for a towel the tribals had to part with large plots of land. The tribals had owned large plots of land, they never bothered about their future and were easily swindled. Unacquainted with the value of money they could hardly count the coin and they accepted a very small amount for land acquired for building purposes. Many persons got big plots of land transferred in their names from the tribals for no payment at all. Even if some amount was paid, the price was nominal, say Rs. 50 an acre." (Pp 1-2) "After 1950" S. P. Sinha continues, "a host of the land speculators started land alienation in its worst form when offices of N.C.D.C., T.O.S.C., A.T.S., B.T.A.I., Ranchi University, M. S. Ltd. and host of other offices and industries were opened. Some of retired officers tried to get plots of land for themselves and in this attempt to get the land they themselves turned into land agents or brokers. Some more unscrupulous persons came into this trade and in less than ten years amassed huge fortunes. Some very prominent and powerful men are their clients. Some registered 'Land Sale and Purchage Agencies' started their business also. Within a very short time the fallow land between the old tribal villages of Ranchi was filled with new houses built in a haphazard manner without any consideration of a suitable road, drain and any outlit. A view of these houses in Nagratoli don and tarn will give us an idea of the land loot which they committed. Persons of all classes vied with each other in getting a plot of land near Ranchi Court area and in doing so more often than once violated the laws.

"The tribals are generally ignorant of any laws and are simple and honest. They accepted whatever money was offered and this contributed largely to land alienation. Many fraudulent tactics were used and the poor tribals never came out from the clutches of these unscrupulous persons.

"When it was learnt that Ranchi was going to be the headquarters of National Coal Development Corporation, Hindustan Steel Ltd., Heavy Engineering Corporation and also of Ranchi University and other industries, the land speculators started playing havoc with the lands of tribals. (Pp 2-3 lbid) The following are listed as the means adopted for land alienation in Ranchi and is true of the rest of Chotanagpur. "For our convenience,

the processes of alienation of tribal land may be divided into the following categories:—

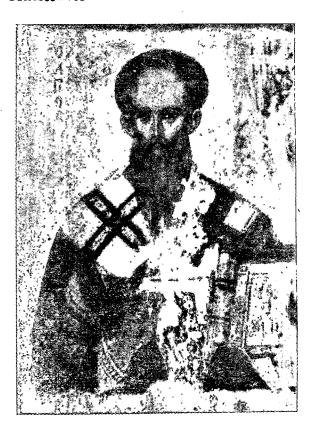
- (i) Legal transfer (1) (a) Transfer by aboriginal tenants under section 46 of the Cho[†]anagpur Tenancy Act to other aboriginal tenants with the sanction of the Deputy Commissioner.
- (b) Transfer of occupancy holding or of Bhuinhari tenure by aboriginal tenants to non-aboriginals under section 49 of Chotanagpur Tenancy Act.
- (c) Transfer under other sections of Chotanagpur Tenancy Acts with the permission of the Deputy Commissioner.
 - (2) Through Land Acquisition preceedings.
 - (3) By acquiring Chaparbandi right.
- (ii) Illegal transfers—Illegal transfers without the sanction of the Deputy Commissioner may be divided into the following categories:-
- (i) Through collusive title suits miscalled declatory suits of the Civil Court.
- (ii) Parting with possession by Adivasis of their lands on receipt of small consideration money without execution of any registered deed.
- (iii) Through ante-dated Sada Hukumnama of of the old Zamindar showing Chaparbandi right and thereby enabling transsfer without permission of Deputy Commissioner.
- (iv) Through a novel way of producing certified copies of Tenant's Ledger in which Chaparbandi right is interpolated. (P 15 of S. P. Sinha). Thus the Tana Bhagats are in ferment even today as their forefathers were two centuries earlier! Are we really moving at all?

CLEMENT OF ORHID On The Occasion Of The 1055th Anniversary Of His Death LILYANA GRASHEVA

Clement of Ohrid, the most prominent disciple and follower of the great Slav enlighteners Cyril and Methodius, died 1055 years ago, on August 9, 916. For more than a millennium the Bulgarian people have cherished the memory of their inspired teacher, talented orator and writer—one of the earliest authors of Old Bulgarian literature. His outstanding role in the development of Slav culture and his historic merits in the preservation of the traditions laid down by Cyril and Methodius in the strengthening of the Bulgarian character national and the Bulgarian state in the early Middle Ages, add an aura of greatness to his name. In his lifetime he was surrounded by nation-wide respect. After his death, writers, poets and teachers praised his work, dedicated their writings to him, while his own works were copied in all Slav lands for centuries on end. There are many legends about Clement, which originated in Ohrid and the surrounding region where he had spent thirty years of his life, and which include both folklore elements.

Greek authors of the 9th century praised him as "The torch of all Bulgaria".....

However, the memory Clement of Ohrid is kept alive not only by the people. Many scholarly works have been written about him. Questions related to his activity as an educationist and a writer in Great Moravia, Pannonia and particularly in Bulgaria occupy an important place in the vast literature on Cyril and Methodius and are the subject of much research work. Today historians hold the view that Clement of Ohrid belonged to a family of Bulgarian Slavs. In historical



monuments Clement's name is always linked with the names of Constantin-Cyril and Methodius just as these three outstanding men were linked in their eventful lives, in their devoted service to the development of the culture and education of the Slay peoples.

In the year of 863, a memorable one for the Slav peoples, Clement left for Great Moravia as the first disciple of the two brothers, inspired by the idea of preaching in a language spoken and understood by the Slavs of the Western Regions. Having evolved the Slavonic script and having

essential ecclesiastical translated the most books into the Slavonic language, thus raising the spoken language to the level of a literary language /for this purpose they used the South-Western Bulgarian dialect spoken in Salonica in the 9th century, as was later proved/, Cyril and Methodius and their disciples succeeded in organizing a church service in the Slavonic language and in training new disciples. However, their cause in the West Slavonic lands was doomed to failure through the intrigues of German clergy and the Pope. Clement arrived in Bulgaria in 885 after the death of Methodius and continued on his native soil his activity as an enlightener and a writer, fully conscious of personal and public hardships at that crucial moment. At this turning point in his country's life he was faced with a tremendous task: to introduce the young Bulgarian nation into the new public and political and religious life in spite of the strong and hostile pressure on the part of the Byzantine Empire and under the conditions of persistent and subborn heathen traditions which were extremely difficult to eradicate.

Clement's outstanding scholarship and gifts as a teacher, his rich experience and his great prestige determined his destiny the far sighted Bulgarian Prince Boris realized that the danger of Byzantine cultural expansion greatest in the South-Western regions of Bulgaria, i. e. in Macedonia, and sent Clement to work there. He was thus given the possibility, unde the full protection of the authorities, to give free run to his outstanding qualities of a public figure in the most exposed regions of the country,. In the course of seven years Clement trained 3,500 disciples, and organized schools in which both young pupils and adults, obtained all the knowledge available in the Middle Ages. His pupils became teachers, priests, and scholars. Under the skilful leadership of Clement the founda-

tions of the Ohrid Literary Centre were rapidly laid, a centre which, side by side with the Preslav Literary Centre in the Eastern region and in full harmony with it, greatly enhanced the prestige of the Bulgarian feudal state, turning it into a centre of medieval Under Prince Boris' successor, culture. Simeon, in 893 Clement was entrusted with the responsible post of a bishop. Though raised to such a high rank he never lost touch with the masses, holding services and delivering sermons himself, closely following the training of the local clergy, and interpreting the recently adopted religion in an easily understandable way. He also árranged to have many churches and monasteries built. His democratic and humane activity barred the road to Byzantine schemes.

Clement of Ohrid has another great merit: his name is indissolubly linked with the "Golden age" of the Old Bulgarian literature, the early literary glory of Bulgaria. He tranoriginal works, elaborated slated, wrote important literary genres, consolidated the foundations of the Old Bulgarian literary language laid by Cyril and Methodius. Clement's didactic and eulogistic sermons were "simple and clear", but at the same time they were fit to represent the young Bulgarian literature with honour before the strict court of the Christian civilization of that day. He was the father of the most important patriotic subject matter in the old Bulgarian literature. His "Eulogy of Cyril" is one of the heights in the development of medieval artistic thought, it is a genuine triumph of the emerging Slav culture and a wonderful poetical document proving the creative talent of its author.

The cultural, public and literary activity of this outstanding disciple of Cyril and Methodius forms an inseparable part of the historical life of the Bulgarian people and a valuable contribution to the cultural advance of the Slav peoples. His merits equal the greatest cultural events in the history of mankind.

THE LITERARY GENIUS OF SRI RAMAKRISHNA PARAMAHANSA DEVA

SAMAR DUTTA

The religious preachings of Sri Ramakrisna Paramahansa Deva hold a special place in Bengali literature. His character displays many religious facets and many books have been written on his preachings. But the unique artistry with which he expressed his religious thoughts and views was overlookd by his critics and was little discussed. Sri Ramakrishna had an equally eminent position in the nineteenth century Bengali literature as his contemporaries like Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and Bankim Chandra Chattopadhaya.

Bengali critics were indifferent to Sri Ramakrishna's literature in view of the fact that he did not produce literature in black and white. It is his speeches that may be said to have formed his literary achievements. Although he was not educated in the conventional sense, he had vast wisdom and what he spoke contained elements of immense literary value. His inner soul was perfectly pure and dispassionate. In the words of Mahatma Gandhi "he was a living embodiment of Godliness". So he was in a position to give expression to his literary genius, of course orally, even though he had no academic career of any kind whatsoever.

There are people who are of the view that the aim of literature is contrary to that of religion. As Sri Ramakrishna was principally a religious prophet his literary creation was, according to them, a by-product lacking in pure value of art. But that idea is not without mistake. In fact literature without religion is incomplete, if not defective. A famous English litterateur says:—

"That religion has constantly been the inspirer of art and that art has often helped

Thus it is clear to us that religion and literature are closely related to each other. Rabindranath is the outstanding example in this respect. Many of his devotional verses contained in his 'Gitanjali' and 'Naivedya' have attained a very high place in literature.

So far as Sri Ramakrishna Deva is concerned, the language and thought that sprang out of his religious fervour were transformed into high standard of literature, the Rupa (form) and Rasa (taste) of which are unique of their kind.

As regards the style of the literary creation of Sri Ramakrishna, he was a class by himself. The style of one's writings is generally interrelated with one's character. With the advancement of age and maturity of thought the style of one's writings varies from stage to stage. But about Sri Ramakrishna it may be said that his style was perfect and mature from the very beginning. That is why the style of his literature never varied since the style of literature of a saint like him does not depend upon his age or intellect. It is the result of his perfectly pure character and deep wisdom.

In order to make a correct estimate of Sri Ramakrishna's language and his contribution to the development of Bengali prose literature, it is necessary to discuss the standard of Bengali prose of the nineteenth century and also its development towards the latter part of that century.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century the style of Bengali prose literature failed to assume a significant character as the country was then passing through a great turmoil. There was then a variety of styles and techniques of Bengali prose each conflicting with the other.

Of the various styles that are worth mentioning here the first one was introduced and followed by the pundits of the old school. Tais style which was then used by the pundits was the product of the use of a large number of Sanskrit words. But people in general failed to appreciate this style as it unintelligible to them. Side by side there was in vogue another style which was direct in its simplicity and dignified in its colloquial ezsiness. There was still another style of Bengali language viz-court language which was mainly used in the court of law and in the market-place and the business centres as well. This language was predominated by Persian words. There was a keen competition among these styles of Bengali language each trying to establish its supremacy over the others. But none could claim to be in actuality the national language of the Bengalees.

The advent of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-1891) solved the problem of Bengali language to a great extent. It was Vidyasagar who created a new Bengali language introducing therein the qualities of sonority and conciseness; wedded together the nuances of rhythm and rhetoric—discarded all avoidable complexities of the language and imbued it with beauty and a sense of wholeness. With the publication of his Betalpanchabingsati in the year 1847 a new era of Bengali language was ushered in.

Besides Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar two among the Bengali writers stand out as the most important, namely Michael Madhusudan Dutt (1824-1873) and Bankim Chandra Chattopadhaya (1838-1894). Bankim Chandra improved the language further than what Iswar Chandra did. By dint of his versatility he infused in the Bengali language what may be called life-force which was wanting in this language upto his time. The touch of genius of this great litterateur made the language rich and at the same time lucid so that the language was perfectly intelligible to the readers. In fact Bankim Chandra took the Bengali readers by surprise by revealing to them, among other things, how fresh and animated the Bengali language could be and what a miraculous power it had to appeal to the human-heart.

But before these two writers gained their eminence, the first Bengali novel 'Alaller Gharer Dulal' by Pyari Chand Mitra was published in the year 1858. This book created much sensation in the literary circles of Bengal of those days. The language of this Bengali novel was the mixture of indigenous as well as foreign words avoiding Sanskrit as far as practicable. Although the language and the style of this work of Pyari Chand elicited admiration of the common people, it failed to retain its hold in the field of Bengali literature of those days.

In the year 1862 "Hutum Panchyar Naksa" by Kali Prasanna Singha was published. This book depicted in pure, spoken language a lively picture of different sects and communities of the then Calcutta. This work of Kali Prasanna left a hall-mark on the Bengali literature of the past. In this way the growth and enrichment of Bengali prose literature was taking place in the mid-nineteenth century when the literary productions of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa Deva (1835-1886) started.

The preachings of Sri Ramakrishna had a definite aim. At the same time it had an aesthetic value. His language was simple as as well as perspicuous. Language is the medium of expressing one's thought. Yet thought is not the only subject matter of expression is an language, Harmony of equally important quality. Sri Ramkrishna had a great taste for music. That was evident through his language which resounded with sonority. Although sweet and harmonious rhythms are embedded in Bengali language, the sonorous quality is not always found in the writings of every Bengali writer. Greek, among the European languages, is considered richest in its sonorous quality. It is also evident to some extent in the old Latin language. As far as Bengali language is concerned it shows a great affluence of musical fluidity and harmonious rhythm. Yet it depends entirely upon the aptitude of an individual literary composer to utilise properly the musicality of the language towards successcreation of literature. So far Sri Ramakrishna is concerned his language always displays the sense of a master musician combined with a high degree of craftsmanship which none of his predecessors had been able to achieve. Of course the musical quality in the language of Rabindranath in a later age is incomparable.

Another important characteristic of Sri Ramakrishna's language is its simplicity. His language was quite simple and homely so that it could be easily understood by the common folk of his time.

Furthermore there was another quality in Sri Ramakrishna's language and that was his reticence or restraint. Redundant superfluity in the work of a prose writer is not at all desirable, it marks the language with blemish. Even the work of the English poets like Shelley are not free from such a defect. That is why Prof. Sharp once remarked about Shelley—'condensation and self-repression would have improved much that he (Shelley) wrote'. So

far as our Bengali literature is concerned such a flaw is discernible at certain stages even in the writings of the greatest writers.

But Shri Ramakrishna's language is an exception to this sort of blemish. Never did he make any improper use of language.

Needless to say that literature is he fountain-head of eternal bliss. In this respect the literary productions of Paramhansa Deva are much more popular than those of many a noted litterateur. In the words of Max Maller 'Ramakrishna was a poet and dreamer of dreams'. He never composed a philosophical treatise; he simply poured out short sayings and people came to listen to him whether he was in full possession of his faculties or in a dream or in a trance. Thus the sayings of this religious prophet on the spur of the moment constituted some immortal treasures of Bengali literature. A few of his sayings which are important from the point of view of spirituality as well as literary expression _re given below :---

- (i) Thou seest many stars at night in the sky, but findest them not when the sun rises. Canst thou say that there are no stars then in the heavens of the day? O man, because thou beholdest not the Almighty in the days of thy ignorance, say not that there is no God.
- (ii) As from the same gold various ornaments are made, having different forms and names, so our God is worshipped in different countries and ages, and has different forms and names. Though He may be worshipped variously, some loving to call Eim Father, others Mother etc.; yet it is the one God that is being worshipped in all these various relations and moods.
- (iii) Man is like a cushion-cover. The colour of one may be red, another blue, another black. But all contain the same cotton inside. So it is with man; one is beautiful, one is black. another is holy, a

fourth wicked; but the Divine dwells in all of taem.

- (iv) God is in all men, but all men are not in God, that is the reason why they suffer.
- (v) As the lamp does not burn without cil, man cannot live without God.
- (vi) There are two egos in man, one ripe and the other unripe. The ripe ego thinks, 'nothing is mine, whatever I see, or feel or hear, nay, even this body is not mine; I am always free and eternal'. The unripe ego on the contrary, thinks, 'This is my house, my room, my child, my wife, my body, and so on.
- (vii) When the knowledge of self is obtained, all fetters fall off by themselves. Then there is no distinction of a Brahmana or a Sudra, of high caste or low caste. In that case the sacred thread, the sign of caste, falls away of itself. But so long an man has the consciousness of distinction and difference of caste, he should not forcibly throw it away.
- (viii) A man after fourteen years of hard asceticism in a lonely forest obtained at last

- the power of walking on water. Overjoyed at this acquisition, he went to his teacher and told him of his great feat. At this the master replied 'My poor boy, what thou hast accomplished after fourteen years of arduous labour, ordinary man do the same by paying a penny to the boatman.
- (ix) Where is God? How can we get at Him? There are pearls in the sea. One must dive again and again till one gets at them. So there is God in the world, but you should persevere in diving.
- (x) The vanities of all others may gradually die out, but the vanity of a saint is hard, indeed, te wear away.
- (xi) Different creeds are but different paths to reach the Almighty.

The examples may be multiplied to show the rich philosophical conceptions of Sri Ramakrishna Deva which he conveyed in a highly artistic language. Here is indeed a poet speaking in prose. So the literary style and achievement of Sri Ramakrishna cannot be ignored nor over emphasised.



DÉFICIT BUDGET, CAUSES & REMEDY

R. S. MACHALPURKAR

Every year, we find there is increase in taxation in some form or other and yet the existence of deficit is continuing intact all along with the trend of rise in prices, wages and salaries, moving upwards and upwards. The stage has hence now been reached when the matter has to be immediately analysed, considered, and remedied with a realistic outlook, else the ensuing budget may prove to be the last straw on the camel's back; since the discontent and the pinch of the increased cost of living is getting more and more acute day by day to the general public.

The question arises why there is deficit when every year there are some positive increases secured in the incomes of the State, the Nation, by some additional impositions AND along with it we have to consider why there is a continuous rising trend in the prices, wages and salalries and why there is discontent among the majority of the public.

The causes to be found, according to me, are—

- 1. Unbalanced taxation—i. e. tax burden being put on one set of people only, others being let off.
- 2. Failure to ascertain, control and utilise all available productive resources in the Country.
- 3. Failure to provide cheap and simple working administration—AND
- 4. Ignoring the busic principles of democratic—socialistic economic organisat on.

Now dealing with the first cause, unbalanced taxation—I call it so, because it is actually leaning on one set of people only. While we have in our country two major wings of the

public—one of city dwellers and another of country people, all the taxes so far imposed rest more specifically on the former set of people alone. To illustrate, the enumeration will include tax on profession and vocation, income tax, property tax, tax on fine—superfine cloth, soap, cigeratte, travelling fares postage, petrol, entertainment, articles of luxury and so on, which are mainly associated with the public of the cities. As against this on the country side where the main vocation or profession is agriculture, cultivation or allied professions. have nothing to pay compared to what the inhabitants of the cities are made to contriblute to the State revenues.

Besides, while considerable amounts are being expended on irrigation facilities, supply of electricity, agricultural improvements and in different Taccavi advances and loans to the cultivators and the public of the country side, out of the tax-revenue referred to above; the actual tax payers, the public of the city, are not getting any commensurate benefits there from. On the contrary even the prices of the food grains are soaring high while the cultivators, the public of the country side are getting a fancy price for their crops and for the jobs they do; and that too even without paying tax or government land revenue in proportion to the gains accruing to them.

It is still more-interesting to note that the land revenue which is being paid to-day by a cultivator varies from Re, one per acre to a maximum rate of Rs, 5/-per acre, as per classification of the lands and their utility value. It is the land revenue which was fixed in the last settlement which took place during 1925 to 1928 A. D. when the price of food grain

was, on an average, 16 seer per rupee; while to-day it is just the reverse i.e. Re. 1.16 per killogram. That is while at that time grain was available for) Rs. 6.25 per quintal. now the price is Rs. 116/.per quintal and this reverse proportion we find, without any taxation either on the cultivation or (without any tax) on the income of the land and without any increase in the land revenue rate, even though the pariod fixed under the settlement term, 30 years in U. P. and in other provinces 20 years, has long expired and fresh survey settlement has become assessment and overdue.

It is thus that unbalanced taxation and the vehicle of our budget running on one wheel that go to give us nothing but deficit. Our Taxation is running on one wheel, the other wheel being stagnant, non-moving, non-responding. Even if the lands are re-assessed in proportion to the ratio of the output and the prevailing price level thereof the additional revenue therefrom is bound to remove the deficiency in the budget to a major extent. I am sure more than by fifty percent.

But the above aspect of balancing the taxation and the granting of equality to both the public of the city and of the country side has escaped the thought of the budget framers and hence the high deficit. In this there cannot be two opinions and the truth is unchallengeable.

Recently, ideas of imposing income-tax on agricultural income is being suggested; and is likely to be introduced. But in fact the same is neither desirable nor practical; from the aspects of the process of valuation and assessment and estimate of out put every year as also the likely plight of the cultivator and the public on the country side in running for the purpose of assessment and taxation from place to place and then working under uncertain conditions all the time.

And here it will suffice to state that the best course to secure balancing of taxation and equality and equity therein will be to effect fresh survey, assessment and settlement of all the lands and other productive resources viz. water, forests, hills, mountains, etc. which would yield increased income and remove the deficit at once.

Coming to the second cause of deficit budget i. e. failure to ascertain, control and utilise all available productive resources in the country, it will appear that actually there is no accurate record with us of the productive resources available in the country to-day. In India there has been no survey made so far from the productive resources point of view; whatever surveys have been made are from different strategical aspects.

Besides the land regions there are other regions: water region, air region, region of rocks, hills, mountains, valleys, sub-soils, minerals, regions of energy output and in the present time, all are good sources of income and regular disbursement and allotment of the same for productive purposes, are bound to give good returns and reduce the defects and increase the productivity of the Nation.

Further, every day new inventions are taking place and the problem of controlling the uses of waves, air and even the sun's rays for the cooker in the kitchen and of Atomic energy for productivity purposes are not far off. The over-head roads and the underground passages as means of conveyance and communications have already come in vogue and effective legislation to control all working on the earth's surface, below it and above it, is not only desirable and advisable but is bound to prove to be on the way.

In India, the first revenue survey settlement was attemped about the year 1768, then it was followed by the second one during 1905 to 1908 and the third attempt took place

between 1925 to 1928, and thereafter, for the last more than 40 years, even the land revenue survey has not been attempted.

Hence what is needed is to effect a complete survey of the whole of India from the aspect of ascertaining all productive resources in the country and then carry out a regular allotment and disbursement of all these productive resources under a common code of control viz—"ALL INDIA PRODUCTIVE RESOURCES CODE" which will secure the maximum utility and production therefrom for the needs and welfare of the country.

The complete survey would cover all places and every resource wherever available i. e. on the surface of earth, below the surface of earth and above the surface of earth, whether so far known or unknown, ignored and used or unused the working thereof would naturally add to the income of the Nation and wipe away the deficit in the budget to a considerable extent, even by two-third.

A regular disbursement of a desired resource to every person craving for the same will be highly appreciated and is bound to result in stabilisation of our socialistic state for just as a farmer will be glad to get land for the purpose of cultivation, so also a—fisherman will be pleased to have water area assigned to him for fishing and a washerman by getting water dip for his washing business.

At the same time a cheap and simple working administration is another essential requirement for the country. To reduce the burden on the exchequer is to save that much amount and it is again a positive check on the deficit budget. We find practically every year, there is increase in the number of ministers or deputy ministers; similarly also of the workers in the offices and the different divisions, sub-divisions etc. We find heaps

of files and the number thereof daily increasing without a stop with the result that the number of the clerical staff—officers and officials—is being multplied but to no avail except increase in expenditure. Here we have to realise and appreciate that mere increase in number is no way to achieve efficiency.

Then there is the working of the Central Legislature and the State Legislature. The separate lists of the State and the Central relate to certain items which can be very conveniently dealt with and controlled by a common code. Separate dealing by every State naturally causes extra expenditure and further confusion. Instances may be quoted as to the subject of land, water, irrigation, agriculture, aviation, research and education, as well as forests, minerals and taxation on income, production and the ceiling limits etc. These are subjects on which there can be a common code of control and working, simple and cheap, for all. Once there is a common code of control framed by the Parliament, there may be some minor changes in the rules, rates, time element, schedules and conditions as may be suitable for the special environment of each province and it is not difficult to make provision and apportionment or allotment of income from enactment to such respective provinces for the working of the establishment concerned.

In the sphere of the administration of Laws, we find a number of common codes and enactments like Civil Procedure Code, Criminal Procedure Code, Penal Code, Evidence Act, Transfer of Property Act, Contract Act, prevailing all over the Country. Even the Registration Act,—Stamp Act, Court-fees Act, Arms Act, Suites Valuations Act, etc. are of common nature with some difference in the rate or rule. In fact every State to have a separate legislature and

separate sittings when the text is common and one needs only suitable change in schedule, rate and rules, is really waste of energy and also uncalled for addition to the expenditure altimately leading to deficit budgets.

The framing and working of laws can be managed on a simple common basis. working of the administration has to be simplified, the top heavy administration has to be minimised and regularised so as to check the deficit budget without sacrificing efficiency of the work. This increase in the number of the ministers and the deputy ministers along with the paraphernelia of the secretaries and other officials with whatever object of party politics ignoring the National interest has to be deplored and the procedure of separate legislation is each province passing laws on common subjects and recurring amendments in every session, thereby adding to the deficit budget, is hardly desirable or justifiable.

Working on the above lines would positively remove the deficiency in the budget to a considerable extent and also achieve the welfare of the Nation with stability to the Government on the basis of a cheap and simple working administration.

Then we come to the matter of adherence to the principles of a democratic socialistic pattern of organisation. A review of the process followed and the progress made by us in the above direction in fact reveals that in reference to the equitable apportionment of the items in the budget both on the incoming and out-going sides, we are actually ignoring the basic democratic principles of the subject, though we heartily crave for achieving the goal of a democratic state of a socialistic pattern.

It will be worthwhile noting that while—democracy holds for its base the doctrine of "Government by the people, of the people

and for the people" there follows and it is inseparable coupled with the other side that, is a corollery, that "All the property in such a socialistic pattern shall belong to the socialistic state shall be held by the subjects on behalf of the state and shall be used for the welfare of the state as a whole".

On the above principles, when all the property, which may be land, water, air, suns rays or light is the property of the state anybody who wants to hold some of it for whatever purpose; for personal use, enjoyment or utilisation for production, industry etc., has to hold it from the state under a common code of control and in return for payments made to the State in the form of rent, or charges for lease, premia or a share of the out-put.

The material point to be borne in mind is that in the above manner of arranging for the welfare of the Nation, the disbursement or allotment of any property to anybody free of rent, other charges, premium etc. cannot be forgone and the recent ideas of favouring continuance of allotment of small portions of land etc. free of revenue cannot be allowed.

Thus from the above analysis it would be clear—beyond doubt that what is required to-day for turning the deficit budget into a surplus one, is to take up a scheme of equitable apportionment of the burden of taxation, levy of taxation, on both the major divisions of the public, establishing thereby an equilibrium of the standard of life, of the movements of the cost of living, of the ratio and proportion of receipts from the two major divisions of the public and the expenditure of the same respectively in an equitable manner.

A N D Further assure control and utilise all productive resources in the country so as to procure the—maximum production and all possible increase in the national income:

AND Take steps to reduce the cost of administration by providing a cheap and simple, but efficient administration at all stages.

A N D adhere to the democratic principle of effecting disbursement and allotment of all productive resources under a common Code of Control. All in the interest of the Nation and without any favour to any party or person.

All this can be achieved by the immediate undertaking of an ALL INDIA SURVEY of all productive resources and effecting assessment, settlement, disbursement and allotment thererof to all deserving persons under a common code of control, the ALL INDIA PRODUCTIVE RESOURCES CODE.

The above attempt will positively remove the deficit in the budget and secure the following benefits for us:

1. It would record and bring out in full detail all available productive resources in

the country up-todate, whether used, unused, or ignored and whereever available on the earth's surface, below it or—above.

- 2 If would solve the un-employment problem to a—great extent since survey, settlement, assessment, disbursement and allotment operations will absorb a lot of personnel in working out and control.
- 3 It would cause exploring and utilisation of water courses for further irrigation and also put a stop to the yearly devastation of large areas due to powerful floods.
- 4. Procure maximum productivity from al available resources in the country.
- 5. End the vicious circle of rise in prices of food, clothing and other articles of daily need along with rising trend in wages, salaries and taxes
- 6. Secure employment, food, cloathing for each and all in the country.
- 7. Provide for a cheap and simple effective administration in the country.



WHAT HAPPENED IN INDIA AND THE WORLD OF THE U.S.A.

A. K. MOITRA

It was on the 25th March, 1971, that the zero hour of fate struck the town of Dacca there in East Pakistan now a part of Bangladesh. Under orders from the W. Pakistan President, Mr. Yahya Khan the guns boomed spreading fire, death and destruction. History has few examples of such brutal attack by a fully equipped and trained army on an unarmed and defenceless civilian population. Within a fortnight, thousands of men, women and children were killed, maimed, wounded, hundreds of thousands of the population left their hearth and home to find shelter within the borders of the neighbouring country of India. Pillage and plunder, rape and molestation, fire and pestilence were rampant. A fortnight rolled into a month and a month lengthened into further months.

While all this was going on and during the entire period, the big (and not so big) powers of the world looked on. A few seemed a bit concerned over the fate of the uprooted humanity. Most of them engaged themselves in a lackadaisical and academic debate and consultations as to how best the sufferings of the homeless people could be alleviated. Meantime, the Government of the U.S.A. continued to pour arms and ammunition into the hands of the President of Pakistan so that the havoc of genocide could continue with greater system and smoothness. It seemed that the Conscience of the world had been drugged into a state of insensitiveness.

Then in the first flush of his victory over unarmed men, women and children, President Yahya Khan of Pakistan turned his canons towards India and shells burst upon Indian soil indiscriminately. There were arrogant

threats that if India tried to act according to the dictates of its conscience and to initiate measures to ensure her security, Pakistan would declare war. Even then, the murmurings of the World Powers did not rise above a whisper, not to speak of their taking any tangible preventive action.

Meantime, India went on defending her borders and giving succour to the refugees. After about six months, events began taking a new turn. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister made a hurried tour of the American Capital and some of the European Capitals too, and made the case for India abundantly clear. So lucid and logical were her speeches that any sober and impartial government would have been fully convinced as to the correctness of her exposition. But these big and not so big Powers had other things in their mind-and that was definitely not to understand the truth, nor to do justice, nor to come forward to alleviate the sufferings of an uprooted people. However, inspite of all their discouragement and procrastination, the people of Bangladesh began to press forward and their army and guerrilla bands began scoring successive victories. This completely upset the plans of these World Powers headed by the Government of the U.S.A. They had suddenly become very active and began contriving to weave a design that would nullify the gains Bangladesh had so far made and would at the same time have a crippling effect on India.

It was clear from the latest move that the Government of the U. S. A. made that it and its camp followers would do everything possible to support Pakistan and its notorious

President Yahya Khan. It was clear from the beginning; but now even the last vestiges of doubt that anyone might have been harbouring were removed exposing the real intention of the Government of the U.S.A. So long as India was labouring under the heavy burden of the refugee influx which threatened to disrupt her entire economy, the Government of the U.S.A. and its satellites were shedding crocodile tears. Even today, one could safely assert that if W. Pakistan had the upperhand, our aforesaid friends would not have raised a hand to help Bangladesh, and while pumping military hardware through the "pipe-line" to W. Pakistan, they would have showered only empty words of sympathy upon India. Now that W. Pakistan is having the worst of the deal, it has galvanised these Governments into taking action. And they will take any action possible, short of getting directly involved in warfare,

Mrs. Indira Gandhi our Prime Minister, has repeatedly stated that this is fundamentally a conflict between one part of Pakistan and the other and that only a political settlement will resolve the crisis. W. Pakistan, with the tacit support of some of the big (and some not so big) World Powers, tried to crush the democratic aspirations of the people of East Pakistan with a view to extricating itself from the present predicament and sought to achieve a military solution. It has been failing and because of this and this alone, these big powers have been rallying round W. Pakistan as kinsmen do over an improvident relative in distress. Had the distress been India's, one may repeat, these self-same big powers would have sought refuge in righteous lipsympathy.

All these big Powers have a perverted love for W. Pakistan and this is why they have turned a deaf ear to Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister. They cannot openly

refute her logic. Lacking logic, they are trying deliberately, mischievously and maliciously to turn it into a confabulation with W. Pakistan under their sponsorship. It will be termed variously as offer of peace, mediation for friendship, or councils for conciliation. What peace? India is at peace with every nation at the moment. What friendship? India is friendly to all nations, What conciliation? India has not resorted to any hostile act. So why this sudden solicitude on the part of these great and gracious nations? This only shows that W. Pakistan is in real danger. Had it not been so, there would have been no manifestation of such leagerness. India been endangered, these very Powers would have remained sitting on the fence, occasionally throwing crumbs from their tables.

India, there is no doubt, under the extremely able and keensighted leadership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, will steer clear of this. Once she is drawn into such a conference, India's cause will be lost. These big Powers will seem very accomodating with their honeyed words and promise of prosperous days; but once India is wrapped in the folds of their net. they will show their fangs and will drive a hard bargain that will not be to India's advantage. And then there will be no way As Mrs. Indira Gandhi, our Prime Minister has rightly said India can not expect any justice from them. She has not uttered this out of bitterness, frustration or malice. but she has said this out of her desire to unmask hypocricy and tell the unembellished truth.

The path of truth is rugged. It is possible that India may have to trudge it alone. There will be people who will be terrified at the prospect. It is true that the prospect may be bleak enough. But if India has to go alone, it has to be done and faced. Many

rations have done it and come out of it It has endowed their people successfully. with the qualities that have made these nations great. France went through it upholding the ideals of liberty, fraternity and equality. The U.S.A. did it twice, once when it threw off the yoke of colonial rule and a second time when it fought against the system of slavery, (It seems ironical that today the Government of the U.S.A is going in reverse gear in relation to Bangladesh and is bent on going rough shod over those very i-leals which at one time were held by the people of the U.S.A. as the inalienable rights of human beings'. Russia went through it and so did Peoples China.

They did not wait, watch and see as to who are coming to their aid and what aid they would be getting. As a matter of fact France, Russia and China did not get any foreign aid. They faced the situation and the genius inherent in their people shaped their destiny and determined their national policy.

In India the same thing will happen. There may be privation there may be suffering, there may be a radical change in the pattern of development, but nothing can stop the onward march. Certain people may be afraid. They may well ask what will happen if the outside aid is stopped. They may paint a dismal picture. They are not to be

blamed. But it appears that they are more concerned about themselves than for the future generations. A beggar may find it easy to beg but it does not raise its dignity or that of its progeny.

It is debatable whether the foreign aids India has been so far getting have enriched it or impoverished it, have elevated character of the people or degenerated it, have proved a blessing or a curse. If the opinion of various classes at various levels is taken, it will be foundthat most people think the effect produced is adverse. The sooner we realise that we have to stand on our own feet the the better, and surer for determining the shape of our destiny. Probably the pace will be much slower but it will be a more balanced and integrated movement just as a child's faltering stops develop into the speed of an Olympic runner or into the grace of a ballet dancer? Our economy is now based on the shifting sands of foreign compassion and pity. Perhaps without these, we will be able to evolve a firmer foundation, salvage our dignity and emerge into adulthood. Economics, politics, intellect, feelings and morals can not be divorced from one another and it is their combined effect that makes the man and makes the nation. If we are left alone in the wilderness, perhaps we will be able to know ourselves and forge a future out of what is entirely our own.

FORMULATING A NATIONAL EMPLOYMENT POLICY

N. KAMARAJU PANTULU

Mr. D. Sanjivayya, former Union Minister for Labour and Employment disclosed in the Lok Sabha, just before its dissolution that there were 36,21300 jobless persons on the live registers of the Employment Exchanges in India on 30th June 1970. The Swatantra party in one of its advertisements issued in connection with the mid-term poll, estimated the number of the unemployed persons in India at three crores. In another advertisement issued on the eve of elections by 37 prominent political leaders belonging to divergent political parties and ideologies, estimated the number of unemployed persons in our country at 100 to 150 millions. According to the statistics provided by the planning commission of India, the number of unemployed persons in our country was estimated at 5.3 millions at the end of the first five year plan; 9.0 millions at the end of the second five year plan; 12.6 millions at the end of the third five year plan. It is estimated that the number of unemployed persons in India would go up to a level of 28.0 millions by the end of the Forth Five Year Plan. Even if we discount some of the exaggerations, and election time propaganda, the number of jobless persons as on to day is estimated to be not less than 25.0 millions by any moderate, fair, reliable and convincing and nearly accurate standards. As if to take the entire episode of unemployment crisis, to its climax the Dantwala committee on unemployment estimates pooh-poohed the very basis and sources of calculation of the jobless persons in India by the planning commission and observed in a most emphatic and categorical manner that the statistics of the jobless furnished by the Planning Commission quite unscientific. are

unsound, baseless, and inaccurate. The Government of India following its well established tradition of appointing committees, appointed another commission to examine the whole problem of unemployment. The findings of the commission are still awaited, not eagerly of course by any sane person. Mr. Jagjiwan Ram former President of the All India Congress(R) Committee, himself admitted in his presidential address at a recent session of the A.I.C.C. held at Patna that "the unemployment problem has assumed an alarming magnitude in the country. From plan to plan the number of unemployed has been on the increase."

A number of reasons are assigned for this alarming magnitude of unemployment in in India. Insufficient rate of development, output of Indian universities: increasing backward character of Indian agriculture; the inability of the industry to adjust costs to prices; introduction of rationalisation and scientific management schemes in the industrial wing; migration of labour on an alarming scale from rural areas to urban areas and faulty methods of planning, such as undue preserence to public sector at the cost of private sector. Other sources of creation of unemployment are launching programmes and projects involving long gestation periods in preference to quick yielding projects, according priority to capital intensive projects, schemes and industries in preserence to the labour intensive industries and schemes and including a number of unproductive schemes in the five year plans. Top heavy unproductive administrative expenditure; according priority to heavy, key and basic industries at the cost of neglect of cottage and small scale industries which have a greater employment potential and absorbing capacity; absence of profeesional and vocational touch in our present day educational system; immobility of labour, particularly in rural areas; the ever growing inefficiency, mismanagement and wastes in the public sector units; dampening the enthusiasm of the private sector which is the real source of providing more and more employment opportunities in the country and creating all sorts of stumbling blocks in the way of expansion of private sector through a multitude of legislation like prevention of monopolies Act etc. are some other obstructions to fuller employment. A plethora of vexatious licences, controls, permits, quotas, rules and regulations, formalities and procedures and the crushing burden of taxation and the very rigid industrial licencing tariff and trade policies; faulty system of ownership of landed property and the unequal distribution of income and wealth in the rural and urban areas as well as the primitive, unscientific, conservative traditional methods, techniques and processes of agricultural production carried on still and the virtual apathy to adopt modern, scientific and technological methods; false notions dignity of labour among educated persons; lack of adequate training facilities also should not be overlooked.

A lasting solution to the unemployment problem lies not in slogan shouting, echoeing the Keynesian solutions and remedial measures of Rugnar Nurskee from house tops, passing resolutions and including the right of employment in the Fundamental Rights of our constitution and payment of unemployment doles; but in formulating and implementing a rational, logical, bold, pragmatic, realistic and imaginative national policy of employment, eschewing all the Utopian concepts,

illusions and wrong notions surround the whole problem and the refashioning of our entire economic and political structure in the President V. V. Giri. has aptly observed in his recent publication"Jobs for our millions", that there was something fundamentaly lacking in our development plans. In the three five year plans no systematic attempt at total absorption of the surplus manpower was ever thought of. The colossal problem of unemployment can not be solved by adopting any mottos like 'Every house a cottage . industry' and 'Every acre of land a pasture' etc. The crying need of the hour is a clear understanding of the factors responsible for unemployment on such a colossal scale and knowing the accurate size of the problem and the different angles from which the problem is to be tackled effectively. This requires a remoulding of our entire startegy and philosophy of economic development and planning in the country.

The explosion of unemployment will not only give rise to frustration and sow the seeds of discontent and create bitter feelings among the youth of the country who see no future for themselves, but will reduce the whole investment on the education and welfare programmes of the youth into a huge national waste. Unless we come to grips with the menance of unemployment and it is done away with sooner, our political and social life will be infected by dangerous social maladies like agrarin unrest, land grabbing, Naxalite movement, and various other sorts of acts of hooliganism, looting, plunder, robbery, and physical violence etc. throughout the length and breadth of the country. As Dr. C. D. Deshmukh said in the course of his A. D. Shroff Memorial Lectures, held recently "the more educated, the unemployed, the greater, the explosive situation. An educated person cannot and must not remain unemployed. An

idle mind is verily the devil's workshop." Another grave consequence of the growth of unemployment is the steadily increasing number of proverty striken people, leading to greater social and economic inequalities. Political rights lose all relevance and social harmony becomes precarious, with all the attendant evils gaining ground. The Directive Principles of state policy in India's constitution proclaim the right of the citizen to an adequate means of livelihood. Unless we take up the challenge of the unemployment problem in right earnest, "this right will remain on paper and we shall be nowhere near the goal." Further as Mr. D. R. Gadgil, Deputy Chairman of the planning commission stated, while addressing the general meeting of economists, convened by the planning commission to discuss the report of the committee of experts on unemployment estimates, the problem of unemployment is sure to effect the entire strategy, and basic structure of the plan and the main assumption of the Fourth Five Year Plan.

A national employment policy should be formulated without any further delay on the following lines and every conceivable step must be taken immediately for the effective implementation of the same. Adoption of pious resolutions, incapable of being transformed into a programme of action is no solution to this colossal problem.

A permanent National Employment Commission should be established to continuously review and propose measures for the expansion of employment opportunities for the unemployed and the under employed and a fund of Rs. 250 crores should be made available to the commission as suggested by the A. I. C. C. (R) panel on economic policy, under the chairmanship Mr. K. D. Malaviya.

More employment opportunities can be created only by big business because of their experience and entrepreneurship and so the

allergy to big business must go if we want quicker results in solving the problem of unemployment. All efforts at dampening the enthusiam of the private sector and preventing its growth and expansion should be curbed forthwith, since the private sector is indeed, the hen that lays the golden eggs. Let us not kill that hen.

A bold rural works programme should be worked out and undertaken on a massive scale for building up main and feeder roads, soil conservation, minor and medium irrigation projects and house construction, surveying sub-soil. water resources. digging wells, building schools. hospitals, community halls etc. in the rural areas, drainage, land reclamation, afforestation, conservation, multiple cropping, farming, contour bunding, labour intensive schemes for the draught proof areas, flood control, drinking water supply, development of inland and coastal fishing, intensive scientific farming, rural electrification and lift irrigation schemes, development of agroindustries, providing training to the local artisans in the rural areas and absorbing them in the labour intensive schemes, projects and programmes of industrialisation to be launched throughout the country in the multipurpose pilot projects and community development blocks etc. etc.

Liberal credit facilities should be given to educated persons to enable them to establish units of independent economic activity. The commercial banks should liberalise their credit policies towards agricultural financing. The credit policies of the Reserve Bank of India and the Commercial and Cooperative Banks should be employment oriented.

While selecting sites for the location of industrial projects, other things remaining the same, preference should be given to such areas where unemployment problem is more acute.

Raising a land army (Bhusena) as suggested by prime Minister Indira Gandhi, in the course of her address at Governor's Conference on 26th November, 1970, to bring under cultivation the vast areas of uncultivated lands in the rural areas and launching on a massive scale land colonisation schemes on cooperative basis is another solution, worth considering in this connection. Dr. Ram Monohar Lohia had put forth this grand idea of Bhusena in the year 1961 itself, but unfortunately nobody paid any attention to his grandiose scheme. Fresident V. V. Giri also commended the scheme of land colonisation in his recent publication "Jobs for our Millions".

Immediate implementation of the land reform legislation that was enacted already, particularly the ceilings on land holdings, tenancy reforms and consolidation of holdings etc. will help in a great measure, in solving the unemployment problem. There is a plethora of legislation already passed and there is no paucity of statutory sanction. The dire need of the day is the effective implementation of the land reform legislation and not adding some more Acts.

Establishment of a net work of cooperative farming societies throughout the country will also act as an effective palliative in solving the unemployment probelem. Let us not be frustrated for ever with our past experiences of failure of cooperative farming, mainly due to the gross apathy and lassitude of the officials. The Bhoodan areas and vast stretches of waste lands of the Government can be successfully brought under cultivation on a cooperative basis.

We have to bring about a large scale, rapid and radical transformation of our methods, techniques, and processes of production, not only in industry but also in agriculture, through a sea-change of technology and attitudes and approaches of the people, which will generate vast employment opportunities.

The wrong notions, illusions and fears that modern technology would cause widespread unemployment and check up the employment potential of the industry and agriculture, should be dispelled. Unemployment is not a result of technological progress or a product of mo 'ern methods of working. Technology, in fact, increases employment opportunities.

Acceleration of capital formation and investment, and improving the incentives to private investment through a liberal extention of credit facilities, lowering of interest rates, the provision of special tax incentives, and promotion of industrial research, and development of new industries etc. also should form an important part of the national employment policy to be formulated soon.

It is highly desirable that a carefully planned reserve of public works projects should be undertaken both by the central and state governments, and local bodies, should be prepared so that they can be immediately carried out into operation whenever the occasion arises.

While rasorting to public investment in order to maintain a high level of employment, a distinction has to be made very carefully between the long term projects of national importance, for accelerating the productive activity of the country, and the short term projects designed primarily to relieve the pressure of unemployment on the economy.

Though the problem of unemployment is very closely related to the economic and fiscal policies, savings, investment, consumption etc. the policy of the state towards labour and payment of wages, and the rise in the emoluments of the working classes also plays a predominant role in solving the unemployment problem. A judicious choice has to be made between a higher level of employment with lower level of wages for the time being and a lower level of employment with a higher level of wages. If we give preference to a high

level of wages we will be deliberately allowing the employment opportunities to be choked off.

We are facing a crisis of inefficiency in our country. The magnitude of inefficiency, incompetence, waste, lethargy, corruption, bribery, nepotism, favourtism, red-tapism, and bureaucratic checks to progress in our State Enterprises is so gigantic that it is eating into vitals of our economic life and the very edifice of our economic planning and development is about to be rooted out, let alone providing more jobs, which is one of the lofty aims of the expansion of the public sector in India. Accomplishment of physical targets, rather than those of outlay is an important task. Ploughing back the profits of the State Enterprises and enlarging the sources of our productive activity will certainly provide more job opportunities. We have to improve the efficiency, productivity and profit earning capacity of our public sector undertakings, if we want to provide more employment.

We must dovetail our industrial agricultural and other economic development policies with our employment policy. A high rate of growth in employment can be achieved only by a high rate of investment and accelerating the pace of economic development. We have to reorient our five year plans with an employment bias and our philosophy, strategy, structure and approach to the economic development should be employment oriented.

There should be a radical change in the entire educational system and programmes of instruction and the courses of learning should be more and more vocationalised. We must give a professional and vocational touch to our education programmes. The whole pattern of our education should be employment oriented. A lot of research needs to be conducted to reach our goal.

A national employment policy also demands a purposeful and conscious co-ordination among central and state Governments, among different ministries of the Central and State Levels involved in and concerned with the development programmes and between the public and private sectors, and official and non official agencies.

Every one of these agencies individually and all of them collectively have to be development cum-employment oriented in their outlook and attitude and their investment policies have to be formulated with a focus on the employment they can create.

Employment should not be regarded as the exclusive concern of the Ministry of Labour and Employment, but of every other Ministry and of every development and production sector—industrial, agricultural, transport, railways or social services, etc. As suggested by Mr. David Morse, former Director General of the I. L. O. "We should encourage the use of labour intensive techniques of agricultural and industrial production whenever it is economically feasible to do so."

The mid 1968 population of India was as much as 524 millions and with the annual average growth rate of 2.6 percent, population of India as on today can be very safely estimated at 600 millions. Despite the pious intentions and best efforts, population has kept on increasing. The unprecedented increase in population, and of the significant factors responsible for the alarming growth of unemployment in our country, should be checked more vigorously, through a massive nation wide campaign of family planning. Otherwise the gap between employment potential of the economic growth and the continuously increasing number of new entrants into the labour market can never be filled up.

THE FATHER OF INDIAN ETHNOLOGY

Dr. R. M. SARKAR

Dr. J. H. Hutton, the reputed scholar of Indian society and culture, in his Presidential Address to the Indian Anthropological Society, held at Calcutta on the January, 1938, described Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy as the "Father of Indian Ethnology". The extensive work done by Roy attracted the attention of so many scholars as those opened up many new vistas in the study of arthropology in India. The name Sarat Chandra Roy is inextricably interwoven with the development of anthropology in this country. He was first Indian to deliver a course of Readership lectures at an Indian University on anthropology and its scope (Fatna University Readership Lectures in 1920). Roy started his life as a lawyer and dle to his ardent love for humanity he became a successful anthropologist, and was actively associated with this branch of science upto the day of his taking departure from this world. The birth centenary of Roy was to be celebrated on the 4th of November 1971 by scholars throughout the world. We consider it is our prime duty to focus a few points of interests of this gigantic personality in the arthropological world to pay our homage to him.

Sarat Chandra Roy took his education upto the B. L. standard in Calcutta and started his legal career in 1897 in the 24-Parganas District Court at Alipur, Calcutta. But after one year he came to Ranchi and joined the Judicial Commissioner's Court there and in no time he became a reputed lawyer by virtue of his intellectual ability, profound interest, power of keen observation and above all, love for the down-trodden communities. From the very

beginning of his legal profession Roy was very much moved by the hardships and tyranny suffered by the tribal communities in the Chotanagpur region at the hands of the outsiders. Roy was shocked to see that the tribal people did not receive real justice from the administrative and judicial authorities due to their total ignorance about the tribal customs and traditions. At this Roy could not sit idle. His heart-felt sympathy towards these people compelled him to come down to the door steps of the tribal communities. He devoted himself fully to the study of their. language, religion, customs and manners. First of all, he went among the Mundas and engaged himself in the study of their agrarian history and other allied features of their day to day life. In 1912 the work saw the light of the day and it was entitled as "The Mundas and their Country". The book mentioned brought a revolution in the field of anthropological study and researches. Each and every line of the book reflected the sincerity and deep insight of the author in his attempt to understand the social system and culture of the tribal people. Right from 1912 to 1937 he wrote five monographs on the Mundas (1912), the Oraons (1915), the Birhors (1925), the Hill Bhuiyas (1935), and the Khariass (1937). The last one was written in collaboration with his son, R.C. Roy. All these works brought him world wide reputation were regarded as invaluable and these treasures not only by the anthropologists but also by the administrators of the country.

Sarat Chandra Roy did not conduct his research for the sake of research only. After bringing out the way of living of the different

ribal communities of Chotanagpur, he tried is level best to look into their rights and rivileges. He also kept a careful watch over he fact that the different applications of the aw of the country might not affect the life and thoughts of the tribal people whose life was conditioned by customs, taboos and superstitious beliefs. In the midst of his field investigation Roy was able to infuse new spirit and new outloook in them. So Roy's anthropological study was based on his ardent love for humanity and that was why he became quite successful in his approaches to the study of man.

Roy was confident of the many sided possibilities of anthropology and he pleaded for its proper establishment in the administrative as well as in the academic levels. He showed that the administration of justice in some of the tribal areas had gone against the interest of the people in spite of the best intentions of the judges and the magistrates. Roy pointed out the policy of the Government in East Africa where special anthropological officers were appointed to administer the tribal areas. All the administrative officers connected with the administration of the tribal areas had to go through an anthropological training. But in India nothing had been done of this nature except the ethnological surveys in Assam and the sanctioning of occasional grants from the government for conducting ethnological studies through some societies like the Bihar and Orissa Research Society and the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Those were very insignificant in comparison with the vast field of work. In his Presidential address to the Sixth Oriental Congress held at Patna, in 1930, Roy expressed his utmost regret for not including anthropology in the curricula of studies by most of the Universities in India though the different aspects of the life and culture of India was badly in need of anthropological study and researches.

Roy's scholastic trend of mind, untiring effort, and deep-rooted interest in anthropological study led him to the jungle infested regions of Chotanagpur plateau where the aboriginal folk were passing their days in the midst of nature. As an ethnographer Roy was quite successful from the very beginning. He was able to enter into the core of the aboriginal societies and became a man of their own. He was not unsuccessful in sharing their joys and sorrows, hopes and desires of life. The voluminous monographs on the five tribes of Chotanagpur and Orissa reflect the above fact. He focussed a new light in the history, culture and society of Chotanagpur which had illuminated not only the field of anthropology in India but also the kingdom of knowledge. It is really surprising how such voluminous works have been executed by a single person with other multifarious activities. It is for this reason Roy is a wonder in the anthropological field: he created a miracle. Besides the monographic studies on the tribes Roy wrote a number of authentic articles on folklore and showed that the study of folklore revealed many interesting facts of the society. Being influenced by the works of the Folklore Society of London, Roy had pleaded for the development of that branch of study in India as the Indian society and culture were highly influenced by folklore at every step of the journey in life. He emphasised that "our female folk particularly those of the older generation in all grades of society, not to speak of men and women of the more backward and unenlightened classes of our popultion, may be said to live in a atmosphere of folklore from cradle to the grave". Roy attracted the attention of the students engaged in the collection of folklore towards the rich store houses of the ancient Indian traditions as contained in the defferent Purgnas and the Mahabharata. He realised the need

analysing these traditional thoughts and ideas in a scientific way to understand the different principles of society and culture. He himself collected a large number of folk-rites, folksongs, folk-customs and folk-stories from Chotanagour and tried to analyse all the items of folklore found there as he believed that "an intensive and comparative study of folklore will enable us not only to construct a living picture of the folk life and folk mind of the past, but will also reveal to us the present folk life and folk ways of thinking of the people concerned". Roy was a keen observer and analytical in his approach. He has shown how he was able to explore famous prehistoric site which was characterised by large brickbuilt buildings, profusion of iron slag, copper and bronze ornaments etc. at Chotanagpur region with the help of the Munda cosmogony collected by him in course of his work among the Mundas.

In the year 1921 Roy started a quarterly journal, Man In India, devoted to the anthropological and folkloristic study and researches in India. The very name of the journal is unique in itself and it reveals Roy's inventive A library of anthropological literatures was also established at his residence at Ranchi, It was also named as "Man In India Library". In course of time it became a place of pilgrimage to the anthropologists of different countries. The journal is still identifying itself as one of the best of its kind in the anthropological field. Roy was actively, connected with another institute named "Bihar and Orissa Research Society" since its inception at Patna. He used to contribute feequently authentic articles of diversified nature to the Journal of the Society. The museum of the Society is heavily indebted to him for the rich collection of ethnographic and archaeological materials.

Roy was similarly well-versed and interested in physical anthropology. In his lectures at Patna University he chose the principles and methods of physical anthropology as the subject-matter of the same. He left no stone

unturned to simplify the different themes of physical anthropology for the understanding of the students and the laymen. In this field also he tried to explain the various principles of physical anthropology in the background of Indian thoughts and ideas. He put forward the ideas contained in the Puranas in relation to the creation of man and then tried to corelate the different facts of evolutionary theory as laid down by the physical anthropologists. All the events of physical anthropology were analysed from the philosophical standpoint. While commenting on the book Sir James Frazer said, "I admire the range of your knowledge and intellectual interest.....there is no book on the same broad philosophical lines in English".

Roy received due honour and recognition as a learned scholar and a philanthrophist from the different parts of the country. In 1920 he was elected the Honorary Member of the Folklore Society of London and he was the first Indian to get such an honour. He was elected the President of the Anthropology and Archaeology section of the Indian Science Congress in the same year. Then in 1932 and also in 1933 he was elected the President of the Antropology and Folklore section of the All India Oriental Conference. The Council of Honour of the International Congress of the Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences elected him member. He was a Foundation Fellow of the National Institute of Sciences in India and also of the Patna University. Earlier to these Government of India awarded him "Kaiser-i-Hind" Silver Medel in the year 1913 as a mark of recognition of his literary contri-butions; and then in the year 1919 he was awarded the title "Rai Bahadur" for his public

activities.

Roy's life and works give impetus to scholars, students and laymen. The love for mankind made him a renowned figure in the science of man, and through his painstaking study and researches he was able to give Indian Anthropology a particular shape. Indian Anthropology owes a special debt to Sarat Chandra Roy.

THE SUPER EGO

ADARSHVADI BHATTACHARYA

The later part of Freud's work lay in an immense extension and elaboration of his early ideas. Apart from applying them to elucidation of the mechanism of the Psychoneuroses and psychoses. Freud applied these ideas to such normal processes as slips of the tongue, making jokes, artistic creation, political institutions and religions. These ideas were instrumental in throwing fresh light on many applied sciences—Archeology, Anthropology, Criminology, Education, and also served to demonstrate the effectiveness of psycho-analytic therapy. Freud erected on the basis of these elementary observations a theoretical superstructure namely, 'Metapsychology' of more general concepts which, he always insisted, were in the nature of provisional hypotheses. Quite late in his life being influenced by the ambiguity of the term 'Unconscious' and its many conflicting uses, he proposed a new structural account of the mind in which the uncoordinated instinctual trends were called the ID, the organized realistic part EGO, and the critical and the moralizing function the SUPER-EGO-a new account leading to clarification of many issues.

This Super-Ego has now become a fundamental conception and it is quite appropriate to state that the Freudian Analyst discovers in every patient some trouble with the SUPER-EGO. The theory of the maladjustment of the EGO to the SUPER-EGO seems to be a satisfactory explanation of many things. It is, for example, a common experience that the student who is a problem to teachers was similar problem to parents and will be so to employers. Ruler-subject

relations and behaviour conform to this pattern. Both acceptance and revolt are equally irrational. Dr. William Brown of Oxford University described the acceptance of dictatorship as the handing over of the SUPER-EGO. Different types of Government emerge from different attitudes to the SUPER-EGO; and so revolutions and wars are not caused wholly by economic or political forces. Plutarch tells us that Caesar, before crossing the Rubicon, dreamed that he lay with his mother and he was horrified. That explains his outraging Rome, and his rolling down the temple to propitiate Nemesis. If his Ego had been better adjusted to the Super-Ego, the course of history might have been different and the same, beyond doubt, can be said of Shakespeare evidently understood Brutus. the psychology of that rebellion. Indeed the lasting masterpieces of literature like 'Oedipus' 'Macbeth', and 'Crime and Punishment' depict the ambivalant urge towards the Super-Ego. Considered thus, no branch of knowledge is unaffected by the theory of the Super-Ego.

As a person who continually carries out changes in the house he lives in fails to perceive how the original plan is altered, Freud modified the theory with which he started whenever he saw any thing remarkable in his clinic without realising how psychoanalysis was getting a new orientation.

Over ten years after curing a girl of hysteria, Breur and Freud, in 1893, presented their theory in Repression, and which was in 1895, more fully and rigidly formulated in in 'Studies on Hysteria'. The main theory is that painful sexual memories are repressed

into the unconscious, and that their recall to consciousness affects the cure. Subsequent experience made vast inroads on this theory from all sides. It was found that the mere recall affected no cure, that cures could be effected without the recall, that ideas remaining in consciousness could produce symptoms, that repressed ideas were not found during analysis and were often mere fantasies. Many of the followers of Freud continued to talk of mind as a building with two storeys, conscious and unconscious; but Freud abandoned the hcrizontal division for the vertical postulated a Super-Ego to explain repression and recognised that portions of Ego and Super-Ego were unconscious and explained all the mental phenomenon as dynamic irteraction of the Ego, the Super-Ego and the Id. Psycho-analysis has been shorn of much of its startling novelty. Herbert observed long before Freud that two ideas could repress a third out of consciousness. Inhibition as competition between reaction systems is a concept very much in harmony with the findings of the Gestalt School. To Freud, kowever, goes the credit of having formulated a really dynamic conception of life. Persona-Lity as conceived by Freud is doubly dynamic; it is not a functional whole with interacting parts; the parts themselves are moving and changing. Freud has traced the transformations of the instincts. It seems to me, however, that his account of the Super-Ego betrays insufficient grasp of the dynamic and integeral nature of personality. This may be partly due to the fact that, to make himself intelligible, he spoke in terms of spatial and temporal allegory; but the flaw seems to be more radical.

Freud looked upon the Super-Ego as an intruder. It was supposed to 'appear thus: towards the end of infancy, the child identifies himself with the father and thus sets within

himself a substitute for the parental threats and prohibitions. "The Super-Ego is the successor and representative of the parents... ... it perpetuates their functions almost without a change." (Moses p. 184). Freud denies an innate dynamic Super-Ego. "Conscious is no doubt something within us, but it was not there from the beginning." (New Introductory Lectures, p. 84.)

The first defect of this theory is that it ignores the anxiety that childern experience before the period of Oedipus conflict. Freud originally believed that repression caused anxiety, and anixety, neurosis; but he now recognises that "the anxiety was there first and creates the repression." (New Introductory Lectures, p. 113). It is not therefore the external father but the innate anxiety that gives rise to the Super-Ego. This anxiety does not seem to be different in kind from the anxiety felt in the preceeding period of the child's development. If we trace sex back to the period when love of self-preservation can be regarded as sexual, we can trace fear also back to the same period when impulses seem to be undifferentiated. The Super-Ego is no less than sex.

The anxiety which causes the repression is not generated by the father; he is merely an object on whom the anxiety is projected at one stage. The association is fortuitious. A study of the dreams of children shows that the earliest representative of the Super-Ego is the uncle who is never seen along with the mother. If the Oedipus Complex plays a pivotal role, how is this to be explained? Again a child who has never seen his father develops the Super-Ego all the same; and the Super-Ego of the boy who has lived with his father does not resemble the father. The father is idealised. In the dreams of one of my acquaintances his father had the qualities of Raja Ram Mohun Roy The innate was for --- !-

directed first towards the father and since "anything arising from within must transform itself into the external perceptions to become conscious" (cf Moses, p. 156), the father becomes the symbol of value. Thereafter the same symbol is used to indicate new values, just as emigrants called a portion of America New England. Unintelligent analysis attaches importance to the static symbol, but the father discovered through analysis is really the urge which makes a man identify himself with perfection whether it appears in father, teacher, healer, or ruler.

The fire association method leads back to the occasion when a symbol was first formed, but the key to the mystry of personality does not lie wholly in the past. It is on the eve of the examinations the students fall ill, send telegrams to parents, dream of crawling snakes, dream of missing trains or of being told "Too late to enter the examination hall", or "No Vacancy". The past occasion when the different symptoms were formed are not more significant than the present circumstances which has made them active again. Life being dynamic, there is the need of continual revision of values or ideals. A static Super-Ego betokens a stagnation in the realm of values. "Normally", says Freud, "the Super-Ego is constantly becoming more and more remote from original parents" (New Introductory Lectures, p. 87).

The revision of ideals is necessitated not so much by external environments as by the unfolding of new instincts. A sacred book of the Hindus, the 'Durgasaptasati', contains evidently an account of the triumph of the ideal over the lower nature. The changing quality of the Ego ideal or the Super-Ego is made clear therein. For example the Rajasic nature which is the conquerring godlike ideal of the second part is treated in the third part as demonic quality which has to be conquered

Passive enjoyment and by Satvic nature. active aggression are stages which are outgrown when the hunger for knowledge appears. There are levels of integeration, vegetative, zoological and psychological. The man who renounces sense enjoyment and aggression and takes to intellectual or cultural activity is not seeking a substitute satisfaction any more than a flower is a substitute for leaves. The theories of repression sublimation need drastic revision. The Super-Ego is not an intruder which twists and tortures life; it enables man to follow his true nature and to develop that social life which alone affords scope for his finer faculties. It is to the credit of Freud that he recognises the biological value of the Super-Ego.

The above objection to the theory of sublimation may be put in another way. The analyst interprets the patriotic love of one's country as a substitute for the sexual love of one's mother, because he thinks that the sex instinct has its own fund of energy, and that other activities before they can draw upon this fund, must disguise themselves so as to pass for substitutes. Biological evidence does not support this. Even when an instinct is localised—Freud is not-energy earmarked for it, then a portion of the brain of a dog was removed, the remaining portion took over the function of the lost part. As Dr. Lundholm puts it, the differentiation of connotation into instinctive impulses does not constitute a metamorphosis of energy, an individualisation of energy, into a number of kinds. It is wrongly assumed that the energy released by the removal of a fixation belonged to it; but life, like light becomes perceptible when kindled, and so what analysts dissect is not life but its obstruction. All thwarted cravings. owing to our peculiar conditions, speak the language of sex; but all

the energy does not belong to it. To understand any instinct we must consider it in relation to all the other vital functions. The Super-Ego, then, is not entity but a function of the whole personality.

It is what we usually call adjustment to Maladjustment therefore is environment. not traceable to the Super-Ego only; it is a d sturbance of the whole personality. The general belief that neurosis is the tyranny of the Super-Ego over the Ego needs modification. The commands of the Super-Ego are indeed harsh, but the Ego in return expects protection. Just after the earthquakes, when another was predicted by astrologers, goats were sacrificed at some of the temples of tells us that similar Varanasi. Marshall behaviour was also observed during Los Angeles and Crimean Earthquakes. Rites of some such kind were performed during the Ashtagraha throughout the length and breadth of the country in early 1962. Life, house and wife protected in return for a goat is no bad bargain. Savages obey the king but they also expect him to control the rain. In all these cases the tyranny, if any, is of the Lgo over the Super-Ego. In other words, all the inner entities are inextricably interrelated.

Hence arises the need to modify the conception of identification: we say that the child identifies itself with the father or the Ego with the Super-Ego, but the facts are not so simple. A spectator who is said to identify with the hero, while witnessing a play either on the screen or on the stage, identifies with other characters also. What we call Hamlet or Othello or Macbeth or Iago is a complex

tension experienced by the spectator. The behaviour of Rama, Dasaratha, Sita, Hanuman and Lakshmana towards one another shows the curbing of impulses which clash with social needs, and the parts of the reader's mind reproduce this attitude to the Super-Ego. Such identification implies conflict and that explains criticism like "I hate that character," or "I adore that character".

This throws some light on one experience. As patients become more and more normal, the conflict between the Super-Ego, and the Ego and Id tends to disappear. These two appear like opposite poles of a magnet : the violence of one implies equal violence of the other in the opposite direction. This suggests not merely life as the dynamic interaction of independent structures. Repression is not blocking of one mental factor by another separate entity, but the interplay of different aspects of identification. Freud's theory of ambivalance or of Thanatos and Eros, and Jung's theory of introversion and extroversion fit in with this interpretation. The aspects of an identification will inhibit each other by turns so long as the identification is incomplete; but when the identification is complete the opposition will disappear for identification, for identification is the psychological expression of the principle of unity. This argument, pushed to its logical limits, will point to the fundamental unity of all life. If this is correct, and if our assumption that the Super-Ego represents the function call adjustment is also correct, the normal fully developed Super-Ego or conscience ought to be a consciousness of the unity of life.

Current Affairs

Prisoners' Death in Fights with Warders

It has become quite common for Prisoners in the jails of West Bengal to get involved in fights with the warders or other prison guards, and many prisoners are declared to have died due to firing or lathi charges by the armed men who guard the jails. In one year according to press reports 50 persons have been thus killed in the jails. In December 1970, 8 prisoners got killed in Midnapore jail, in February 1971 9 in Behrampur jail, in May 1971 15 in Dum Dum Central Jail, in July 1971 in 6 persons in Alipur Special Jail and 9 persons in August 1971 in Asansol Jail where 6 more have now lost their lives. . Many persons have been seriously injured, so that chances are the death roll may go higher. The usual reasonscited by the authorities are attempts to escape by prisoners, attacks on warders or resistance against enforcement of rules and regulations. But press reports very seldom give any satisfactory answers to questions like why did the warders come to blows with the prisoners so often; how is it that the prisoners can make such well organised attempts at escape as requires firing by the guards to stop the attempts and what are the rules and regulations which are so strongly disliked by the prisoners that they risk being shot rather than obey them peacefully. In short, when more than 50 young persons lose their lives within about 12 months, the matter must be taken as very serious and the public should be told more about it than just the fact of so many persons getting killed as a result of a clash with warders or when attemping to scale the outer wall of such and such jail: Quite often the persons who get killed are just detained without trial. That makes their death due to action taken by armed guards a delicate matter in so far as persons who have not been convicted of any crime must be considered to be innocent at law. They should be looked after more carefully by the Government than be left at the tender mercies of the jail warders or guards. It is very well known that government employees of low rank are usually more autocratic and aggressive in their dealings with the public. They could be quite obnoxious at times in their behaviour with prisoners unless duly controlled by senior officers. They have also been known to extort money from prisoners at times for granting favours to them. One would not like to put the blame on the warders and guards either without proper enquiry; nor would one like to accept these press reports of killings of prisoners without demanding full enquiry into the cases by high ranking and competent persons. We have been getting used to manslaughter everywhere in West Bengal due to the introduction of murder politics during recent months by the political parties of the state. This is a sign of great social degradation and we should try to recover a civilised outlook by expressing a strong feeling of abhorence of all killings of human beings. All persons who kill or aid and abet killing of human beings must be made to face thorough enquiries into their conduct, no matter if they are jail warders, prison guards or volunteers of political parties.

Our Brave Soldiers

Now that the fourteen day Indo-Pakistan

war is over, people are finding opportunity to look at the facts of this fast moving many act drama of fierce and heroic thrusts for vital objectives, in which thousands gave their lives and many more suffered serious injuries. Our soldiers and the volunteers of the Mukti Behini of Bangla Desh, who helped our men to reach and capture the enemy concentration centres, one after another, in a sure and certain manner; performed deeds of great valour, time and again, and they created military history by defeating decisively a very well armed enemy in superbly fortified positions, in their own terrain, within two weeks. Entire divisions of enemy soldiers were forced to capitulate by the awe inspiring lunges that our tank corps and air force made followed by the swift advance of our indomitable Jawans who knew no fear and ignored all obstacles.

When we study the lists of the soldiers who have been decorated by the Indian government, we find the names of top-ranking officers, junior commissioned officers and so diers of other ranks alongside of one another; thus proving that in the fight they all took an equal part in the deadly struggle. Another thing that comes out by a study of these lists of recipients of awards, is the fact that the army, the navy and the air force are all fully represented in those lists. at acks on Karachi, Chittagong and Chalna, carried out by the Indian Navy were as spectacular and precisely pin pointed as were the numerous sorties made by the Indian Air Fcrce which destroyed enemy air fields, fortifications and mighty armoured formations. The Indian army using anti-aircraft guns, m ssiles and rockets along with automatic weapons held back and dispersed all enemy at acks everywhere. They advanced with the help of our India made tanks and destroyed the allegedly better equipped American and

Chinese tanks used by the enemy, in great numbers. It will not be out of place to mention that our Gnat fighter-planes are also India made and have proved their ability to shoot down American Sabre-Jets' Star Fighters and Chinese built MIGs. All experts however say that the most powerful weap on the Indians had were the men of the Indian Army, Navy and Air Force whose morale, single minded determination to win and mastery of technique proved to be unique and incomparable.

Elections in all States

The announcement by the Government that Elections will be held in all States of India in February and March 1972 has put a stop to the propaganda that some political parties constantly carry on demanding early elections. Elections are historically a democratic institution. By elections the people choose their lawful representatives, who, after elections, rule the country in the peoples' behalf. But there are many political parties. which make use of elections for the purpose of making elections unnecessary once political power is captured by these undemocratic organisations. They make use of democracy with a view to destroy democracy. Eut theirpropaganda had always been such as would. attract members to their parties. wages and bonus to workers, easy examinations and cent. per cent. passes for students, no classes and high salaries to teachers, nopayment of rents to tenants, total freedom tosteal, loot, burn down places and so forth for all anti-social types—such programs cannot fail to attract a large following. Of course thesewere only baits to make a good catch. Once caught, the need for attracting followers would no longer be there and the subjects of the-New Society would soon discover that the new arrangement was all for taking from the people and very little for giving back to them. This type of exploitative socialism is all right.

for the party leaders but not for the common people. Our people are slowly beginning to discover the true nature of various types of socialism. The ideal type is no doubt that which enables people to live better than they could under any other system. But the realities of life have no meaning when put side by side with ideological fancies or fantasies, which guide the activities of the political parties.

One might think that dissociation from realities is a particular characteristic of the so called leftist groups which are by and large connected with the communist organisations of the world. But it is not so. Almost all political groups in India have more fads and fancies than purposeful connections with economic and historical facts. They first pick meaningful like "Socialism". words "Nationalism", "Indian" and so forth, and then proceed to modify the meanings to suit their own peculiar wishes and desires. Socialism has now come to stand for a system of state capitalism controlled entirely by state employed bureaucrats. It has not, as a result been of much advantage to the ordinary members of society. Nationalism has been given different meanings by different groups and even the term Indian has not the same meaning to all political party men. usual methods followed by the political parties is to make promises to the voters or to indulge in strong criticism of the established order with a view to sponsor the idea that a change of government was an essential need of the hour. The people of the country are not satisfied because there are not enough jobs, nor any satisfactory supply of consumer goods, housing, cheap medical arrangements, good schools and properly conducted services like telephones, posts and telegraphs, railways, road transport and all that are required to make a nation happy. There are

therefore endless scope for making false promises and not much hope of bringing proper living conditions within the reach of the voting population by recitals from the teachings of Marx, Lenin, Gandhi or Mao t'se Tung. Dissatisfaction has become a prime factor in the psychology of the masses and there have now come into existence numerous sects in politics which vie with one another in suggesting and preaching fantastically worked out plans of solving the nation's problems.

One may also refer to the vices that have crept into our elections. Long before the day of the election comes the political party agents get busy creating voters who do not exist. The falsely entered names are used by fake voters to increase the number of supporters for particular candidates. Other agents find out the names of voters who are dead or have left the areas in which their names had been entered. They thereafter send persons to vote in the name of these dead or absent voters. There are other false voters who go to the booths very early and cast votes in the name of the real voters, who later turn up to discover that "they" have already cast their votes. These malpractices are slowly converting our democracy into a farce. And nobody is doing much to put a stop to these immoral methods of securing votes for the reason that almost all political parties make use of these methods. Cards of identity for voters had been suggested more than once with noresponse from the bureaucrats or the political parties.

Now when the new elections face the country and all political parties are getting busy mustering their forces, the usual propaganda will begin, as well as the finalisation of the various methods that will be used to secure votes. The public will accept their own chosen leaders of this or that party as the saviours of the state without reference to

the factual details of the saving program. If it is creating more jobs, no party has any workable scheme for employing several million persons. If it is the establishment of the rights of the people; no party knows much about the rights of free men in free societies. All parties specialise in the abolition of rights. Either, of the princes or of the shareholders of companies, or of the owners of large houses. As a nation building program, such smash and grap tactics of economic reforms can not be hailed with delight by careful and cautious students of social progress and institutional conso idation.

War Lords All

A very active factor in modern politics is the question of armed forces commanding civilians or, alternatively the civilians directing and dictating to the generals. Some countries like Russia have palace intrigues over these matters of who will give orders to whom; while other "nations" who are crude in origin and undeveloped in their political and economic structure like Pakistan have brazenly established military dictatorships. There are others who do not permit the creation of any clearly visible autocrats and carry on their governments apparently in a constitutional manner. The powers that be remain behind the scene and do not come out in the open. But, whoever rules whatever country it has now become a fashion with all spokesmen of all states to use military rhetoric when they express publicly their intentions relating to other states which are not friendly to announcer's country. Thus we find newspapers innocently reproducing Zulficar Ali Bhutto's declarations about carrying on a 1000 years war after the ignominious defeat of the Pakistan army in their 14 days war against India and the liberation forces of Bangla Desh.

Bhutto also announced his intention of taking "revenge". Being a born clown this Pakistan diguitary does not realise when his words amuse rather than intimidate.

There are other war lords too who declare Zihads or issue orders to other people knowing full well that they have no ability nor any genuine intention to get involved in a fight. Some Arab countries which declared Zihad against India and Bangla Desh, forgot that they had between them less than a brigade of soldiers and about 25 obsolete aircraft to carryout their warlike intentions, and alsothat Bangla Desh was a Muslim majority country and that Indians had gone there tosave the Muslims more than anybody else. President Sadat is another war lord who wants to "strike" the Israelis in a vital spot. But he also does not know the location of the vital spot and has not much resources to carry out his ideas. China is really ruled by a warlord; but he is involved in such internecine clashes of interests that he can hardly orderanyone to do anything other than protect him. and his followers within their own home land. The United States of America wants to teach lessons to some and give lessons to others. But those who are to be taught a lesson proverecalcitrant and refuse to be taught. Those whom the USA wish to brainwash and teach how to become an obliging colony of the United States appear to prefer their own freedom and refuse to be taught any degrading lessons in subscrvience. So, war lords are in. good supply but have little demand in the world's free markets. In India we have nowar lords; but we have vested interests among which the most noticeable are the bureaucrats. who want to rule, to control and to decide all economic issues. That is a threat to ournational freedom.

RIGHT TO PROPERTY AND THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

NIRMALENDU BIKASH RAKSHIT

Indian Parliament has recently introduced the constitution (25th Amendment) Bill with a view to making a sweeping modification of the Right to property. The issue involves a number of serious problems which need a careful analysis.

Scholars and jurists have almost been polarised in two different schools of thought. Some people think that Right to Property should be constitutionally recognised but not made legally enforceable. This means that citizens may possess their property but this right must give way to the preponderant need of special justice. The other school thinks that the right to property should be abolished altogether. It goes without saying, however, that both of these views are inconsistent with the original intention of the makers of the constitution.

Guaranteed Right:

Art, 19(i) (f) guarantees all citizens right to acquire, hold and dispose of property. But, this right is not absolute. Act 19(5) empowers the state to make laws imposing reasonable restriction on the exercise of this right in the interest of the general public or for the protection of the interests of any scheduled tribe.

Art. 31 stipulates that no person shall be deprived of his property save by authority of law. And, Art. 31 (2) provides that no property shall be compulsorily acquired or requisitioned save for a public purpose and save by authority of a law which provides for compensation for the property so acquired or requisitioned. This means that a property may be acquired or requisitioned on three conditions: that there is a public purpose, that there is an enabling law and

that the law provides for compensation. The constitution, thus, makes room for state-interference with the right to property on the criteria of 'eminent domain',

Social Justice :

The constitution, however, incorporates a number of directive principles in chapter IV, in order to secure social justice in India. This chapter clearly indicates that the makers intended to strike a balance between the individual rights and social claim. Fundamental rights should not be, as the constitution suggests, viewed in isolation but should be considered in the broad context of social justice. Thus, Art. 38 says; The state shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting, as effectively as it may, a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life. Similarly, Art. 39 intends that the ownership control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good.

But the makers knew that the realisation of these principles would require a gestation period. Hence, these principles have been made under Art. 37, nonenforceable so that the governments are not embarrassed by judicial pronouncement.

Judicial Review:

But Art. 32 provides for guaranteed remedies for enforcement, by the supreme court, of the Fundamental Rights. It is significant that the right to move the court has itself been made a right in the Indian constitution. Moreover, an aggrieved person may even move the High Courts, under Act

226, for the enforcement of his rights. Under Art. 13(2), again, all legislative enactments must be consistent with the fundamental rights and any conflicting law is liable to invalidation by judicial decisions.

These Articles, thus, provide for judicial review of legislative enactments. As Kania, C. J. held in the case of Gopalan V. state of Macras; 'As regards future legislation, the Fundamental rights in Part III have to be respected and unless otherwise saved by the provisions of the constitution, they will be void tc the extent they contravene the provision of Part III. So, Sastri, J., observed in the case of Row V. state of Madras that the judges had been made the sentinel of the fundamental rights in India. As Bose, J., hale in the case of Ram Singh V State of Delai: it is our privilege and duty to see that fundamental rights which are intended be fundamental are kept fundamental and to see further that neither parliament nor the executive exceed the bounds within which ther are confined by the constitution.....'

50, the Fundamental right is placed on a higher pedestal than the directive principles. As Das J., observed in the case of Champakam V, state of Madras, 'The directive priciples of state policy have to conform to and run as subsidiary to the chapter of fundamental rights.'

In 1950, however, the Patna High Court set aside the Bihar Land Reforms Act on the gound that the impugned act violated Art. 14 of the constitution regarding the payment of compensation. While the appeals from similar cases were still pending in the Supreme Court, the First Amendment Bill was passed. According to Alexandrowicz, to sweep the rights aside to facilitate the enactment of social welfare when the ink of the constitution was hardly dry created an unfortunate precedent. Two new Articles-31A and 31B—were, however, added together with a new schedule

containing all state laws regarding land reform. So, S. C. Dash very cogently remarks thet these two Articles not only displayed a degree of intolerance towards the judiciary but also denied any right to property to the landed estate-owners.

The Supreme, Court, of course, directly raised the question of compensation in the case of Bela Banerjee V. The State of West Bengal.

In order to nullify the decision of the supreme court, Fourth Amendment of the constitution was needed by the government. Art. 31(2) as originally enacted was replaced by a new clause and a proviso was inserted making the amount of compensation nonjusticeable. The net effect of this amendment was that the government could take away any property by paying compensation of an amount more than zero. Thus, as Dr. Pylee points out since his amendment, right to property cannot be regarded as a right proper.

Prof. D. N. Banerjee criticises the fourth Amendment on various grounds:

- 1. He argues that the amendment making parliament supreme in the determination of amount of compensation is repugnant to the original intention of the constitution-makers.
- 2. According to the amendment, Parliament may pay an amount more than zero for a land acquired or requisitioned and hence the right to property as originally guaranteed in the constitution is largely abrogated.
- 3. He, then, points out that the tremendous authority arrogated by parliament might be misused.
- 4. The right to-property lost constitutional guarantee since the fourth amendment.
- 5. He finally argues that the fourth amendment is based on the logic that the directive priciples are superior to the Fundamental Rights. But the actual constitutional position is just the reverse.

In 1963, again, Right to porperty had been subjected to a further amendment which enlarged the definition of the word estate to include various types of land.

But yet the court has not remained a passive onlooker. In Vajravelu case and Metal Corporation case the Court again raised the question of compensation. Thus, according to the court, compensation meant 'just equivalent and full indemnification of the expropriated owner' even after the 4th amendment. In Bank nationalisation case, the court has again raised the question of compensation and one of the grounds on which it has been quashed is the illegitimate paying method ofthe compensation. Mr. Justice Roy, in his dissent, however, observed that the Court could not raise the question of compensation as it was parliament which was the legally competent body to decide the issue.

Perhaps this is only the correct interpretation of the constitutional right to property. Moreover the court, in the recent privy case, seems to have strained the interpretation of the constitution and extended the scope of the right to property.

Proposed Amendment:

Now the government, due to its professedly socialistic outlook, has proposed a a further amendment of right to property. The proposed constitution (25th Amendment) Bill intends to incorporate a new clause—31(c). It, further, intends to replace the term 'compensation' by the word 'amount'. This means that the payable amount and the principle of payment for the acquisition or requisition of property will be settled by

Parliament and shall remain outside the purview of the judiciary.

Conclusion:

The government is evidently determined to curtail the right to property with a view to materializing the directive principles. But such amendment obviously frustrates the original intention of the makers who realised that a balance between the individual right and social claim was essential. They themselves provided for such a balance which is now likely to be disrupted by the governmental zeal. As the original constitution snggests, Fundamental rights cannot be curtailed at all even with a view to improving the lot of the majority. As the majority of the Judges held in Golaknath's case, 'If it is a duty of parliament to enforce the directive principles, it is equally its duty to do so without infringing upon the Fundamental rights. The constitution makers thought that it could be done and we also think':

Justice Sarjoo Prasad thinks that a lot of social good is possible even within the framework of the existing constitution. And, Subba Rao very aptly remarks that the state by its successive infringement upon the Fundamental Rights-especially that to propertyis assuming a totalitarian character. admit that the need of the vast masses is of paramount consideration. But the individual cannot be victimised at the altar of social uniformity. No doubt, the Preamble speaks of Justice-Social, political and economicbut it also speaks of dignity of the individual. And Aristolte said long ago that personal dignity is non-existent without personal property.

CULTURAL GENOCIDE IN BANGLA DESH

(A PRESS RELEASE)

Long before the struggle between the East Bengalis and the West Pakistan rulers entered the arena of politics, it had started on the cultural plane. It was the intelligentsia and the students of Bangla Desh who spearheaded this struggle.

The average Bengali Muslim had hoped in 1947 that he would be able to share the prosperity that was promised in Pakistan, the "ideal" homeland planned in accordance with the concept of "Islamic-brotherhood". After the creation of Pakistan, this hope gradually dwindled. The promised prosperity never came. The Bengali Muslim found that the old system of exploitation was now being perpetrated by fellow Muslims or rather "the ideal Muslims" from West Pakistan. His faith in "one Islamic culture" was shaken. This made him acutely conscious of his own identity and origin.

The Bengali Muslims gradually realised that by asking them to despise everything about Bengali culture for becoming better Muslims, the West Pakistani politicians and leaders were in fact making a calculated move for cultural subversion and a tool for exploitation.

GENESIS OF EAST BENGALI NATIONALISM

It is this realisation which gave a social and emotional content to the new East Bengali nationalism that emerged in the years following partition of the sub-continent. A major issue around which this movement gathered momentum was the issue of the Bengali language.

As soon as they came to power, the rulers of Pakistan tried their best to wipe out this distinctive feature of uniqueness in the eastern wing. The people of East Bengal were not

ready to give up their mother-tongue, which they loved and which they were proud of.

It is interesting to note that not only Bengali was the mother-tongue of almost all the inhabitants of the former East Pakistan but until Pakistan broke up, Bengali was spoken by 64.6 per cent of the total population of Pakistan. On the other hand, Urdu was spoken by only 7.2 per cent.

In fact, Urdu was actually the language of mainly the Urban Muslims in North India. who migrated to Pakistan. Yet, they tried to make Urdu the only state language, and impose it on East Bengal.

Two students' organisations, one "Tamaddum Majlis", and the other "The Muslim Students' League", later renamed as "The Students' League", took shape as the first noncommunal Bengali students' erganisations in Pakistan.

STRUGGLE FOR THE 'MOTHER-TONGUE'

The Majlis and the League joined forces to form an Action Committee to carry on the struggle for the cause of the mother-tongue. Soon they started a large-scale campaign for the collection of signatures to a mass-petition demanding that Bengali should be made one of the state-languages of Pakistan. The petition was signed by thousands of Bengalis.

When on February 23, '948, the Pakistan National Assembly met one of the Hindu members from East Pakistan brought forward a resolution claiming that Bengali, along with Urdu and English, should also be made one of the official languages of the Assembly.

This was rejected, and as usual, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, branded the resolution as a subversive attempt.

"This is a matter of life and death for us. I strongly oppose this resolution, and hope the Assembly will reject such a resolution," he said.

"At first, I thought it is just an innocent resolution. But now I feel the main aim of the resolution is to create misunderstanding among the inhabitants of Pakistan and to put a barrier in the way of uniting all the Muslims of this country by means of a common language."

The mistake common to this as well as other similar later manoeuvres of the West Pakistani authorities was that they obstinately overlooked the aspirations of the people of East Bengal.

No sooner had the resolution been rejected than a massive protest was organised by the Action Committee, and on Eebruary 26, the students in Dacca staged a strike.

This was followed by a call for a general strike all over East Pakistan on March 11. The spontaneous response was overwhelming. So far, the protest was limited mainly to students and intellectuals.

Now their demands were supported by millions of people from all walks of life. March 11, 1948, thus perhaps iaid the foundation on which the super-structure of the present liberation movement has been built.

The students of Dacca staged picketing at the gates of the Secretariat. The Police made lathi-charges, fired volleys of tear gas, and arrested a number of their leaders, including Sheikh Mujibur Rahaman, but this failed to put a stop to the movement. For the next four days East Bengal witnesses a series of massive demonstrations in which the students and the common people alike participated.

Finally' the then Chief Minister of East Pakistan, Khwaja Nazimuddin, was compelled to comply with the demands of the people.

He had to set free all the arrested student leaders and meet the representatives of the Action Committee.

In this conference Nazimuddin accepted their eight-point charter. Among other things, he agreed:

- (1) That in the April session of the provincial legislative assembly he would table a resolution accepting Bengali as the official language of the province after English ceased to be the official language.
- (2) The medium of instruction in East Pakistan would be Bengali.

The Bills, with slight amendments were duly passed by the provincial legislature on April 6.

Thus-came to an end the first phase of the language movement in East Pakistan. The success of the movement filled the Bengalis with hope and enthusiasm.

The West Pakistani clique, however, was not ready to give up. On February 7, 1949, in a meeting of the Central Education Advisory Board at Peshawar, the Minister of Education of Pakistan struck the next blow.

With a rare duplicity, he announced that Bengali should henceforth be written in Arabic script.

Once again the people of East Pakistan raised their voice of protest. All through the year in different parts of East Bengal massive demonstrations opposed this attempt of negating the resolution passed by the provincial legislature.

Finally, in December, the opposition became so strong that the East Pakistan Government tried to placate the angry feelings of the people by issuing a Press statement.

"Whether Bengali should be written in Bengali or Arabic script should be decided by the free will of the Bengali people. It will not be discussed in the meeting of the Central Advisory Board," it said. In practice, however, the attempt was continued by the

From April, 1953, they opened 20 centres in different districts of Fast Pakistan to teach adults how to write Bengali iu Arabic script. They also appointed a committee of educationists to work out the possibilities of such a proposal.

However, when the report was submitted by this Committee it was found that their

recommendations ran contrary.

The Government kept quiet about the report. For the next year and a half 'no further move was made by the Central Government on the language issue.

Then, on January 26, 1952, Khwaja Nazimuddin, by this time, the Governor General of Pakistan, announced in the All-Pakistan Muslim League conference that Urdu would be the only state-language of Pakistan. Protests burst out once again in East Pakistan.

Students went on strike, on January 30 and on February 4, all over the country. The Government tried to crush the movement, but failed. One of the leading newspapers of Fakistan, the *Pakistan Observer*, was banned because of its support for the cause of the movement and its editor, Abdus Salam Khan, was arrested.

The provincial legislature was supposed to have its budget meeting on February 21, but the Action Committee decided to have a protest march to the Assembly on that day.

In anticipation, the Government promulgated Section 144 prohibiting all demonstrations. But the situation was tense by this time. Dangers and difficulties had not deterred them in the past and could not frighten them now.

FIRST ROUND OF ATROCITIES

The students decided to carry on with their demonstration. The police opened fire on their peaceful procession, and among others, student leaders Rafiq Barkat, Jabbar and Shafikur lost their lives.

The whole of East Pakistan now burst out in protest at these barbaric atrocities. The common people came forward to rally behind the cause.

The Government tried to create confusion by describing the whole incident as "engineered by the Communists and Indian agents," the usual scapegoats. Hundreds of leaders of the movement were arrested, but the movement could not be suppressed.

STRUGGLE FOR EMANCIPATION

In the 1954 election, the Muslim League suffered a terrible defeat. Out of 237 Muslim seats, they lost 228.

In 1956 the Central Government was forced to accept Bengali as one of the State languages of Pakistan. But by then the damage had been done and the Bengali consciousness, its awareness of a distinct entity with the distinct cultural heritage had sunk deep and there was no going back. The younger leadership in Bangla Desh now became partners in the overall larger political and economic struggle to free themselves from the colonial regime of West Pakistani military rulers.

No wonder, when the West Pakistani military and police opened their campaign in March this year to destroy "the Hindu-tainted culture" of East Bengal and to teach the Bangla Desh Muslims how to be "true Musalmans", their first target for massacre was the Dacca University students and teachers who were shot down ruthlessly. Atrocities were, then, repeated in every other university, college or town of East Bengal.

Like a Phoenix, the East Bengali spirit of nationalism did not die when the flower of its youth was ruthlessly cut down by the West Pakistani Military Junta. Out of the ashes has been born free and independent Bangla Desh, with its basic principles of democracy, socialism, secular nationalism and the establishment of an egalitarian society.

BANDH: A CRISIS IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT?

RAJANI MUKHERJEE

It is necessary to study the nature of Bandh as an instrument of political action as practised by all the political parties including the Congress. In the period of non-cooperation until Independence it used to be known as hartal. Subsequently, after the assumption of power by Congress, it changed its unromantic name.

After a decade of congress rule when the opposition against the congress began to grow it was nothing but a certain type of political action, very familiar in pre-independence days, viz satyagraha. It was very much criticised by congress as vulgarisation of Gandhian methods. But the political parties which had strongholds either amongst workers or peasants could very well start with Gandhian techniques to acquire a certain degree of success and popularity. Here we may pause to reflect upon what was going on in the labour movement.

In the middle of year of 1947 there were only two central trade union organisations in the country, viz Indian Federation of Labour led by the Radical Democrats and the All India Trade Union Congress composed of the nationalists and socialist-communists. As soon as the Indian National Congress got hold of the reins of government after the withdrawal of British power in India a change came over in the leadership of the said organisations in regard to their labour policy. It was not hard to see what they contemplated to do. In November 1947 at Indore a session of the nationalist-trade unions was held under the patronage of all the top congress leaders, including late Sri Nehru and late Sardar Patel. It was in such an atmosphere that the Indian National Trade Union Congress was born. The socialists in the A. I. T. U. C.

began to feel uncomfortable, although there remained some forward bloctmen. Along with the nationalists there were some socialists led by late Dr. Suresh Banerji of West Bengal. Soon after this in the early 1948 the socialists formed an organisation known as the Hind Mazdur Panchayat. There was another group in the offing led by late Sri Mrinal Kanti Bose known as U. T. U. C. Thus it could be seen that by the middle of 1948 the Indian Trade Union movement had split into five national centres compared to two in early 1947.

There began, however, a dialogue between the Radical Democrats and the socialists for uniting the trade union movement in the country. As a result of these talks socialist-Hind Mazdur Panchayat, the Radical-Indian Federation of Labour and the Ruikar group of the Forward blocists in the A. I. T. U. C. joined together and founded Hind Mazdur Sabha in December 1948 at Calcutta. There remained, however, U. T. U. C. and for expediency the then labour policy maker of the I. N. T. U. C., Sri Gulzari Lal Nanda, got recognition for the U. T. U. C. as a buffer organisation between I. N. T. U. C. and the rest.

All the four central trade union organisations were accorded recognition by the Government of India. But then it was the beginning of a new phase in the history of the labour raovement in India, the phase of party politics in India's trade union movement.

At the time of the foundation conference of the I. N. T. U. C it was made very clear by congress leaders to the labour leaders who joined them that their policy shall be that of the congress. Fundamentally that policy remains unaltered even today. The labour policy of the congress government began to

favour unions affiliated to I. N. T. U. C. and the employers took the hint from it. Gradually the trade unions affiliated to other federations began reacting party wise. A. I. T. U. C. was in the control of the communists. Therefore they began to build party cells and transform trade unions into units of the party organisation. While the communists went on to develop the counter strategy against I. N. T. U. C. the democratic and the socialist minded trade unionists were pursuing the hard way of democracy and could not react in the same way as I.N.T.U.C. and A. I. T. U. C.

The tradition of the Indian labour movement built up since its inception was given the go by and the trade unionists scarcely realised that they were being gradually pushed into an abysmal party cauldron likely to destroy the democratic trade union movement in the country.

After the formation of the I. N. T. U. C., the H. M. S....the U. T. C. and the old one viz A. I. T. U. C., the trade union movement in India began to fall apart. The task of creating party centres in the trade unions was undertaken by the undivided Communist Party of India. While the communist activity was going on, A. I. T. U. C. took full advantage of the workers' education program initiated by the Government of India. It enabled the communists to come into contact with the active workers in the factories and other establishments.

While this process was going on the unions in the democratic sector were yet to appreciate the need for workers' education from the democratic and constitutional point of view. The time was to come when the confrontation would be made by the communists on the shop floor, factory and other establishments with other trade unions belonging to other central organisations.

It was in 1957 when an attempt was made in the P & T general strike by the communists as an organisation to fight the Government on the ostensible basis of the demand of the P & T workers. They got this opportunity because in the realignment of unions in the said sector no one bothered about the infiltration of the communists in the newly formed Federation which Sri Jagjiwan Ram, the then Communication Minister innocently recognised. The strike, however, failed to achieve its objective although the second Pay Commission was soon after set up.

In the All India Railwaymen's Federation, the communists were losing ground and even though rival unions were organised they never gained strength to challenge the position of the A. I. R. F.

In 1960 the opportunity came for all tostage a national general strike of the Central Government employees. Its collapse dampened the enthusiasm of the socialists who were trying to out Herod Herod viz the communists. And the latter learnt the bitter lesson of governmental reprisal. It took sometime for all to absorb the shock. Whereas the democrats and the socialists were in a dilemma, the communists went on to find a way out of the impasse posed by the government labour policy. In the other sector of political life the socialist leader Lohia was experimenting with the Gandhian techinique of Satyagraha to fight the Congress government. His attempt was like Napolean III trying to imitate his Great Uncle. It ended with a new form of collective coercion, Gherao. It lay in the lap of the socialists for sometime, when it was picked up by the communists and successfully employed to further their political ends. It was left to the obscurantist socialist unity leader Subodh Banerji to initiate it officially when he became the Labour Minister under U. F. of W. Bengal in 1967. And the protec-

tion to it was provided by another obscurantist Sri Ajoy Mukherji. Subodh Banerji elaborated it in his newly formed Engineering Workers' Federation. It was said, in the style of Lohia, that Gherao only restrains without tears. It did not imply any violence. Mahatma had also described mass Satyagraha in similar terms but the Chauri Chaura affair resulted in violence and arson and he was compelled to stop and revise it later into individual Satyagraha and only by approved Satyagrahis. Here the movement was allowed to run amuck with disastrous results on the morale of the administration and the smooth progress of industry on a wide scale in West Bengal. The communists had no strength in other States and therefore its effect was felt only on the economy of Eastern India. Bandh came as the culmination of Gherao. What could be done in factory or establishment could be done on a large scale to cover the entire community. The opportunity was availed of by the Marxists on a large scale. Marxists, since their breakaway from the Communist Party of India, were slowly and surely edging into different trade unions affiliated to A. I. T. U. C. In the economic background and due to large scale unemployment it was possible to practise militancy. During nine months of the United Front rule the constituent elements of the Front vied with one another in the game of Gherao whose story is yet to be told. Even the democrats and the socialists found it difficult to oppose lest they shall be judged as anti-working class. Privately and publicly their confession was pathetic and is an eloquent testimony to the fact that the tenets of the trade union movement had not gathered any roots in most places.

The communists had organised the transport workers. They were strong in the bus and tram workers' unions and every time Bandh was called the services could be easily stopped and road blocks created to prevent the movement of people. It will be noted that the railway transport was not controlled by them yet the party cadres could be mobilised at different points to create obstructions. Consequently for security reasons the Government for the obvious reasons were forced to stop all traffic.

Every time the administration declared its determination to carry on but the public treated the declaration with disrespect since the government lacked the will and determination to act in the interest of public welfare. Bandh has always been a political challenge to the State and the facade of economic demands of the workers and the people were the age old tactical program of the communists too well known not to be recognised.

Peculiarly enough the political parties who subscribed to Bandh are almost all Indiabased parties. The Rastriya Sangram Samiti was formed at the initiative of the All India Trade Union Congress, and their original members were Hind Mazdur Sabha and the U. T. U. C. Gradually H. M. S. edged out of it, neither opposing it nor sharing its odium, so that in the West the committee came under control of the Marxists and it was too late for the C. P. I. to get out of commitment. And till today the vacillation of A. I. T. U. C. is well known and is being capitalised by the Marxists when bandhs are called.

Bandhs could only be discredited if the socialists and the democratic elements in the trade union movement start a program of workers' education for removing confusion from the workers' minds about trade union ends and means and the political ends and means. This could not done by the Government. It could act to a limited degree in enforcing law and order. It could not act on behalf of the trade unions. But trade unions still lack faith in their own ideology and are in action guided by the communists. Therefore the alliance between A. I. T. U. C., H. M. S., and I. N. T. U. C. will cause more confusion in the trade union movement unless the communists give up their creed and become converts to the democratic faith. Unfortunately where the communists are gaining by sticking to their strategy and tactics, the democrats and socialists are losing by a corresponding lack of faith in their own ideology in action.

GOVERNOR'S POWER TO DISMISS THE CHIEF MINISTER

MAHINDER SINGH DAHIYA

According to Article 164(1) of the Indian Constitution a ministry shall remain in office during the pleasure of the Governor. In normal circumstances, the ministry remains in office so long as it retains the confidence of the Legislative Assembly. In the Constituent Assembly Dr. Ambedkar, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, maintained:

I have no doubt that it is the intention of this Constitution that the Ministry shall hold office during such time as it holds the confidence of the majority...'During pleasure' is always understood to mean that the 'pleasure' shall not continue notwithstanding the fact that the Ministry has lost the confidence of the majority. The moment the Ministry has lost the confidence of the majority it is presumed President will exercise his the 'pleasure' in dismissing the Ministry and therefore it is unnecessary to differ from I may say the sterdreotyped phraseology which is used in all responsible governments.1

The explanation given by Dr. Ambedkar in consonance with the principles of parliamentary democracy but there are authorities who do not agree with this view and interpret the phrase "during pleasure" literally. In the case of dismissal of Mr. Ajoy Kumar Mukherjee.2 the Calcutta High Court held that the Governor had absolute, exclusive and unquestionable discrezionary power to dismiss a ministry under Article 164(1) of the Constitution and the exercise of "pleasure" was not fettered by any condition or restrictions. 8 According Mr. G. S. Pathak, the Governor has an absolute right to dismiss a ministry.⁴ A spokesman of the Law Ministry says that when in his judgement, the Governor is duly satisfied, that the Chief Minister no longer commands the majority of the M.L.A.s, he would be justified, in the exercise of his discretionary functions, to dismiss the Council of Ministers.⁵

If the contention, the Governor can dismiss the Chief Minister at his discretion, is accepted, there is no significance of Article 164(2), which says that the Council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the Legislative Assembly. When Ariicle 144 of the Draft Constitution came before the Constituent Assembly for consideration, clause (6) of this Article, which was concerned with the dismissal of ministers, was deleted on the initiative of Dr. Ambedkar⁶ and clause I(a) of the same Article which is Article 164(2) of the present Constitution was included.7 While supporting the omission of clause (6) of Article 144 of the Draft Constitution, Dr. Ambedkar stated that "we do not want to give more discretionary powers to the Governor than has been defined in certain articles,"8 Therefore, it leads to the impression that the Chief Minister remains in Office during the pleasure of the Legislative Assembly and not of the Governor. Professor K. V. Rao observes that once the ministry is constituted by the Governor, he goes out of the picture, and the Assembly is seized of the matter, and it is for the Assembly to say how long it would allow this ministry to function.9 The Supreme Court has held that "the rule of English law pithily expressed in the latin phrase 'durante bene placito' (during thc pleasure).

has not been adopted by the Constitution of India. The absolute doctrine of the pleasure as known to English iaw is not the law in India."10 According to Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, it would be contrary to the provisions of the Constitution for a Governor to claim discretionary powers to dismiss the Council of Ministers without a meeting of the Assembly and without a clear vote on the issue.11 Mr. M. C. Chagla says that the Governor cannot dismiss a Council of Ministers unless it was voted down by the House in session. 12 Therefore, it seems right to observe that the judgement of the Calcutta High Court is not in accordance with the principles of responsible government.

Now, the question to be examined is as to what should the Governor do if the Ministry is reduced to only a minority support and the Legislative Assembly is not in session? Should the Governor ask the Chief Minister to convene a session of the Assembly? The answer is in the negative. According to Article 174 (1):

"The Governor shall from time to time summon the House or each House of the State Legislature of the State to meet at such time and place as he thinks fit, but six months shall not intervene between its last sitting in one session and the date appointed for its first sitting in the next session." 12

The period of six months has been given by specific provision of the Constitution and not by any other authority. It can be increased or decreased by an amendment in the Constitution and not by the Governor. According to Mr. A. B. Vajpayee, there is an interval of six months and nothing can be imposed on the Chief Minister during this period. The Advocate-General of West Bengal has expressed the view that no Assembly can be summoned to test the majority of the Chief

Minister. A legislature is summoned for its normal purpose. 14 Mr. K. Santhanam says:

It is entirely, wrong to think that it is the duty of the Governor to take note of an increase or decrease in party strength from day to day. Once he has formed the Ministry it is for the State Assembly to decide whether or not it should continue in office. Neither law nor convention prohibits a Cabinet having only minority support for conducting the government so long as the Assembly does not record its disapproval by a no confidence motion or rejection of the Budget. All that the Constitution says is that the Council of Ministers should be responsible to the Assembly. It follows that the Governor need not be concerned with changes in the strength of the parties that may take place in the interval between the two sessions of the Assembly.15

the Governor of West Bengal. Mr. Dharamvira, wrote a letter to the Chief Minister on November 6, 1967, in which he said that a doubt had arisen about the United Front Government enjoying the confidence of the majority. In the circumstances, "I feel that the Assembly be convened as soon as possible".16 When the Chief Minister did not agree, the Governor dismissed him. 17 step of the Governor was not in the right direction for it is only the Assembly which can oust the Chief Minister. The Governor should not have resorted to this course. The Governor can act in his discretion where he is expressly required by the Constitution.18 Mr. N. C. Chatterjee said in a statement that the parliamentary form of government as conceived by the framers of the Constitution would be destroyed if the Gevernor clothed with discretionary powers to dismiss the ministry on reports or information received by him. Further, he said that the collective

responsibility to the house clearly negatives the responsibility of the Council of Ministers to the Governor. 19 Mr. Bhupesh Gupta described the dismissal of Mr. Mukherjee as the 'foulest and most cowardly crime" not against the people of Bengal and democracy but against the future of the country.20 Mr. H. N. Mukherjee tabled a motion in the Lok Sabha recommended that the Governor, Mr. Dharamvira, should be dismissed for his unconstitutional act of dismissing the U. F. Governor Ministry.²¹ accused the for having violated the Constitution and said: that he had "behaved like a Charlatan."22 The then Speaker of the West Bengal Assembly in his ruling stated:

'During his pleasure' in Article 164(1) 'the Ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor' vests in the Governor the power to dismiss a ministry. But this argument is without merit. For the same expression 'pleasure of the Governor' finds place in Article 165(3) with regard to the appointment of the Advocate-General is not within the Governor's discretion but has to be done on the advice. of the Council of Ministers. On a prima facie examination of the Constitutional questions involved I find it impossible to recognise as legal, valid and constitutional the dissolution of the West Bengal Government.23

Mr. Nath Pai quoted the legal authority of the Supreme Court and said that the only instances required by the Constitution to be exercised by a Governor in his discretion are the powers of the Governor of Assam under paras 9 to 18, of the Sixth Schedule. Except the discretion of the Governor appointed to be the Administrator of a Union Territory under Article 239(2), there is no other matter in respect of which a Governor may under the Constitution act in his own discretion.²⁴

Now, it is clear that the step of the Governor of West Bengal for the dismissal of the Chief Minister was against the spirit of the Constitution and intention of the framers. It also corroborates the fact that the Governors are adopting double standards in the same situation, that is why the Governors of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Haryana did not compel their respective Chief Ministers to face the Assembly when they were reduced to minority through the instrumentality of defection. The Governor of Bihar, Mr. M. A. Ayyanger, in response to the demand of Mr. B. P. Mandal to summon the session said:

When you met me at Ranchi and gave me the list of 185 supporters, you specifically requested me not to send the list to Mr. Mahamaya Prasad Sinha, the Chief Minister, and in your letter of Monday you have affirmed the same position, but you wanted me to verify the list. I have not got the machinery to verify your list, but it is only the Assembly that can do it under the Constitution on a motion properly moved in the House duly convened. 25

In U. P., the Chief Minister, Mr. Gupta, was reduced to minority on November 20, 196926 but he continued till February 10, 1970, when he resigned, recommending Governor that Mr. Charan Singh, the leader of the Opposition, be invited to form the govern-In Haryana, 16 legislators withdrew ment.27 support from the government and demanded the summoning of the Assembly, 28 But the Governor is said to have stated that there was no need to summon the session 29 Rao Birender Singh was also permitted to continue so long as he was the leader of the largest party. The Governor said that "unless he ceases to be that I am not required to do any thing."30 But when the game of defection continued, the Governor recommended the dissolution of the Assembly,31 The Governor in his report to the President said:

In a House of 79 about 30 members had defected one way or the other, some having shifted three or four times, two members defected four times, two three and six times.. "To some members changing the party is apparently of as little consequence as changing a coat." According to the charges of the apposition the ministry was continuing through corruption, bribery, political intimidation and distribution of offices. The opposition was also securing defection through no cleaner "While it is difficult to say how far these allegations are true, there are good reasons to believe that the defections are being secured by not too honourable means."32

Although, the Government, which was practising bribery and corruption was removed from office through the application of Article 356, it would have been better on the part of the Governor had he dismissed Rao Birender Singh on the plea that corruption was prevailing in the administration. circumstances the Governor can withdraw his pleasure in spite of the fact that the ministry enjoys the confidence of the majority. While speaking in the Constituent Assembly Dr. Ambedkar stated that a minister shall be liable to removal on two grounds. The two grounds are the purity of administration and confidence of the Assembly.33 It means that the Governor is within his Constitutional right when he dismisses the Chief Minister on the ground that his administration is corrupt. But there are cases wherein the Governor did not dare to dismiss the Chief Minister. In Orissa, Biren Mitra and in Punjab Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon resigned on the advice of the then Prime Minister but the Governors in both cases kept silent and did not even ask the Ministers to resign. Similarly, in Rajasthan, the Governor did not ask the Chief Minister to resign. In a letter to the Prime Minister, the Jan Sangh Chief, Vajpayee, demanded the resignation of Mr. M. L. Sukhadia, the Chief Minister, on the ground that the Rajasthan High Court had issued stricture against him in a writ petition filed by the defeated candidate.34 Above all, in Andhra Pradesh, the Samyukta Socialist Party appealed to the Governor 'to secure the resignation or to dismiss Chief Minister Brahamanand Reddy and four of his cabinet ministers". The memorandum submitted to the Governor pointed out that highest judicial authority in the State had found the Chief Minister and his cabinet (colleagues-Mr. Chenchu Rama Naidu, Mr. V. Krishna Murthy, Mr. K. Vijay Bhaskar Reddy and Mr. P. Thima Reddy-"guilty of favouritism, misconduct and abuse of power" but they had failed to resign. Ouoting extracts from the speeches of the the Constituent Dr. Ambedkar in late Assembly, the memorandum said that the Governor had a duty under the Constitution to exercise his 'pleasure' against the continuance of a minister when such minister was found guilty of mal-administration though he commanded the confidence of the Assembly.35 In these circumstances the Governor should ask the Chief Minister to resign and if he does not resign, the Governor should not hesitate in dismissing him. As a matter of fact Chief Minister should himself offer to resign for instance, Mr. Sanjiva Reddy, the former Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh and a former Central Cabinet Minister resigned after the Supreme Court, on January 27, 1964, quashed the schemes framed by the Andhra State Road Transportation Corporation under the Motor Vehicle Act for nationalization of sixty four routes in Kurnoul district. The court held that the schemes were formulated merely to give effect to the wishes of the Chief Minister and that they did not comply with statutory requirement that the Corporation must act on the basis of its independent judgement as to the requirements of public interest. The Chief Minister addressed a letter to the Congress President for permission to resign and the Central Parliamentary Board accorded the permission on February 10, 1964.³⁶

Now it is to be seen whether the Governor should dismiss the Chief Minister if he is defeated at the floor of Assembly and does not resign? According to Professor K. V. Rao, after a signal of no-confidence is given by the Assembly, the Ministry is supposed to resign, and if it does not resign, the Governor has been the instrument of enforcing Assembly's will by dismissing the Ministry without any ceremony, in his discretion.37 The Governor of Punjab, Dr. Pavate, would have been constitutionally justified in dismissing Mr. Gırnam Singh, had he not resigned after he was defeated at the floor of the Assembly on March 25, 1970.38 Mr. Gurnam Singh should have tendered his resignation immediately but he claimed majority support.39 The Governor, Dr. Pavate, advised him orally to tender his resignation. As the resignation did not come, the Governor wrote to him to do sc.40 Thereafter, Mr. Singh resigned on March 26, 1970, after the meeting of the Assembly.41 Dr. Ram Subhag Singh criticised the Chief Minister and the Governor for this eventuality. Even Mr. Y. B. Chavan and the Speaker of Lok Sabha, Mr. Dhillon, disapproved of the delay of Mr. Gurnam Singh in resigning his office, in very strong terms. 42 There are examples when the Chief Minister resigned immediately after the adverse verdict of the Assembly. Mahamaya Prasad Sinha, B. P. Mandal in Bihar, Mr. Bhagwat Dayal Sharma in Haryana and Mr. C. B. Gupta in U. P. resigned as soon as they were defeated at the floor of the Assembly.43

An awkward situation occurred in Punjab when the Government led by Mr. Gurnam

Singh was defeated by 53 to 49 votes on the opposition an amendment. Mr. Gurnam Singh told reporters, "I do not feel called upon to resign on this issue."44-Now the question, whether it should be consias a vote confidence? of no Mr. Parbodh Chandra told reporters that in U. P. the Government resigned on such an issue and he claimed the defeat as on a noconfidence motion.45 He pointed out that: in 1922, the Baldwin Government in England. had to resign under such circumstances.46 On this defeat, the Governor said that there was no justification for the dismissal of the government⁴⁷ and the Union Home Ministry agreed with this view.48

After a critical study, we are bound to draw inferences that there is some difference between. the defeats of Mr. Gurnam Singh of March 25. 1970 and that of April 5, 1667. In March 1970, the government was defeated on a major issue, viz., Appropriation Bill and the Akali. group led by Sant Fatch Singh crossed the floor with a substantial majority49 but in April 1967, the amendment of the Opposition was carried with the support of the treasury bench. The government can accept such an amendment. Moreover, there was no floor crossing.50, In U. P. the Government led by Mr. Chandra Singh was defeated on the admission of a Bill to replace an ordinance. In response to thedemand of Mr. C. B Gupta, Mr. Charan Singh cited the example of December 24, 1959, when the Government was defeated on a snap vote.⁵¹ Later on, Mr. Charan Singh secured the confidence of the House and the censuremotion against the government failed.52

In this connection, the point to be noted is that when a government is defeated on a major issue the government is bound to resign; if it is a minor issue it is not essential for the Governor to withdraw his pleasure. But there is a clear-cut incident of Orisa where the Governor did not accept the resignation of

the Chtef Minister after he was defeated on the Budget issue in 1958. The Governor requested the Chief Minister to withdraw his resignation.⁵³ It was not constitutional on the part of the Governor but the difficulty was that Mr. Y. N. Sukhtanker was the Governor of the State and he had been Secretary under the Chief Minister, Dr. M. K. Mahtab, when he was a minister in the central government.

In England, the King has discretionary power to dismiss a ministry but after the dismissal of the North-Fox Coalition by George III in 1783, the King has never used this power. But that the power is not wholly dead is evident from the fact that during the abdication crisis of 1936 it was strongly urged that the King should dismiss Baldwin, summon Attlee to form a government and subsequently seek the popular verdict upon the whole -matter..... Of course, those who made this momentous suggestion did not seem to have given sufficient thought to the grave situation arising from the possible defeat of the new ministry at the polls.⁵⁴ In the modern phase, the situation has become clear and the King has the power of dismissal in theory and his discretion has been converted into that of the House of Commons.

In the concluding lines, it appears very sound to say that the Governor can dismiss the ministry only after it is defeated at the floor of the Assembly or if the ministry is inclined to practise some corrupt methods in administration. According to Mr. R. S. Gai, Secretary in the Union Law Ministry, if the Governor is satisfied from any source that the Chief Minister does not command a majority, he can dismiss him. 55 This opinion is not convincing, that is why it is not the function of the Governor to inquire whether the Chief Minister has majority support in the Assembly or not. It cen be tested at the floor of the Assembly and not in the Raj Bhawan. The

former Governor of Bihar, Mr. Ayyanger, said on November 28, 1967 that the Governor should install the ministry but should not cause its fall by dragging its legs. Dragging the legs of the ministry would not be in consonance with the spirit of the Constitution. The ministry is accountable to the Assembly and to nobody else. The Governor is simply a constitutional Head and nothing more: He should not assume the functions which have been assigned to the Assembly.

Footnotes

- 1. Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. VIII, p. 520.
- The Governor dismissed Mr. Mukherjee, when his advice to summon the session was not accepted. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, November 22, 1967, p. 1.
- 3. The Statesman, New Delhi, February 8, 1968, p. 6.
- 4. Lok Sabha Debates, vol. IX, 1867, col. 806.
- 5. The Statesmon, New Delhi, November 13, 1967, p. 1.
- Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. VIII, p. 523.
- 7. Ibid., p. 521.
- 8. Ibid., p. 507.
- 9. K. V. Rao, "The Governor at Work", Journal of the Society for the Study of State Government, Vol. I, July-September 1968, No. 3, p. 94.
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- 12. The Statesman, New Delhi, November 24, 1967, P. 5.
- 13. Lok Sabha Debates, Vol. IX, 1967, col. 833.

- 14. Lok Sabha Debates, Vol. IX, 1967, col. 847.
- 15. The Statesman, New Delhi, November 12, 1967, P. 8.
- 16. Vide Lok Sabha Debates, vol. IX, 1967, col. 847.
- 17. The Hondustan Times, New Delhi, November 28, 1967, P. 1.
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- 20. The Statesman, New Delhi November 23, 1967, P. 9.
- 21. Lok Sabha Debates, vol. X, 1067, col. 4266.
- 22. Ibid., col. 4273.
- 23. The Statesman, New Delhi, December 1, 1967, P. 7.
- 24. Lok Sabha Debates, vol. IX, 1967, col. 806.
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- 26. National Herald, New Nelhi, November 21, 1969, P. 1.
- 27. The Tribune, Chandigarh, February 11, 1970, P. I.
- 28. The Statesman, New Delhi, December 10, 1968, P. 1.
- 29. Ibid., December 14, 1968, P. 7.
- 30. Ibid., October 31, 1967, P. 1.
- 31. The Tribune, Chandigarh, November 22, 1967, P. 1.
- 32. The Statesman, New Delhi, November 22, 1967, P. 12.
- 33. C. A. D. vol. VII, P. 1186.
- 34. The Statesman, New Delhi, May 22, 1968. P. 1.
- 35. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, November 28, 1970, P. 8.

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- 37. K. V. Rao, op. cit.
- 38. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, March 26, 1970, P. 1.
- 39. The Tribune, Chandigarh, March 26, 1970, P. I.
- 40. The Statesman, New Delhi, March 27, 1970, P. 1.
- 41. The Indian Express, New Delhi, March 27, 1970. P. 1.
- 42. The Tribune, Chandigarh, March 27, 1970, P. 1.
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- 50. The Statesman, New Delhi, April 6, 1967, P. 1.
- 51. Ibid., December 20, 1967, P. 1.
- 52. Ibid., December 22, 1967, P. 5.
- 53. K. V. Rao, Parliamentary Democracy of India, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1965, P. 71.
- 54. H. M. Jain, op. cit., P. 39.
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THE SACRED BODHI TREE IN CEYLON—THE WORLD'S OLDEST HISTORICAL PLANT

BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

The span of human life seems to be dwarfed by the longevity of certain trees like the redwood of California and species of the plant genus *Ficus*, which grow profusely in tropical lands. Ceylon is made famous in having a holy *Ficus* tree growing in its soil from the dawn of history.

From ancient times to this day the trees of genus Ficus provide shade in India, Ceylon and South-East Asia to her wandering and meditating ascetics. whether Hindu or Buddhist, Two thousand five hundred and ten years ago, that is, six centuries before Christ, Prince Siddhartha Gautam gained supreme enlightenment under one of those trees popularly known as the Bodhi tree, scientifically Ficus Religiosa. A sapling of this tree was sent to Ceylon by the Emperor Asoka in the third century, B. C., and it thrives to this day at Anuradhapura, the ancient capital of Ceylon, as the oldest historical tree in the world. It is a living tribute to the greatness of the Buddha, Asoka and his two children, Mahinda and Sanghamitta.

The Buddha, the founder of the great religion or ethical-philosophy called Buddhism, lived in India in the sixth century, B. C. His name was Siddhartha, and Gotama (Sanskrit, Gautama) was his family name. His father was King Suddodana, who ruled over a small kingdom of Sakyans at Kapilavastu on the present Nepalese border. His mother was Queen Mahamaya.

He was born on the full moon day of May in Lumbini grove, under the shade of Sal trees. Lumbini or Ruminidai, the name by which it is known today, lies one hundred miles from Varanasi (Benares) in India, and is within sight of the snow-capped mountains of the Himalayan range. One of Emperor Asoka's edicts that appears on a tablet erected in the third century B. C. stands to this day. This tablet proclaims the spot where Buddha was born as holy.

King Suddhodana provided his only son with the education that a prince should receive and he became skilled in many branches of knowledge. According to custom at that time in India, he married his cousin, Yasodhara, at sixteen years of age, It is claimed that his father endeavoured to keep life's miseries from the sight of his son, but this increased Prince Siddhartha's curiosity and his resolute search for truth.

With the advance of age and maturity, the Prince saw four phenomena of life:

- 1. A man weakened by age.
- 2. A man of mere skin and bone, suffering from some sickness.
- 3. A dead body, surrounded by lamenting kinsmen.
- 4. A recluse, calm, serene, who had abandoned his home and who tried to lead a life of purity.

The Prince contemplated deeply on the woes of life and old age, for man becomes physically weak and succumbs easily to disease and finally ends his life span. This led him with superhuman courage to renounce wife, child, power, glory, palace and crown, and

become an ascetic in search of Nibbana (Nirvana). This is known as the great renunciation of the Prince Siddhartha Gotama.

For six long years the ascetic Gotama practised meditation and rigorous self-mortification. He lived on leaves and roots and wore rags from dust heaps, and he slept among corpses. Due to lack of proper nourishment, he was left a physical wreek.

He thus discovered the futility of self-mortificatson, by which he found himself no nearer his goal. He began to take food and wear cleaner clothing. Then his five disciples deserted him. But he had complete faith in himself as he was a Bodhisattva. Thus, accompanied by none and with a firm determination, he sat under a tree in final search for the truth in complete solitude. Under this tree he finally attained supreme Enlightment (samma sambodhi). This tree is known as the tree of wisdom (Bodhi tree), and it stood on the banks of the Naranjana river at Gaya, known as Buddhagaya today.

The Venerable Piyadassi states:

"Thus did the Bodhisattva Gotama, on the full moon day of May, at the age of thirty-five, attain supreme enlightenment, by comprehending in all their fulness the Four Noble Truths, the eternal virtues, and became the Buddha, the great Healer and consummate master physician who can cure the ills of beings."

The Buddha ministered to the world for forty-five years after attainment of supreme enlightenment, and passed away at the age of eighty, at Sal grove at Kushinagara (U. P. India), about one hundred and twenty miles North-East of Varanasi. There are today over five hundred million Buddhists all over the world, which is more than one-fifth of the world's population.

When Emperor Asoka ascended the throne of the Mauryan Empire in the third century

B. C., Buddhism was a small sectarian religion in Northern India, but he transformed if into one of the greatest religions of the world. This he accomplished by his missionary zeal. He is recognised as the world's first missionary and is known for his noble and serene nature and for his able administration of his kingdom. It might be true to say that he was one of the noblest, if not the noblest, Emperors in the annals of mankind.

Asoka ruled India from 325 B. C. to 288 B. C. This period in recognized as the golden era in Indian history. Later in life he became a devout Buddhist and sent his own son and daughter, who became a monk and nun respectively, to Ceylon for missionary work.

Asoka's son, Bhikku Mahinda, came to Ceylon, where he met the King of Ceylon, Tissa, at Anuradhapura and converted him and his people to Buddhism. With the adoption of Buddhism as the state religion, the Sinhala race, as it was known, blossomed into its golden age. From Ceylon Buddhism spread to other South-East Asian lands, spreading from Burma to Cambodia.

Sanghamitta, the daughter of Asoka, who was living at the palace of her father in Pataliaputta at this time, received a message from her brother Mahinda inviting her to come to Ceylon to establish an order of nuns. She arrived in Ceylon a decade later than her brother.

It is said Asoka sent along with his daughter the right hand branch of the sacred Bodhi tree. It was three hundred years after the passing away of the Buddha that she brought the vegetatively propagated branch of the Bodhi tree and presented it to King. Tissa, who received it with great veneration.

King Tissa planted it with great pomp and ceremony in his capital; Anuradhapura, and it had been considered, from that day onwards,

as a national treasure. This Bodhi tree stands to this day as a symbol of good will between India and Ceylon. It also marks Ceylon as the centre of Theravada Buddhism, and links her with Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam.

It is recorded in the Mahavamsa, the great chronicle of Ceylon, that this sacred Bodhi plant (sapling) was planted in the most exclusive section of the city noted for its scenic beauty and well laid out gardens. There it stands to this day. The royal astrologers had to proclaim the suspicious time of planting and it is recorded that there were seven days of festivities.

Pirith (Sutra chanting) was chanted by monks for five continuous days and Dana 'alms giving), morning and noon meals were given by the royal household for over 500 monks and nuns. Processions, carrying flowers to be placed near the Bodhi plant, came from different parts of the Islands continuously during the seven days of rejoicing.

The holy Bodhi tree as it stands today is not more than 40 feet tall and about eight to ten feet in circumference at the base of the stem (trunk), although it is over 2,000 years old; while ordinary Bodhi trees attain huge proportions within 150 to 200 years of age. Trees measuring up to one hundred feet in height and eighteen to twenty feet base circumference of the trunk are not an uncommon sight in India, Ceylon and other South-East Asian lands. The holy Bodhi tree is fairly well covered with heart-shaped leaves while ordinary trees have profuse (heavy) foliage.

As a common feature with other trees of the genus Ficus, the holy Bodhi tree (Ficus Religiosa) has been sending out lateral roots from its branches to the soil from early times to sustain fresh vigour of the tree and give extra support to its branches. This may be

one reason how the tree could have sustained itself for over 2,000 years.

From the seventh to tenth centuries after Christ the Sinhalese, because of incessant attacks by South Indian Tamils (who today inhabit the northern tip of Ceylon), had to abandon their first historical capital Anuradhapura and move to Polonnaruwa in the North-Eastern province, but they never abandoned the holy tree. It was thereafter respected both by the Tamils (Hindus) and Singhalis (Buddhists). Thereby it was kept watered and nourished, its branches further supported with wooden stakes and decorated with flags. Artistic walls were erected around the tree for protection.

Every full moon day Buddhists of all nationalities who visit Anuradhapura pay their homage to the Buddha by placing flowers and incense near the foot of the tree on a sort of altar with a statue of the Buddha placed in the center.

When Buddhists offer flowers to the Buddha or the Bodhi tree they say in Pali:

Pujami Buddhan Kusumana Nana; Punnana Mathana nawa hotu mokan. Pupan milayathi yatha idamme, Kayo Tata-yati vinasa Bawan.

It means:

I offer flowers to the Buddha; From this merit may I attain Nirvana. As the flowers fade away and decay, So does my body grow old and decay.

Therefore the offering of flowers constitutes a mark of respect and gratitude to the great compassionate teacher, who showed the way to mankind to Nirvana (enlightenment) by following the eight-fold noble path. It is also a way of meditating on the sufferings of life and does not indicate any idol worship.

Early in 1962 some microbiological affliction was noticed on the tree. The tree used prematurely to drop its leaves. Plant pathologists of the Ceylon Government and Kew Gardens, London, England, were consulted. They together identified the mycosis. The tree was sprayed with a fungicide and the soil was fertilized, as it was recognized that the primary cause of the disease was lack of plant nutrients in the soil. To the delight of everyone the holy tree is well again.

Indian history shows that the historic Bodhi tree, under the shelter of which the Buddha attained supreme enlightenment, was destroyed by a Queen of Asoka. This is confirmed by the great Chinese scholar, Pilgrim Monk FA-HIEN, in his account of his:travels to India and Ceylon, 399-414 after Christ. He stayed at Gaya and was saddened at the loss of the tree. The present Bodhi tree at Gaya is thus not the original Bodhi tree under which Buddhahood was attained. Therefore, the Bodhi tree at Anuradhapura is the oldest known historical tree in the world. These facts are also affirmed in Mahavamsa—the Great Chronicle of Ceylon.

Fa-Hien further confirms the history of the Bodhi tree at Anuradhapura, Ceylon, how it was sent by King Asoka to Ceylon, and writes: "Geneath the tree a temple has been built in which there is an image of the Buddha seated, which monks and commonalty revere and look up to without ever becoming wearied."²

H. G. Wells in his 'Outline of History' states: "The original Bodhi tree in India has long since perished, but close at hand lives another great tree which may be its descendant.....And in Ceylon there grows to this day the oldest historical tree in the world, which we know certainly to have been planted as a cutting from the original Bodhi tree, in the third century B. C. From that time to this day it has been carefully tonded and watered; its great branches are supported by pillars and the earth has been terraced up to above it, so that it has been able to put out fresh roots continually. It helps us to realise the shortness of human history to see so many generations spanned by the endurance of one single tree."3

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Indian and Foreign Periodicals

Nationalisation of Coal Mines

The Government's "Policy" relating to nationalisation of coal mines appears to continue to confuse the mine owners. They do not clearly know what the Government really wants them to do. The Coal Field Tribune says:

There is every reason to believe that Central Govt. is likely to take over the management of the non-coking coal mines in the country. At a meeting of workers of Dhanbad last week. the . Union Minister of Seel and Mines, Shri Mohan Kumarmangalam, reportedly said that the Government did not intend to take over noncoking coal mines. But at the same time he is said to have warned the owners of noncoking coal mines that the Government would be on the watch on the performance of the non-coking coal mine owners and would have no hesitation in taking over their mines, if they did not "learn the lesson we have taught the coking coal mine owners." Shri Kumarmangalam stated at Bokaro in September that Government was not going to nationalize coal mines but hardly a month passed, the Government took over the management of a part of the Coal Industry which is prelude nationalization and the Bill for nationalization of the taken over mines will be introduced luring the Budget Session in Parliament in March, 1972. There is every reason to believe that the non-coking coal mine owners will be "taught the lesson" in the meantime: else why the Bill for nationalisation of the aken over mines is not going to be introduced in Parliament which is in season now?

It transpires from the speech of Shri Kumarmangalam at Dhanbad that Government has in its mind to introduce the nationalization Bill not only for the taken over mines but for the Coal Industry as a whole.

Shri Kumaramangalam asked the owners of the non-coking coal mines to pay full wages to their workers, invest properly in their mines and develop and run them scientifically. It is an exaggerated expostulation. Irregular payment of wages by some of the mine owners are not unknown to Govt. But, Government so far failed to take any actions against those recalcitrant owners. In this connection, Government should put its own house in order so that the defaulters are punished and for that matter, the industry as a whole should not be blamed. So far as the question of proper investment and scientific development are concerned, it is very doubtful how far these succeed so long the Industry as a whole is kept under suspense. What is the impediment to the investment and scientific development of the Coal Industry in the private sector is the lack of Government's clear policy.

Nationalisation of certain economic institutions like Life Insurance and Banks were carried out because these institutions possessed large funds which Government wished to control. Not because these were badly managed. The coal mines are beeing accused of bad management. We feel however that state management could not claim any superiority when compared with private management.

Bangla Desh-A New State

K. Santhanam, writing in Swarajaya gives a

dear accunt of the formation of independent Langla Desh; of which the introductory paragraphs are quoted below:

With the unconditional surrender Eakisthani forces in East Bengal, the Independent State of Bangla Desh has come into effective existence. It was implied in the six points of Sheik Mujibur Rehman, for which he optained an overwhelming majority in the elections of December, 1970. If President Yahya Khan had accepted them, and the Szeik had become the Prime Minister of the whole of Pakistan, the State might have clanged first into a confederation and finally into separate States. Independence was no less inherent in those points than partition in the two-nation theory of Mr. Jinnah, but the process might have taken considerable time, perhaps some years. The military dictator's ruthless suppression has cosiderably hastened the birth of Bangla Desh, though its people heve had to pay a terrible price for it. It is difficult to imagine the ordeal which they have had to undergo during the last nine months without profound horror and fierce anger to-vards the persecutors and infinite pity and sympathy towards the persecuted. Perhaps, no State has achieved independence within such a short gestation period, but also no State, except perhaps Israel, has had to suffer so much for it. The entire people of India and most of the people of the whole world will greet the new State and wish it godspeed.

The Indian forces, the Army, the Navy and the Air Force did a wonderful job by forcing the considerable Pakistani army in East Bengal to currender within a fortnight. Still, it should not be forgotten that without the guerilla warfare put up by members of the Mukti Eakini for several months, cutting off the supplies and lines of communication and reducing the morale of the Pakistani troops, the victory might not have been so swift and

decisive. Therefore, the honour should be shared equally between them.

The Prime Minister and her Cabinet have nobly risen to the occasion and displayed rare statesmanship by offering unilaterally a ceasefire in the west from Friday night. Though it should have been bitter and humiliating, the military junta of Islamabad had to accept it and end the war. Otherwise, they had no alternative but to face a similar defeat in the west and a total surrender. In spite of Mr. Bhutto's fulminations for a 1000-year war with India, it is to be hoped that the people of the Punjab and other parts of Pakistan will realise that hatred of India is unprofitable and their own future depends upon the establishment of friendly relations between the two countries.

The end of the shooting war does not mean immediate peace. Many difficult issues are bound to arise in the tripartite negotiations between West Pakistan, India and Bangla Desh which are necessary to establish peace. The re-drawing of the Kashmir boundary between West Pakistan and India may be one of the difficult hurdles. The representatives of Bangla Desh will demand reasonable compensation from West Pakistan for the material loss that Bangla Desh has suffered but before any negotiations start, both India and Bangla Desh will insist that Sheik Mujibur Rehman should be set free immediately and be allowed to take up his leadership of Bangla Desh.

Nixon's Emotional Involvement in Pakistan's Aggression

President Nixon of the USA has been more involved in the aggression and barbarities committed by Pakistan than he need have been by reason of treaty obligations. His predecessors had supplied arms to Pakistan but had never gone before other nations to justify the genocide, rape and arson committed by

hat country. Recently President Nixon had gone out of his way to preach the justice of Pakistan's claims to nationhood, to establish the false propaganda of aggression by India as fact; as well as other falsehoods against India, Russia and Bangla Desh. Mr. Nixon is an intelligent and well informed person. He cannot take shelter behind any tales of ignorance of facts. He is guilty of deliberately backing a group of sadistic monsters who have killed a million men women and children in cold blood, abducted, molested and subjected thousands of innocent women to inhuman torture, and burned down millions of houses which led to the exodus of ten million inhabitants of East Bengal from their homes to seek refuge in India. He may be the President of the USA and capable of causing the manufacture of endless quantities of arms and other goods; and the formation of great military forces; but he cannot manufacture facts out of utter lies, nor make virtuous deeds out of the lowest types of sinful acts. This is not merely our reading of Nixon's character. The Guardian weekly of December 18, 1971 wrote:

"President Nixon is reported to have told the Soviet Union that he is considering cancelling his visit to Moscow next May because of Russia's hostile and obstructive attitude towards American efforts secure a ceasefire in the India-Pakistan war. The sending of Units of the Seventh Fleet, led by the nuclear aircrast carrier Enterprise to the, Bay of Bengal is also now acknowledged privately by official's in Washington to be a result of the President's determination to show the Soviet Union that the United States is not prepared to countenance the dismemberment of Pakistan...

"Mr. Nixon is said to have indicated bluntly to the Kremlin that if it continues to obstruct ceasefire resolutions in the security

council and fails to persuade India to exercise restraint; the whole of the America-Soviet relations will have to be re-examined. The President is believed to be concerned that India will not be content at having totally over-run East Pakistan, but, infused by its military success, will mount a major attack on its western front to seize Pakistan-held Kashmir.

"If the war should continue in this way the President fears that it could widen still further with possible Chinese involvement, which would almost certainly mean the cancellation of this proposed visit to Peking and Moscow next year.

"So far neither the Chinese nor the Americans have come out with direct military support for Pakistan, though Indian intelligence has received reports of "certain moves that the Chinese are making in certain areas." There was speculation that this might include an attempt to evacuate Pakistani troops from East Pakistan by rescue ships assembed in the Ganges delta. Actual Chinese involvement with India, either over the Kashmir border with Tibet or in the North-East Frontier Agency, was thought unlikely...........

"Earlier, diplomatic attempts at the United Nations to end the war were stymied yet again by a Soviet veto in the Security Council. Eleven members voted for a United States resolution calling for an immediate ceasefire and withdrawal of forces, Poland joined Russia in voting against and Britain and France abstained. Britain's formula is for an orderly transfer of authority in East Pakistan to a Bangladesh government....."

The American idea was to force a ceasefire in Bangla Desh before the West Pakistani troops were defeated in battle and were made to surrender. If America could achieve this it would have been a useful rescue to keep Bangla Desh attached to Pakistan. But unfortunately.

due to the Russian veto the trick did not work. When the ceasefire was called for by 5m. Indira Gandhi, Bangla Desh had already been fully occupied by the Mukti Bahini and the Indian army. The ceasefire was effective in the western region and the Sino-Americans would no doubt try their best to retain the - 30 called Azad Kashmir within Pakistan by reason of this cessation of hostilities. Though India should demand return of all unlawfully occupied territory as well as release of all non-West Pakistanis detained in West Pakistan by order of the martial law administration of Pakistan. Among these the most important persons is Sheik Mujibur Rehman. If he is not released, no senior army officer of Pakistan should be allowed to go back home.

Why Bangla Desh Broke Away from Pakistan

Woodrow Wyatt has written an article on Britain's support of Bangla Desh in New Statesman of 10th December, 1971. We are reproducing some portions of this article. "If ever there were a just war this is it. The people of East Pakistan voted almost to a man for the Awami League and some form

of autonomy. The Awami League actually won a majority of seats in the Parliament of East and West Pakistan combined and which never met.

"It is possible, had President Yahya and the West Pakistan Establishment honoured the results of the elections, that East Pakistan would have remained in association with West Pakistan so preserving an international identity for Pakistan. Once Sheikh Mujib was arrested and the West Pakistan army began its slaughters, all hope went of East Pakistan voluntarily remaining a part of Pakistan. This is not merely because of the barbarous behaviour of President Yahya's troops. It is because there never was anything but vague religious sentiment to bind the Bengalis to West Pakistan.

"As the world refused to assert the unquestioned right of the East Pakistanis to have their Bangla Desh, it has no moral authority to criticise India for trying to set it up. The strongest part of the Indian case is not that they cannot afford to feed the 10 million refugees from East Pakistan but that they are championing democracy and fighting ruthless oppression......"





Sk. MUJIBUR REHAMAN



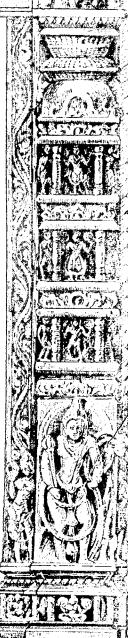
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THE MODERN REVIEW

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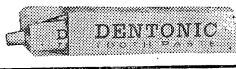


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THE MODERN REVIEW

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FEBRUARY



1972

Vol. CXX-X No. 2

Whole No. 782

NOTES

American Agents in India

America, i.e. the United States of America, have great political ambitions. In the days of and establishment. imperial conquests of empires a conquering country imposed its sovereignty on the conquered territories. But y when open and blatant conquests are d upon as attacks on human rights no er with an honourable position in the Lety of nations openly tries to thrust its vereign authority upon another country. Present day methods of imposing overlordship others usually follow an economic path. h economic dependence on the controlling her come military subservience through pply of arms and military equipment. The pirant to overlordship also attempts to Lert its influence by working its way into the lds of education, cultural activities, moral forms and religious observances. Agents are mployed by the power that wants to establish s overlordship on other countries and these ents work secretly and without in anyway vulging their ulterior motives. They enter the field of their activities in the garb of teachers, doctors, musicians and preachers of religion and try to establish preceptor-pupil relations with chosen members of the community they wish to use as their tools. Once they get a hold on the minds of their followers they slowly begin to put ideas into their heads which eventually make them the ardent followers of their foreign gurus.

The Americans, who have been trying to become the virtual rulers of the world since the end of the second world war, have been spreading a vast net work of espionage, economic propaganda and aid and control through secret agents over various countries of Europe and Asia. These agents have all received training to mix with and create bonds of fellowship with the peoples of other lands in a manner which caused them to be accepted as near friends by foreigners. They learnt the languages, the social manners and customs, cultural practices and religious rituals of other peoples with a degree of perfection that was remarkable. In India the American agents spoke the Indian languages and dialects, sang Indian songs, played Indian musical instruments and even assumed Indian dress and accepted Indian religious customs with a view to be trusted by Indians. Religious preachers have preached rebellion even before the American devotees came on the scene to induce the common people to challenge the teachings of our own leaders. We therefore have to watch carefully how the Americans go about their business of destroying political balance, the spirit of tolerance and faith in our own leaders. The Americans build industries for us, they finance our projects, they sing our songs, recite verses from our holv books dress and eat like we do and assist us to set up hospitals and other institutions. It is all very well, only most of these benefactors have some objective which is not beneficial to us.

Bravery Keeps Step with Sense of Honour

The Pakistan forces must have been brave in a manner of speaking but they certainly lowered the standards of chivalry by attacking unarmed, men women and children and by rape, plunder and arson. Such conduct lowers the morale of any soldiers by creating a deep sense of shame and guilt in their mind. Low morale is bad for rousing proper fighting spirit and one may say that the crimes committed by the Pakistani soldiers were at the root of their precipitate defeat and surrender.

The Indian Jawans fought bravely and with a swift moving precision that was most remarkable. The Indian soldiers were not only brave and great fighters, but they also proved themselves to be faultlessly chivalrous and honourable. Wherever they went or camped, they never roused any sense of insecurity in their neighbours. Quite often our Jawans have camped near girl's colleges but no one ever complained in the slightest about their behaviour. Not by galance have our soldiers caused uneasiness to any women members of the public. This high reputation

for honourable behaviour was earned by the soldiers of the Indian army by their steady attachment to the principles of correct behaviour and the rules of civilised warfare. Inspite of the fact that the Pakistan forces had been behaving in a genocidal manner and had been guilty of crimes against women and destruction of places of worship, the Indian soldiers treated the POWS with kindness and consideration. This proved their strict attachment to the laws of warfare. Chivalry and honour kept pace with bravery and fighting ability in the case of the Indian soldiers.

Trial of War Criminals

The Pakistan army killed in cold blood nearly two million civilians; men women and children, hand picked members of the intelligentsia and professional persons; and they dishonoured hundreds of thousands of women, plundered and burned down villages, markets, factories and places of worship. They chased out ten million people from their homes and forced them to seek refuge in India. This great crime against humanity was something unparalleled in the history of modern nations. The people of Bangla Desh, against whom the crimes were committed have been demanding that those of the criminal's against whom cases could be made should be tried and punished if found guilty. At a very careful estimate the Bangla Desh people think that 200 persons could be accused of definite crimes and put up for trial before an internationally approved body of judges. It is well known that the crimes were committed at the instance of Pakistani army officers and that these officers received their orders for the mass slanghter of Bengalis, particularly of the educated classes, from top ranking army chiefs. At the apex of the army organisation was General Iyahya Khan, who advised by men like Mr. Bhutto thought of this genocidal attack on the Bengalis. So the army chiefs would be cited

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as the major criminals and the lesser officers and men would be the actual perpetrators of the crimes. Orders were given to the soldiers of the Pakistan army to machine gun people, to shoot down fleeing persons, to bomb and to burn down houses and buildings. Those who gave these orders were the criminals. Women were abducted and kept in places where they were molested and dishonoured. Some officers arranged all this. They should be brought to trial. The idea of trying these criminals should be carried out soon; otherwise, delay will destroy evidence.

Ten Nation European Common Market

On January 22, 1972 Britain, Ireland, Denmark and Norway signed a treaty of accession to become members of the European Common Market. The six member community will thus be enlarged to a ten member body. The six members were France, Italy, West Germany, Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg. There was a colourful ceremony at which Mr. Edward Heath, Mr. Jack Lynch, Mr. Jens Otto Krag and Mr. Trygve Brattell represented Britain, Ireland, Denmark and Norway respectively. All members signed the new treaty of which the documents were bound in blue leather. The signatories went one by one to a rosewood table on which the documents were kept and appended their signatures. The old six signed first in the following order. Luxembourg went first and was followed by Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, France and Italy. The new members, Ireland, Denmark and Norway followed. This was the culmination of negotiations that had been going on for 18 months and 21 days. The ceremony was imposing but was delayed by an hour after a woman, masquerading as a photographer, threw a plastic bag of ink at Mr. Heath. This forced Mr. Heath to send for a change of clothing. After eleaning his face which was covered with

what looked like printing ink Mr Heath changed into fresh clothes and proceeded to sign the economic treaty. He said, "We in Britain have every reason to wish for better relations with the states of Eastern Europe. Mr. Heath suggested that Britain's participation in the common market organisation will be of benefit to the commonwealth countries. He did not mention the USA at all, though the common market idea began with hopes of achieving freedom from American control over the economic life of Europe. The new Europe that was going to be built through economic cooperation of the various countries of Europe must satisfy three conditions.

Firstly, it must be strong and confident within itself.

Secondly this Europe will have no tension between eastern and western European countries and

Lastly it must actively live upto its responsibility for assuring a better life to all humanity

It would appear that the American policy of anti-Russian economic activities was no longer appealing to most European countries. They felt that it would be better for them if they collaborated with the iron curtain countries in preference to acting as henchmen of the USA as had been the case since the end of the second world war.

The European Common Market came into existence with a fair dose of anti-USA ideas in it. The British were probably not very keen on being anti-USA in the beginning. But they soon discovered that if America carried on an economic war against Russia, it would damage the healthy growth of European trade and industries. The ten nation combine in Europe therefore will be a great challenge to the USA.

Those who opposed Britain's collaboration with common market countries said that Britain was surrendering many of her econo-

mic rights and advantages by signing this treaty creating a ten nation community for economic cooperation. British fishing grounds for instance, they said, would be exploited by French, Dutch, Belgian, Norwegian and German fishing fleets. May be so, but there would certainly be new found advantages too, which would compensate for any losses that Britain may suffer. The most important thing that we can see should be the stimulus that this would give to British commercial carrying by sea and to British Banking. London had been a great market for money transactions connected with buying and selling between the The ten nation pact and their nations. exchanges of goods with other communities like the East European communist countries or the markets in South America or the Middle East should provide greater scope to the British bankers to regain their lost position in the world money market. The Americans had usurped this position of importance but there are symptoms that they might not be able to retain their newly gained importance.

The Elections

The elections were due to be held in 1972 and we are going to have the elections early in 1972 duly and on time. The atmosphere is very favourable for the party in power for the reason that the Government was forced into a war in which the Indian army, navy and air force displayed remarkable ability, courage and generalship and won a victory which was swift, sure footed and won with the minimum loss of men and equipment. Ruling Congress Party with Sreemati Indira Gandhi as its very capable leader is therefore contesting in the elections with the voters fully conscious of the fact that Mrs. Gandhi has proved herself to be a sound administrator, a bold leader in times of national danger and a person who really means to bring relief to the poverty striken masses of India, without in any way indulging

in drastic changes in the social, economic and political structure of India. The other important Parties which are contesting in elections are the two Communist Parties, The Swatantra Party, the Jana Sangha, the Praja Socialist Party, the DMK and the Forward Block. There are many other parties who may form Fronts or combines but these have little hope of weilding any great power at the centre. The C. P. I. (Marxist) group will win some seats in certain states but the number of seats they may win in the Lok Sabha will not be considerable. The present atmosphere is unfavourable to the Sinophil communists and it is doubtful whether they will win many seats in any state legislatures either. having befriended India in the recent crisis, the Communist Party of India, which is devoted to Russia, may win some followers who may defect from the pro-Chinese Camp. The Swatantra and the Jana Sangha may show noticeable success in some states, but their supporters are remarkably few in most other states. After the Bangla Desh incidents the name of the Muslim League is no longer held in high esteem anywhere in India and persons who will appear in the elections with that party ticket will probably suffer from loss of popularity on that account. Some people think the Government should ban that name.

President Giri on India's Future

The theme of President Giri's Republic Day speech was India's future. He began by exhorting Pakistan "to give up the attitude of ill-will towards" India. This was very sound in principle in so far as Pakistan's attitude has been a major cause of holding up India's progress in the fields of mass education, internal road development, setting up minor industries, provision of social security to the people and general upliftment of the masses. Had Pakistan been sensible and less prone to incitement to anti-Indian activities by the

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foreign enemies of India; both India and Pakistan could have developed much more by diverting resources wasted on warlike preparations to constructive schemes of achieving greater social well being.

The President then spoke of the great necessity "for a three-year moratorium on strikes and lock outs". One may say that a moratorium of that type can only be established if the government also instituted a moratorium on inflation, increased taxation causing rise in prices, monopolistic attempts by the state to drive out private persons from business by the creation of expensive centralised enterprises and the creation of more states on a linguistic, racial or some other basis.

Inspite of all difficulties the President thought India's future was bright. And he believed that "A strong, stable and prosperous India will benefit not only all the people of India but add to the strength, stability and prosperity of this whole region." No one of course expected President Giri to give a lengthy account of the reasons on which he based his faith in India's future strength and prosperity. A Republic Day announcement should be and, in this case, was short, precise and to the point. It was made with a view to boost the morale of the people of India. The recent victory over Pakistan no doubt is a strong reason for an optimistic assessment of the future progress of India. But we must not forget that our enemies would planning now to damage our future prospects of developing our economy and our social institutions. We shall not be able to relax for a minute and we shall have to be extremely careful about all our plans and movements. We have said many times before this and we say now that the total or partial unemployment of about 300 million persons in India is a terrifying obstacle to our chances of rapid do; and that will keep them going.

progress and this national waste of labour power must be stopped. If all people worked full time in India for wages or for personal gain, our position will soon begin to improve. How this can be achieved is our problem. Every man and woman should start thinking about the solution of this great problem.

Refugees Return Home

By this time more than half the refugees, who entered India to escape the atrocities committed by Pakistani army personel have gone back to Bangla Desh. This proves the correctness of the statement made by Sreemati Indira Gandhi that the refugees would go back the moment they felt that their lives would be safe in Bangla Desh. That could only happen when the Pakistan army surrendered in Bangla Desh. Now that nearly sixty lakhs of refugees have returned to their home land, we can imagine what they have suffered during their journey to India. Added to that is the suffering that they are experiencing while trying to travel back to their own country. Nearly two hundred thousand persons are going back daily. They are travelling by trains, by trucks and buses, by steamers and boats, by bullock carts, private cars, rickshaws and on foot. The physical pain is comparable to what they felt when they were coming; but now there is hope in their heart and a glorious feeling of freedom in their souls which makes all physical suffering less painful. They know they are no longer the slaves of Pakistan and the barbarous soldiers of that land of treatherous oppressors of fellow human beings have been compelled to surrender. Soon everybody will be at home. There will be tears of anguish; for many have lost their near and dear ones; but life is such that it gives one little chance to sit and suffer. They have much work to

Anthony Mascarenhas

Anthony Mascarenhas was born in Mysore in 1928. In 1947 he came to Bombay to work with Reuters. After partition Mascarenhas settled in Karachi and was working for the Associated Press of Pakistan upto 1954. He became a very important journalist in Pakistan and we find him as Reuter's Correspondent in Pakistan and as Correspondent of New York Times, Life and Time during the next seven He joined the Morning News of Karachi in 1961 and was sent to Delhi by that journal. He was in New Delhi upto 1965. He went back to Pakistan and was assistant editor of Morning News upto 1971. It was in that year that Pakistan started a genocidal attack on its own eastern wing and Anthony Mascarenhas was one of the chosen men who were sent to Dacca to see things for themselves and to report to the Pakistan Press, for world circulation, how normalcy had returned in East Bengal. When he came to Dacca he found that the Pakistan army had been indulging in a large scale massacre of Bengalis. The barbarous deeds that the Pakistani soldiers committed defied description. He wrote later "What I saw in East Bengal was to me more outrageous than anything I had read about the inhuman acts of Hitler and the Nazis." His soul revolted and he decided to write the true story of the East Bengal atrocities and to publish it in some widely circulated newspaepr in Great Britain. He accordingly flew out to London and contacted the Sunday Times. Ho wrote the Trac Story of the mass killings in which no one was spared on account of age or Sex. He made one condition with the Sunday Times. It was about witholding publication of his account until he went back to Pakistan and removed his wife and five children out of the country. Permission to send his family to England was conditional and he had to stay back. This however

could not be enforced by the Pakistan Government as he soon managed to escape from that Anthony Mascarenhas is working in England. He did a great service to humanity by telling the world what Yahya Khan had done to the people of East Pakistan. When the Sunday Times splashed the full story of the genocide on the 13th June 1971 it created a sensation. Millions of People read the blood curdling story and realised the bestial horror of the situation. The Pakistan army leaders said, "We are determined to cleanse East Pakistan once and for all of the threat of secession, even if it means killing off two million people and ruling the province as a colony for 30 years." Anthony Mascarenhas was the first press reporter who gave proper publicity to the gruesome story of killing, mutilating and torturing hundreds of thousands of innocent men, women and children. There were horrifying accounts of mass molestation and dishonouring of women and maiming of children. He rendered great service to the world press by his courageous

Surrender of Arms by Unofficial Bands

There are many anti-Bangla Desh · Government groups in that newly formed state and most of them have illicitly procured arms. The Pakistan army before surrendering gave arms to most of these groups in the hope that the war against Mujibur Rehman's Government will be carried on by these secret supporters of Pakistan even after the Pakistan army surrendered. Sheikh Mujibur Rehman asked all unofficial armed bands to surrender arms by a given date; so that, thereafter, all who disobeyed him and kept their arms could be dealt with according to the law. fought armed bands which Pakistan army side by side with the Indian army and the Bangla Desh Mukti Bahini, came forward immediately to deposit their

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arms. One of the most spectacular acts of such surrender of arms was by the Kader Bahini led by "Tiger" Siddiqui a courageous youngman with 17000 followers. Siddiqui announced that he felt it was a great command honour to lay down arms at the Bangabandhu leader of their great laid He Sheikh Muiibur Rehman. the feet ofSheikh a Sten gun at symbolic gesture Mujibur Rehman as a surrender. Thereafter his followers stacked up thousands of rifles, mortars and other weapons to complete the disarming of their unofficial army of freedom fighters. Sheikh Mujibur Rehman will now deal with the enemies of Bangla Desh in the manner that they should be dealt with.

USA's Contribution to Refugee Relief

Ambassador Kenneth B. Keating sent the following to the American Reporter of January 26, 1972.

As the refugees move back to their homes in Bangla Desh, a number of them will be carrying food, clothing and blankets provided by the people of the United States.

Hardly a week has gone by these past months when a cargo plane from the United States has not set down in Calcutta and unloaded relief supplies ranging from medicines to warm blankets. By sea, too, the U.S. has dispatched chartered ships carrying blankets and high-protein food supplies.

Yet, judging from my mailbag, which has been rather full lately, this fact isn't generally known. Some letters have been critical of the U.S. relief effort. While it isn't important itself who gets credit for what it happens—it does serve as a factor in reaching conclusions and making judgments.

In any event, the content of the letters surprised me. I knew that the U.S. Government and people through voluntary contributions, had been far and away the largest outside contributor to relief efforts.

So I asked my staff to do a little research into just what we had gone. The result surprised me; the amount was greater than I had thought.

President Nixon allocated 36 million dollars (26.3 crore rupees) in cash and 54 million dollars (39.4 crore rupees) in specific materials such as protein foods, medicines, blankets, shelter materials for a total of 90 million dollars (65.7 crore rupees).

In addition, the American people, through voluntary efforts of humanitarian private agencies such as C. A. R. E., the Red Cross and others, have contributed more than 11 million dollars (8 crore rupees) for relief to refugees in India.

These funds were collected in a variety of ways—door-to-door solicitations, musical concerts, bake sales, handicraft auctions, and even marches by youngsters.

One of the more imaginative solicitations was undertaken by a gentleman named Shrikumar Podder, a university graduate student from India who is in the process of becoming an American citizen. He and six friends sent letters to Americans across the nation More than 20,000 responded and, at last count, Mr. Podder had collected \$300,000 (22 lakh rupees) for relief.

The results of the efforts of Mr. Podder and other volunteers have gone to provide cholera vaccine, blankets, tents, medicines, vitamins, food and clothing for refugees.

Admittedly, 100 million dollars (73 crore rupces) is not a large sum in relation to the massive needs of the refugees, but an expression of concern by a nation and people living on the other side of the world, I think it is of significance.

The refugees are returning now, and we are all glad that their dislocation was only temporary. Still, the needs remain great, and I am sure that the American people will continue to contribute in an attempt to ease their resettlement.

There has been considerable criticism of the U.S. policies toward the subcontinent in recent months. Some of it, regrettably, is based on misinformation or distortion, and even outright untruths. This is understandable, of course, in view of the considerable emotion kindled by recent events and in light of the complexity of the situation.

Yet, who gave what toward relief really shouldn't be a part of it; for the facts are clear. The Indian Government and people shouldered the major burden of relief. The U.S. sought vigorously to help ease that burden, and I am rather proud of what we have done, both as a government and as a people with a long tradition of humanitarianism.

The world public have been critical of the part the Americans played in the Pak-Bangla Desh conflict as almost all the bullets and shells that killed 2 million innocent men women and children in Bangla Desh were supplied to the killers by the USA. Pakistan's major supporters were the USA. Ten million refugees fled into Indian territory because Pakistan soldiers got endless supplies of arms and munitions from the USA. The help given to the refugees by the USA therefore should

be presented side by side with the help the USA gave to the criminals who killed, maimed, raped and terrorised the people of Bangla Desh and devastated numerous towns and villages there.

Mr. Bhutto Runs Around

Mr. Zulficar Ali Bhutto, President of Pakistan is going from capital to capital to seek inspiration and economic aid. He has visited Kabul, Teheran and has immediate plans of going to Ankara, Moscow and Peking. He has no declared intention of visiting the USA; but he must be in constant touch with Mr. Nixon who tells him what to do next in order to act as the spearhead of attack on India. He must also be consulting his Chinese advisers, and one knows little about the conferences that take place between China and the USA in order to coordinate the joint plan of action against India that Pakistan, the USA and China may be fudging up. Turkey and Iran are of little consequence excepting as far as they carry out the orders of the USA. We do not yet know why Bhutto is proposing to visit Moscow. He should break off relations with Russia: but would he?

N. C. Chatterjee

N. C. Chatterjee, a leading barrister of the Calcutta High Court and the Supreme Court of India, died on January 24, 1972 at his Calcutta residence. He was 77 years old and he left behind him his widow, three daughters and two sons. Nirmal Chandra Chatteriee was the son of the late Bholanath Chatterjee, an engineer of good standing. He was born in 1895 and had a brilliant academic career. At Calcutta he obtained his M. A. and LL. B degrees with credit and also the Premchand Raichand Scholarship. He went later to England to study law and stood first in the first class in the final Bar He became a top examination. lawyer in Calcutta and he acted as a judge of the Calcutta High Court for. some time. He later resigned this judgeship and went to New Delhi to practise in the Supreme Court, where he soon made his reputation us a Constitutional lawyer.

Nirmal Chandra Chatterjee was an able

he worked for the Hindu Mahasabha in various capacities. He was on the Dacca Riots Enquiry Commission and worked for the rehabilitation of the sufferers in the Dacca and Noakhali riots. Dr. Mukherjee had great faith in Mr. N. C. Chatterjee and relied upon him for many important political work of great importance. He was a member of the Lok Sobha for many years and had been Chairman of the All India civil Liberties Council' Vice-President of the Supreme Court Bar Association, Chairman of the Lok Sabha Committee on Subordinate Legislation and a member of the Committee on Tibet set up by the International Commisson of Jurists. He represented the Supreme Court Bar at the Commonwealth Law Conference London in 1955, at the International Bar Conference or Salzburg in 1960 and he was the leader of a delegation of lawyers that visited Russia in 1959. Mr. N. C. Chatterjee was India's counsel when the Rann of Kutch case was heard by the International Court of Justice at the Hague. He was also appointed Chairman of the Refugee Rehabilitation buthe Central Government.

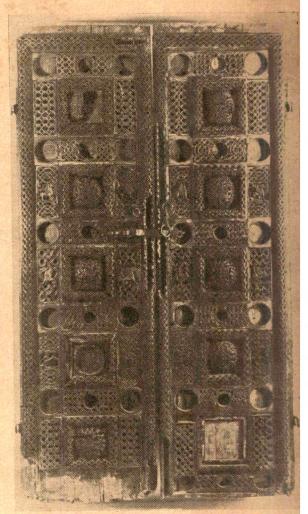
WOOD CARVING IN BULGARIA

DIMITER DROUMEV

We can speak of an art of wood carving in Bulgaria from the time when the Slavs came to live in the territories along the Balkan Mountains. They used to make their huts, utensils, and implements of wood, and decorated them with different ornaments, such as incisions and arches, parallel lines and grooves. As a matter of fact, these were the first steps towards the future great art of wood carving which was to develop in these parts and was to become an art very rich in forms, creative inventions and artistic achievements.

The Balkan Peninsula was a crossroads of cultures from east to west and vice versa, a centre where the cultural, artistic and aesthetical trends from Asia, Africa and Europe met, having before that given a material expression to their ideas with their emotional impact in the great cultural centres along the Mediterranean coast.

For this, as well as for many other reasons, a homogeneous, pure style such as the Egyptian and the Gothic could not be developed in Bulgaria. On the other hand, an intricate art developed here, which in its artistic manifestations found a place for the lotus and other flowers of Mesopotamia for the volumes of the Ionic order and the aconthus leaf of Hellas, the Byzantine curves and the Roman candelabra for the Gothic hop twigs, the Eastern and Renaissance arabesques, the Baroque sculptures, and for neo-classical exquisitness and all this with a fine sense for measure, directing the hand of the wood-



1. Rila Monastery. The gate of the Hrelyo Tower

carver to establishing unity in this eclectic collection and imbuing it with a purely national atmosphere which characterises the art of every individual nation. The oldest preserved piece of wood carving is a church door from the 14th century (Rila Monastery). It features intricately intertwined bands in a sort of lacework. Each of the two leaves has 10 convex rosettes decorated with lacework motifs. On the vertical sides of the door are carved griffins, lions, and double-headed monstrous creatures. This was the door of a ruler's church with symbolic representations of power, knowledge and strength. In it we can find many typical features of the Middle Ages in Bulgaria.

Lions and double-headed eagels in lacework ornaments are also seen on other pieces of wood carving dating from that time. They testify to the tendency of lending a festive and impressive aspect to the interior of a church.

Later on, however, the lacework ornaments disappeared and were replaced by plants and geometrical motifs. In 1393 Bulgaria fell under Ottoman domination. The oppression and the barbarity of the enslavers, on the one hand, and the militant spirit and the aspirations of the Bulgarians for freedom, on the other, introduced new subjects and forms in the art of wood carving. The struggle between good and evil, most often personified in the figures of a lion and a dragon, a man or a bird a smake, became the principal motif. Thus, the iconostasis in a church in Assenovgrad features the scene of Samson and the Lion. As a matter of fact, instead of the Biblical Samson we see a whiskered Bulgarian peasant in his national costume consisting of a tight-fitting vest and baggy trousers, tearing apart the jaws of the beast. In this way the wood carvers artistically recreated the people's longings for a f-ee life, for shaking off the voke. Wood car-ing thus became a sort of outlet for the pain of the oppressed people.

At another place, in Berkovitsa, we see the images of Adam and Eve amid wood-carved vegetation. Adam is hoeing and Eve spinning.

In a naive way, but with artistic frankness and with emotional force, the first Biblical human beings are portrayed in costumes of Bulgarian peasants, who expect nothing to be doled out to them from Paradise but are working with their hands to earn their living.

In the Cathedral church of Pazardjik, amid ornaments made up of branches, leaves, and flowers, are sculpted scenes taken from the Bible. They are depicted with high artistic mastery, and an inner connection between the figures has been achieved. On one of the reliefs, Exodus to Egypt we see a very familiar, every-day episode. A family of working people is returning from a day's work in the fields. Executed sweepingly, impressionistically and with daring, the relief wins us with the fine feeling that unites the people in the group, with the expressive simplicity through which the 'divine' is brought down to earth and is instilled in the hearts of the common people.

The Bulgarian wood carvers are also outstanding composers of ornaments consisting of plant motifs, birds and animal figures. In those instances where the wood carver has not come to the sculptural problem, he fascinates us with his unusual imagination as a decorator. There are iconostases the ornamentation of which is made up of leaves, little flowers, and bunches of grapes but which produce on the viewer the impact of a blossoming garden from some fairy land with exquisite, queer birds in it.

During the period of the Bulgarian National Revival (18th-19th century) when the town and village houses began to be decorated, a new tendency appeared in the art of wood carving in Bulgaria. Domestic or pastoral wood carving develop Yokes, distaffs, walking sticks, the typical Bulgarian two mouthed flat wooden vessels for keeping wine, cradles and other objects began to be decora-

ted with a new kind of wood carving Ceilings, built-in-cupboards, doors and wooden columns were also thus decorated. Ceilings were usually decorated with a large sun radiating sharp rays surrounded by a frame of flower motifs or else with a convex rosette made up of the fruits of the earth in a flat plain with little flowers scattered over them. Very often the capitals of the wooden columns were nothing but local interpretations of the classic capitals.

Today Bulgarian wood carving again goes through a revival, entering at some places timidly and slowly the day-to-day life, the workdays and holidays of modern man. Wood carving decoration in the interior and the exterior of buildings are often provided in the designs of public buildings, houses of culture, holiday houses, hotels, library clubs, and schools. The result is an interesting artistic synthesis between architecture and the wood carving decorations.

Wood, unlike plaster of Paris, travertine metal and plastics is a living material which under all circumstances produces an impact of cosiness and warmth. Wood carving is a folk art in Bulgaria which has not yet had its day or become old fashioned and which will continue to play an important role in the development of Bulgarian culture and the people's way of life.

KATHAKALI—AN INDIGENOUS ART FORM OF KERALA

K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPE

An astonishingly unique and dynamic combination of traditional dance, elaborate gesture, picturesque costume, grand make-up and vigorous music, KATHAKALI is a dance-drama form peculiar to Kerala. This pantomime came into existence in the first half of the 16th Century. It is popularly believed that KATHAKALI is an improvement upon KRISHNATTAM, a kind of dance-drama which was originated by Manavedan Raja, a scion of the Zamorin family of Calicut and a great devotee of Shri Krishna. KRISHNATTAM which came into being by about 1650 A.D. was based on ASHTAPADIYATTAM, a

kind of folk dance in which the feeling of love was predominant. Modelled on Jayadeva's famous literary masterpiece GITA GOVIN-DAM, KRISHNATTAM was entirely in Sanskrit, confined to Court Circles, and performed as a votive offering lasting for eight consecutive nights.

Origin of Kathakali

Legend and tradition aver that Raja Veera Kerola Verma of Kottarakkara once requested the Zamorin of Calicut to send his troupe of KRISHNATTAM players for a performance in connection with a Royal wedding there. The Zamorin added insult to injury by not only declining the request of the Raja of Kottarakkara, but also by jeeringly remarking that there were no scholars in the South who were capabale of appreciating such a highly artistic and literary performance ERISHNATTAM. As a measure of retaliation, arising out of righteous indignation, the Raja of Kottarakkara evolved a new type of dance called RAMANATTAM. He dispensed with the costly dress of the actors in the KRISHNATTAM and adopted simpler costumes which looked primitive. RAMANATTAM was first performed in front of the deity in the Ganapathi Temple of Kottarakkara. It is a convention which is followed by KATHAKALI actors that their first performance should invariably be performed as an act of adoration of God Ganapathi at this temple. RAMANATTAM is considered to be the "FOEUS ET ORICO" of KATHAKALI which in its form, substance, depth and dynamism is unique.

The Raja of the principality of Kottarakkara, a great scholar who lived between 1575 and 1650 A.D., was the first composer and originator of KATHAKALI. A revolutionary revival of the old folk dance-drama in anew, attractive garb, this new drama liberally borrowed both from the old and the new but sedulously preserved the trinity of harmonies as its most precious heirloom. It was originally RAMANATTAM, for the earliest theme theatrically represented was the story of Sri Rama, one of the AVATARS (incarnations) of Lord Vishnu. Thn Raja of Kottarakkara took for all his eight plays the incidents in the RAMAYANA, from the birth of Sri Rama to his coronation after killing Ravana, and these episodes were graphically represented in his plays. The Raja of Kottayam who next developed this dancedrama based his themes on the BHARA-

THAM. He flourished between 1665 and 1743 A.D. The Author of four KATHAKALI plays, he set the standard for the subsequent writers. An inspired dramatist and accomplished actor, he once took by surprise the Zamorin of Calicut who was a connoisseur of the art of KATHAKALI. The Raja of Kottayam, during his visit to the Zamorin, without the knowledge of others, participated in a performance. The Zamorin was pleased with the new actor and was about to give him presents when he recognised to his great surprise, the person of the fifty-year old Kottayam Raja as the actor. The Raja of Vattathunad was the pioneer in improving upon the RAMANATTAM and making it brighter and more spectacular.

The art of KATHAKALI is older than its literature which is about four centuries old. Certain facts go to prove that KATHAKALI is at best a thousand years old. In KATHAKALI is at best a thousand years old. In KATHAKALI, literature is subordinate to art. A type of pantomime using a stylized gesture language, acted to the accompaniment of drums, and songs sung by special singers, and the whole set in a framework of dance, the KATHAKALI has no counterpart elsewhere, except in the shadow dance and dramas of Java.

History says that Ammu Raja of Bali Islands, nearly a thousand years ago, took some people from Travancore and that they taught to the people of Bali a kind of dance in which predominance was given to gesture. This dance spread to Java.

Heritage of a Race

KATHALI, a perfect idealised art in which the acting, dancing and music exist in perfect union, has come to be recognised as the most wonderful histrionic art of the Orient and has caught worldwide attention. This Kerala art form which is both fascinating and spectacular has won the full-volumed admira-

tion of art connoisseurs who are greatly impressed by its originality and elaborate technique. KATHAKALI has had a more intimate association with the social and secular life of the country than any other form of Kerala Art. Dr. C. A. Menon says that "it is a mistake to regard KATHAKALI as an isolated phenomenon divorced from its social and historical background" and that the art is "a cumulative growth expanding over several centuries". He strikes the right chord when he declares that "the Navars Nambudiris, the two leading communities of Malabar and their special characteristics, have gone into the making of KATHAKALI as an art" and that "its features reflect their dominant qualities which they acquired in the course of their evolution". As another eminent art critic has put it, "KATHAKALI must be the heritage of a race, as old as itself".

Hasta-Mudras (Hand Poses)

In the development of this scientific mimicry the whole gamut of literary expression of the flawless type has been reduced to elementary motions for which there are separate finger signs. The codified finger poses (Mudras) are full of definite symbolical significance and meaning and are effective substitutes for spoken language. Imitative. technical and suggestive, they are cent per cent symbolical and denote objects, action and even inflection. The system of finger poses is based on the BHARATHA NATYA SASTRA. HASTA LAKSHANADEEPIKA and ABHINAYA DARPANA are two standard works on MUDRAS. The MUDRAS which constitute the alphabet of a language of more than seven hundred words, aim at indirect suggestion rather than direct exposition. Each pose has a separate name. Greater significance has been attached to indirect, suggestion. There are 24 basic MUDRAS and about 300

main continuations. It is believed that the Mudras have their origin in the TANTRIC rites of old. This wonderful gesture language has in it all the potentialities of a universal medium of effectively expressing thoughts. The MUDRAS permit endless permutations and combinations, providing ample scope to the talented artiste endowed with originality to express his rare and full volumed genius.

HASTA-MUDRAS (Hand Poses) are shown with one hand and both hands, as befitting the occasion. Showing a basic MUDRA with one hand is called ASAMUKTA (Single) pose, while showing the same root MUDRA with both hands is called SAMYUKTA (Combined) Pose. The display of one root MUDRA with one hand, and simultaneously another root MUDRA with the other hand, is known as MISRA (Mixed). twenty-four basic **MUDRAS** PATAKA (Flag), MUDRAKHYA (Pose), KATAKA (Bracelet), MUSHTI (Fist), KARTARIMUKHA (Face of Arrow Shaft), KAPITTHAKA (Elephant Apple), (Parrot's SUKATUNDA Beak) KAMSAPAKSHA (Wing of Swan), SIKHARA (Peak), HAMSASYAM (Face of Swan), ANJALI (Greeting), ARDHACHANDRA (Half Moon), MUKURA, BHRAMARA (Beetle), SUCHIMUKHA (Face on Needle), PALLAVA (Tender Foliage), TRIPATAKA (Triple Flag), MRIGASIRSHA (Head of Deer). SARPASIRA (Head of Serpent) VARDHAMANAKA (Causing Flourishment), ARALA URNANABHA, (Spider), MUKULA (Flower Bud) and KATAKAMUGHA (Opening in a Bracelet).

Kathakali Literature

KATHAKALI plays are on supreme dramatic and literary excellence. They are written in mixed verse and quasiprose called MANIPRAVALA, a melodious, well balanced, a limixture of Sanskrit and Malayalam. The

dialogues are in songs and the intermediate incidents between scenes are in verse. dialogues are invariably in Malayalam but the verses are in a mixture of Sanskrit and Malayalam. The verse, or SLOKA as it is called, introducés the actors to the scene. The verses, as a rule, close with the words, "And so they spoke", and immediately, behind the curtain appear the actors. The (THIRASSILA) holders have to raise or lower the curtain according to the tempo of the dance of the actors. The silk curtain is five feet long, four feet broad and of a single colour and bears usually the emblem of a latus or the representation of God Siva or The KATHAKALI literature has as Vishnu. its rich background an enormous amount of labour and research in the realms of art, literature and music. The religious devotion to the art, the impersonal participation in it, a lofty craftsmanship in the governance of the tools, the rhythm and emotion are the distinguishing features of this classical dance-drama which draws vital inspiration from the stories of the PURANAS. The lyrical sublimity and epic grandeur of the KATHAKALI unique. Rhythm, harmony and cadence, the primary requisites of dance, are in evidence in the KATHAKALI. KATHAKALI comprises a mixture of the various types of religious, folk, artistic, and martial dances prevalent in Malabar from very ancient times.

The eight plays composed by the Raja of Kottarakkara, some six hundred years ago, are not now-a-days put to large use by KATHA-KALI actors, as it is considered that the plays are out of date both in respect of literary merit and adaptability to dance. Though the plays by the Raja of Kottayam, written about four hundred and fifty years back, are of considerable literary merit, they also do not find favour with the public at present.

Towards the close of the 17th century there

flourished Unnaayi Varier (1735-1785) who composed four plays on the story of Nala (NALA CHARITAM). Superb in literary excellence, dignified in diction, and difficult to act, his plays broke convention and became easily the most popular. The twelve compositions by H. H. Kartika Thirunal (1785-1798) and H. H. Aswati Thirunal (1756-1788) who flourished towards the close of the 19th Century arc also popular. Irayimman Tampi, (1783-1858), Court Poet of H. H. Swati Thirunal, wrote three plays which are first rate, and most often performed.

A Difficult Art

KATHAKALI is one of the most difficult of arts and the actors have to undergo a scientific course of severe and strenuous physical, spiritual and intellectual training for a period of twelve years under reputed masters to become proficient in the art. During the training, if the trainees have acquired enough. skill, they are allotted minor roles in KATHA-KALI performances. Ten to fifteen years of stage experience makes an actor competent to play major roles. KATHAKALI students join a KALARI or gymnasium between the ages of 10 and 12 and follow the old GURUKULA system. Waking up at 3 a.m. they begin their training and continue it till the evening, with short breaks for food and Physical exercises, language lessons, training in MUDRAS and rhythm, form the chief items of study. They gain complete control over the members and muscles of the body and are experts in the control of mental and emotional processess through meditation, contemplation and concentration. The actorshave to master the art thoroughly and they need not aspire to achieve in twelve months. what their masters only achieved in twelveyears of hard work and great sacrifice. The training is severe and thorough, and only a visit to a KATHAKALI school will give an idea of it. With lightning speed the actors move their limbs, jump and dance. Their movements are acrobatic but never obtrusive. The face, heels, ankles, toes, waist and every part of the body and the face is used by the KATHAKALI actor. There are nine different movements or actions of the head, six movements each of the eyebrows, nose, cheeks and lips, seven movements of the chin, and nine movements of the neck, eleven glances of the eye, each varying in meaning.

The actors are tabooed from speaking while on the stage. The strides, dances, hand poses, and facial gestures are the effective substitutes for vocal expression. The actors are so clever in the art of pantomime that they with amazing ease, majestic grace and consummate ability, express emotion telling effect. The hand poses are suggestive and recondite. The eyes of the KATHAKALI actors actually dance. The movements of the eye brows and eye lids are sharp and full of meaning and charm. The KATHAKALI dancers are masters in movements of the eyes. There are nine different movements of the eye-balls, nine movements of the eye-lids, and seven movements of the eye-brows. reddening of the eyes of the actors lends an ethereal charm and superhuman effect to this pantomime PAR EXCELLENCE.

The KATHAKALI is a highly artistic manifestation entirely new to the Westerner. The KATHAKALI actors "disolve one into ecstacies or bring all heaven before one's eye." The histrionic art-form expressed in KATHAKALI is truly one of union—union of all aspects of the actor. The KATHAKALI actors transmute into dance both emotion and narration. The KATHAKALI has a rhythmic vitality, sweet cadence and rich beauty. Infinite melodies rise out of the steps of the KATHAKALI actors and exquisite rhythms flow from their souls. The KATHAKALI actor is a

true aesthete whose aestheticism is at once divinely naive yet carefully cultivated. The renowned KATHAKALI Masters of the present day have to their credit uniformly dazzling records of thirty to forty years of intense work on the stage.

Wonderful Pantomime

Rishi Bharatha, the author of a treatise on Dance, while describing NRITYA, ordains that "the dancer should with the throat sing; with the feet express the TALA, with the eyes express the BHAVA and with the hands express meaning." This terse definition does justice to KATHAKALI and demands a fourfold talent of the dancer. The KATHAKALI Dancer should have agile feet, expressive eyes and dexterous hands, for the hands, eyes and mind of the performer should work in unison. Gestures which constitute the soul of KATHA-KALI dance are a four-fold entity, namely, ANGHIKABHINAYA (expression through **VACHIKABHINAYA** bodily movements) (expression through musical speech), SAT-VIKABHINAYA (expression through emotions) and AHARABHINAYA (expression through ornaments and costumes). In short, expression and emotion should flow from the various parts of the body of the dancer. "WHERE THE HANDS GO, THERE THE EYES SHOULD FOLLOW; WHERE THE EYES GO, THERE THE MIND; WHERE THE MIND, THERE THE FEELING. AND WHERE THE FEELING THERE THE MIND." The connoisseur of this unique art form must "comprehend the artiste's own values" and "perceive the beauty of which the artiste has exhibited the signs", if he wants to realise the greatness of the dance.

Costume and Make-up

The costume and muke-up of KATHAKALI actors, though old fashioned and queer, are impressive and contribute to the dignity of the

actors. Strong Malayan and Tibetan influences are discerned in the embellishments of the actors. Some critics have observed that a pronounced Moslem influence is noted in the costume and make-up of the female characters. Legend avers that the Raja Kottarakkara who first conceived the characters had a vision of sea nymphs and monsters from whom he copied the form. A Raja of Vettathunad family introduced certain far-reaching changes in the facial make-up and head-gear of actors. He insisted upon the actors painting their faces, wearing crowns and covering the body with skirts. He introduced the songster and the drummer. Vast improvements in the facial make-up of the actors were effected by the Kaplingat and Kallatikote Nambudiris who were great scholars. There are four different colourations of the face, each connoting a different mood. While exhibiting the different moods with the body and limbs, it is necessary that the colouration of the face is appropriate to create the required effect.

The elaborate make-up and the gorgeous costumes of the KATHAKALI actors were designed by scholars who wanted the characters to be considered not as puny human beings but as either Gods or demi-Gods, essentially super-human. It takes about three t four hours for this cumbersome and dazzling make-up. An actor has to tie at least eighty knots in the process of dressing. Red, green, yellow, black and white are the dominant vegetable and earth colours used for the make-up. The colour scheme of the make-up follows a distinct convention which is truly psycho-spiritual. There are different standardised make-ups for the various types of actors. The head dress is elaborate and it is heavy and a magnificent affair. The make-up of the female characters is simple. The actors use bangles, anklets, necklaces and armlets in profusion. All the characters except sages and

rishis wear voluminous skirts which resemble the skirts worn by ballet dancers. Thecharacters representing Kings, Gods and Demons put on fantastic dresses and paint their faces in the most hideous fashion. Thecharacters which represent Gods wear carved wooden masks symbolically coloured and. clothe themselves in gorgeous and oversizegarments, which give a wonderful swagger to their movements. Shawls terminating in a. lotus-shaped tassel hang round the neck. Inside the shawls are fixed tiny mirrors to enable the actor to see his facial make-up. The costume and make-up make them appear super-human. Mask like designs are painted. on the faces of the actors. Their eye-brows are accentuated and a white facial outlineknown in the language of the KATHAKALI CHUTTI makes them look austere. Different types of white borders (CHUTTIES) are made use of to denote the nature of characters. A paste of rice flour and lime is used for this white chin border. The CHUTTI is put on the face of the actors by a lagorious process, bit by bit, allowing sufficient time for the mixture to harden. It forms an attractive frame for the face extending from the temples to the chin.

There is a wealth of colour, grace and jewellery in the costumes. The ornaments worn by the actors bear a definite resemblance to the archaic decorations found in the deific sculpture in ancient temples. Dance, gesture, costume and make-up of KATHAKALI are all highly stylised. The most beautiful of all the costumes is the towering head dress. The magnificent looking head dress is profusely with multi-coloured embellished beads, spangles, shells and glass pieces. The head dress triumphantly demonstrates quite a lot of intricate, elaborate and delightful carving, cunningly executed by master craftsmen. The head dress is after the pattern of a Crown,

et with gleaming glass pieces. Its shape, colour and decoration vary to suit the attire of the actor. The dress and decoration worn by the actors signify the characters personified by them.

The KATHAKALI characters are classified types, SATVIK under three principal (virtuous), RAJASIK (having vices) and TAMASIK (terrifying and destructive). The KATHAKALI Demon looks most formidable and fearful. He strikes terror into the minds of the youngsters. His make-up is terrifying. Some of the characters have long flowing tusts and thick black hair, long and pointed nails, looking like claws, round and bulging eyes and protruding canines. The use of powerful rhythmic movements and symbolic hand poses elevates the characters from actual life to the realm of celestial beings.

Types of Actors

Five distinct types of actors, namely PACHA (Green) KATHI (Knife), THADI (Beard) MINIKKU (Polished) and KARI (Black) are identified in the KATHAKALI. The characters which belong to the general classification PACHA (Green) colour their faces (deep green). The characters who impersonate Gods and mythological heroes are called PACHA. They paint their lips deep red. Their movements are dignified. The emotion which dominates them is love and they usually wear scarlet coloured dress, and ornaments in profusion. They enact their roles, with consummate refinement and in absolute silence. characters classified under the group KATHI paint their faces red and green and they represent ferocious and evil beings such as Ravana, the demon king. A knife shaped reddish marking on either side of the nose extending to the cheeks distinguish the KATHI type of actors. They wear artificial teeth, cork spikes and claws. Actors who appear with white, red and black beards

BALI, SUGRIVA, THADI. are called KALAKEYA have red beards, while KALI, KATTALAN (Hunter) have black beards. Hanuman, the Monkey God, is depicted as having a white beard. All these characters roar loudly. Those who impersonate Narada, the wandering minstrel, ladies, ambassadors etc., come under the group MINIKKU. They paint their faces in a mixture of yellow and light red, and put white dots on their cheeks. Also, they put on their fore-head caste marks. They put black dye on the eye-brows and redden the eyes and lips. Demons and evil characters symbolising primitiveness savagery are called KARI. The elaborate facial make-up is a great art by itself and has to be done by experts. Three to four years of training are essential to make one an expert make-up artist. The KATHI, THADI and KARI characters give expression to some noise in moments of excitement whereas the other characters bear every storm of feeling absolute and dignified KATHAKALI actors redden their eyes by applying the flower of the CHUNDA (Solannum Pubescence).

Kathakali Music

The dance and mimicry are rendered rhythmic in complete harmony with the RASA (aesthetic delight) and BHAVA emotion) represented by the actors. actor dances to the tune of the songster and the drummers and every moment of the dance is executed with well defined steps, attractive and harmonious movements and gyrations. The foot rhythm is intricate, powerful and capable of infinitive, expansive, modification. and the earth trembles under the feet of the actor. Close upon the songster finishing the verse, the actor takes up the song, and elaborates it, all in pantomime. There are two musicians, the chief and his deputy. The chief recites the stanza first in the appropriate RAGA and the deputy takes it up, thus giving time and scope to the actors to elaborate it through MUDRAS.

KATHAKALI music, which is of the 'MARGI' type, follows the classical RAGAMALA code with its characteristics psychosis and time-elements and represents the purest form of South Indian (Carnatic) music now extant. The period of training of a KATHAKALI musician is moderately calculated to be five years.

A general and vigorous rhythm dominates the entire performance, and the sharp plastic movements of the body (ANGA ABHINAYA) and the different gestures (HASTA ABHINAYA) enormously help the eloquent and perfect expression of the various emotions, the NAVA RASAS (nine classical aesthetic sentiments),—SRINGARA, VIRA, KARUNA, ADBHUTA, RAUDRA, HASYA, BHAYANAK BIBATSA, SANTA (Love, Heroism, Pity, Wonder, Mirth, Terror, Disgust, Fury and Tranquility) both in their elemental, intensity and complex reactions to each other or the chemistry of feeling, as the expert psychologist would put it. The emotional effect of the KATHAKALI is superb. There are more than five thousand KATHAKALI PADAMS (songs), but the most popular songs are by the Titans of KATHAKALI music Kottayath Tampuran, Unnayi Varier and Irayimman Tampi.

The music on the stage is comprised of the stentorian but melodious voice of a couple of singers accompanied by the clinking of the cymbals (called 'KAIMANI', being a pair of small circular bell metal pieces) and the jingling of the CHENGALA (gong) in harmony with the booming of the drums. The leading singer has a gong and the secondary singer a pair of cymbals (ELATHALAM) to mark time. Strokes made on the gong with a stick keep time for the actors. The

drummers emphasise each gesture and keep rhythm for the singers. The measures, steps and poses of the actors are guided by the time beats on the drum. The conclusion or full stop to every conversation is marked by a KALASOM, i. e., measured steps and poses controlled by the time beats on the drum. Every rhythm is definitely correlated with a particular mood and produces its characteristic and thrilling effect with precise calculation. This rhythm is more than art; it is a powerful manifestation of the all embracing, rhythm of life, love, battle, romance, death, growth and decay. The variety of sounds which the drummers produce with the aid of their hands and the tiny stick is marvellous. Two drums called MADDALAM (a long finger drum) and CHENDA (cylindrical drum) are used. The MADDALAM is fixed to the waist of the artiste with a cotton belt and remains in a horizontal position. The CHENDA is fastened in a vertical position. The extremely clever and incessant drumming that shakes up the hearers assumes an entire gamut of rhythm. Of late, EDAKKA, a percussion instrument, is also used when female characters are on the stage, and then the CHENDA is not used. The music of the KATHAKALI is a perfect combination of RAGA (melody), TALA (rhythmic time measure) SWARA (note) and BHAVA (aesthetic emotion). KATHAKALI orchestral groups stand facing the audience.

KATHAKALI music has attained a high level of perfection. The RAGAS of the songs have been carefully selected to suggest the relevant emotional nuance and dramatic content. They synthesis of imagery and melody is perfect achievement. Sixty different RAGAS and six TALAS are used with supreme evocative quality by the accomplished musicians. The movement of the actor is exquisite and never obtrudes itself beyond the meaning of the dance, delicately soft when

necessary and extremely virile and tense at other times. The closest and most harmonious co-operation is necessary between the three artistes—the dancer, the singer and the drummer-to render a KATHAKALI performance a success. The colour effect of the triangular harmony between GEETHAM (singing), NRITTAM (dancing) VADYAM (drumming) is supremely enchanting. The songs are long drawn. The esoteric significance of KATHAKALI songs has been extolled AD LIBITUM. The voices of the songster resound and carry far into the night.

The Performance:

The themes for the KATHAKALI are generally taken from the Puranic Lore. The stories of the KATHAKALI are many and varied, both tragedies and comedies, former, however, being more realistic than the latter. The native and romant'c background of this indigenous art-form is the darkness of the charming Malabar night. No scenery is allowed. The KATHAKALI is always performed in the night and under the shadow of a giant bell metal lamp which stands four to five feet high with wicks all round. This lamp of exquisite workmanship is fed by coconut oil. The yellowish light adds to the grandeur and solemnity of the performance. The flicker from the lamps produces ripples of light. The tapering tremulous, light throws into emphatic relief every subtle nuance or shade of feeling flitting across the faces of the actors. Only class Hindus take part in the KATHAKALI performance. Some of the best KATHAKALI Dances are to be seen during the UTSAVOM (Temple festival) season in the Temples in Kerala. There are special KATHAKALI troupes attached to the leading temples in the State. The one characteristic feature of the traditional and typical KATHAKALI is that only men take part in the performance. On late, a few women have also trained themselves as KATHAKALI Actors, and they have appeared on the stage. Duel and death are essential items on the KATHAKALI Stage. The majority of plays end in a battle followed by the death of a demon or TAMASIK hero. The martial tradition of the Nayars has contributed to this feature of KATHAKALI.

A standard KATHAKALI performance will take eight to ten hours. KATHAKALI Troupe consists of about thirty men including dancers, make-up artistes muscians, green room assistants and servants. Towards dusk the drummers announce the performance with a special call known as KELI KOTTU. This vigorous sounding of drums, cymbals, and gongs effectively serves the purpose of the modern advertisements. At 8 p. m. the massive bell-metal lamp which can hold one gallon of oil at a time is brought to the stage and lighted. The audience usually gather after supper to witness lesurely this pantomime which continues till day break. The drummers stand on one side. The singers stand behind the actors. A few minutes before the actual commencement of the KATHAKALI, the curtain, usually 12 st. ×8 st. in size, held by a couple of green room assistants is taken to the stage. From behind the curtain the invocatory item THODAYAM (meaning beginning) follows. At the end of the Invocation two characters, one male belonging to the PACHA (Green) type, and one female, representing God and His consort. the PARAMATMA and JEEVATMA, appear on the stage and perform the PURAPPADU, literally meaning the Elaborate technique is scrupulously followed when a character makes his first appearance on the stage. This is called PURAPPADU or the debut. It is all the more ceremonious, cumbersome and colourful if the character is a hero or heroine. The instru-

ments are tuned to their proper pitch; the torch wicks are brightened and the royal ensigns are exhibited. The drummers indulge in rhythm and counter rhythm for some time and the singers improvise variations elaborations of the single melody. ensemble of the entry is really charming and has a powerful and thrilling effect upon the audience and they watch lost in rapturous admiration. The actors in the PURAPPADU stand with their knees bent sideways. The curtain holders have to be extra careful to raise or lower the curtain according to the tempo of the dance of the actors. PURAPPADU is an exacting time both for the musicians and the curtain holders, and exciting to the spectators. Before the KATHA-KALI proper commences, the drummers display their skill when the songsters sing the MANJUTHARA, and invocation to God, is followed by a dexterous display .of drumming (MELAPPADAM) which thrills the audience with its technical competence. The performance rolls on to the grand finale with a aymn, BHARATHA VAKYA, and a devo--ional dance at the break of rosy dawn.

The KATHAKALI is one of the greatest contributions of Kerala to the cultural heritage of the world. Well may it be said of the KATHAKALI dancer;

"IN THY DANCE, DIVINE DANCER, FREEDOM FIND ITS IMAGE, AND DREAMS THEIR FORMS;

ITS CADENCE WEAVES THE THREADS OF 'THINGS. AND UNWINDS, THEM FOR AGES;

CHARMS THE ATOM'S REBELLION INTO BEAUTY, GIVES RHYTHM TO THE SYMPHONY OF STARS;

THRILLS LIFE WITH PAIN AND CHURNS UP EXISTENCE INTO SURGING JOYS AND SORROWS."

Dance Per Excellence:

KATHAKALI Actors are masters in both the LASYA and THANDAVA styles of classical dance. It is marvellous to watch these experts changing in the twinkling of an eye from LASYA to TANDAVA and vice versa in the course of a performance. Their acting is both subjective and objective realisation of what they feel and describe. The aesthetic spiritual self-identification of the actors is complete.

There are three distinct varieties of KATHAKALI Dance:

- (1) ILAKIYATTAM, the mild and gentle type usually adopted while depicting love and such other sweet and subtle emotions.
- (2) IDAMATTU. The intermediate type which is half way between the too slow and the too quick varieties.
- (3) MURUKIYATTAM. The extremely vigorous variety used in duels and battle scenes.

The KATHAKALI Actor may engage you for a full hour with an elaborate idescription of a garden in full bloom and you will hardly realise that the clever artist has taken away an hour of your time. Fastidious critics of art consider the actor is more accomplished if his acting is more elaborate. This type of acting which demands great experience, vivid imagination, and complete mastery over the art, is most difficult. The KATHAKALI dancer dances, eyes ravished with rapture, celestially painting, and transforms his body into an instrument which can be played upon by inner command or outer design. Joy, illumination, spiritual exaltation and self-abnegation are caused by the KATHAKALI which is born of religion and is symbolic of the salvation of the high class Hindus in Kerala. KATHAKALI stands at the very apex of all the arts of Kerala.

Our ancestors looked upon Dance with

passionate religious adoration and found in it the essence of the four Vedas and PURU-> SHARTHAMS. In the words of Nandikeswara's ABHINAYA DARPANA, Dance was valued even more than bliss which persons meditating upon Brahman experience. KATHAKALI there is a harmonious combination of NRITTAM, the essence of which is sweetness and grace of movement, NRITYA which is the expression of inner emotions by gestures, and NATYA the paramount feature of which is RASA, strictly speaking, KATHA-KALI should be classified under NRITYA, for paramount importance is given to the MUDRAS in this form of dance. Nandikeswara has, in his ABHINAYA DARPANA, defined NATYA NRITTA and NRITYA. Dr. Ananada Comaraswamy has, in his "MIRROR OF GESTURE," rendered the relevant text of Nandikeswara thus:-

"NRITYA IS DANCING USED IN A DRAMA (NATAKA) COMBINED WITH ORIGINAL PLOT, NRITTA IS THAT FORM OF DANCE WHICH IS VOID OF FLAVOUR (RASA) AND MOOD (BHAVA), NRITYA IS THAT FORM OF DANCE WHICH POSSESSES FLAVOUR, (MOOD) AND SUGGESTION (RASA, BHAVA, VYAYANGA ETC) AND THE LIKE."

Summit of the Kerala Stage

It is no exaggeration to say that the summit of the Kerala stage has been attained in the KATHAKALI. The most brilliant expression of the national genius of Malabar in the realms of art literature, imagination and beauty, KATHAKALI is a DRISYYAKAVYA visible poem interpreted through ABINAYA (acting) and NRITHAM (dance). This indigenous art-form has made as distinctive a local variant as the Wayang Orang of Java and Bali has done to the parent art of BHARATHA NATYA or the classical Indian Dance. It is believed that this Dance, full of

antiquarian and ethnological interest, was ordained by Brahma to be performed at the INDRA SABHA (the durbar of the King of the Devas) before the celestial beings for the delectation of the Gods. KATHAKALI is regarded as a means to apprehend Infinite through the bliss of rhythm. In some of famous temples in Kerala KATHAKALI performances are arranged by devotees as much priced offerings to the Deity. The KATHAKALI shows how artistically and scientifically a splendid system of Dance was evolved and enunciated by our ancestors as a source of imparting Joy, Wisdom and Mental Sublimation. KATHAKALI is the most important contribution of India to the dramatic art of the world. It is the only performance which combines music, acting, language and dance so as to make each element an integral part of the whole. Adolph Appia when attending the famous operas of Wagner developed his own theory of the word-tone drama wherein the guiding, though not the paramount, factor over acting and dancing, was the rhythm of music. Nearly two centuries before Appia wrote, the people of the West Coast of India delighted in spending the nights in aesthetic enjoyment of KATHAKALI performances the music of which is expressive of the different emotions. The wordtone drama reached a state of perin the absorbing and fullness KATHAKALI performances.

Royal Patronage

KATHAKALI has flourished long in Kerala under Royal patronage. His Highness Sri Chitra Thirunal (former Maharaja of Travancore) is a patron of the various troupes of KATHAKALI actors who carry on this remarkable art. His Highness maintains a Royal Troupe of talented KATHAKALI actors who performs on special occasions. His Highness is an enthusiastic admirer and

competent critic of the KATHAKALI which, in His Highness's own words, has "given one new art-form to the world". His Highness Karthika Thirunal Maharaja (1758-98 A. D.) who was an authority on BHARATHA NATYA, and his gifted nephew Aswathi Thirunal Rama Varma, were well known patrons of the art. They also distinguished themselves as great composers of first rate KATHAKALI plays. KATHAKALI reached its highest watermark during this period. Two of the greatest writers of KATHAKALI plays, Kilimanoor Vidwan Rajaraja Varma Koil Tampuran and Irayimman Tampi, flourished under the royal patronage of His Highness Swati Thirunal (1828-1847) who was a great composer of songs and an accomplished linguist and scholar. Maharaja Uthram Thirunal Marthanda Varma (1847-60 A.D.), a renowned patron of KATHAKALI, first organised a full-fledged Palace Troupe to serve as a pattern for the rest of Malabar. He had quite a passion for the theatre and he wrote a number of plays. It was under the command of this Royal Master that Easwara Pillai Vicharippu, the Chief Actor in the Palace KATHAKALI TROUPE, for the first time, brought out a collection of fifty-four ATTA KATHAS (KATHAKALI Plays) including the works of Maharaja Uthram Thirunal. It is said that H. H. Uthram Thirunal used to wear KATHAKALI costumes and perform before a mirror for his own delectation. He effected certain changes in the costumes of the actors. Like King Harsha Verdhana who used to take part in dramatic performances, the Kings of Kerala took delight in participating in KATHAKALI. About one hundred and one KATHAKALI plays are now available in print.

Made more Popular

Thanks to the great leadership of the foremost poet of Malabar—Mahakavi Vallathol

—the KATHAKALI which was until yesterday a dying art has been revived and has come into its own. This glorious renaissance of KATHAKALI has flared a radiant path for this marvellous art and more and more of enthusiastic students from the East and West are making their cultural pilgrimage to the Kerala Kola Mandalam, the Academy where KATHAKALI is taught by a band of supreme artistes, to study this unique Dance-Drama. fine troupe of Vallathol and his KATHAKALI Dancers have succeeded in rendering this histrionic art-form attractive and popular to the intelligentsia by modernising to a considerable extent the costume and make-up of the actors, by cutting down the duration of the plays and by fully exploiting the artistic and aesthetic phases of the art, but at the same time taking precious care to conserve the inherent and age-old greatness and individuality of this wonderful art-form which is the greatet contribution of Kerala to the cultural heritage of Asia. The healthy, modernising influence brought to bear on this great art and the growing recognition received at the hands of competent savants who have discovered in the KATHAKALI a treasure house, have triumphantly proclaimed that this art will never die as long as culture and civilisation continue to exist on earth. MANDALAM The KERALA KALA Cheruthuruthi, and THE VISWA KENDRA at Valtiyoorkkavu, Trivandrum, are the radiant centres of a dynamic dance movement which gives vivid impressions of the ancient Hindu civilization and its creative art. Accomplished KATHAKALI Actors like Guru Gopinath, Uday Sankar, Chathunni Panikkar, Ram Gopal, Mrinalini Sarabhai, and Ananda Sivaram have carried the great art to far off places all over the world, and won of all-world fame.

KATHAKALI is also taught by well-known

exponents of the Dance at the "P. S. V. Natya Sangham Kathakali School" at Kottakkal, "Unnayi Variar Smaraka Sangham Kathakali School" at Irinjalakkuda, "Samastha Kerala Kathakali Vidyalaya" at Keerikkad, and the "R. L. V. Fine Arts School" at Trippunithura, in the Kerala State. At all these famous Institutions, KATHAKALI Masters impart instruction to students and participate in top ranking performances. The first two Institutions maintain full fledged KATHAKALI troupes consisting of distinguished actors, singers and drummers. Throughout the year, except on Thursdays, at the KATHAKALI Centre at Ernakulam, sponsored by the See India Foundation, under the guidance of the world famous KATHAKALI Master Ananda Shivaram and the well known journalist and publicist P. K. Devan, (who gives a concise and interesting commentary) KATHAKALI is performed between 7 and 8.30 P. M., in the traditional setting and style, for the delectation of foreign tourists. Conducted by the most accomplished and experienced KATHAKALI family of the Century, 95 year old KATHAKALI ACHARYA Guru Gopala Panikkar, still healthy and stage-worthy, and the oldest KATHAKALI exponent, and his son and pupil internationally reputed Ananda Shivaram, the KATHAKALI Centre has deservedly received recognition from the Central and State Governments. In all the principal cities and towns in Kerala there are KATHAKALI Clubs which sponsor KATHAKALI performances by the most outstanding artistes at regular intervals.

It is interesting to recall to mind that nearly seventy five years back, at a time when no one would have dared to suggest any curtailment of the duration of KATHAKALI plays, the late Oyyarath Chandu Menon, the first and foremost Novelist of Kerala, had the

vision, courage and critical acumen to insist that those masters of KATHAKALI who wanted to perform in his house should commence the play at 7 p.m. and close it at 11 p.m. Next to performing KATHAKALI in palaces and temples, the actors were keen in performing before Chandu Menon, an aristocrat, a high Judicial Officer, leading litterateure and a great lover and critic of KATHAKALI. He wanted only select and superb items such as the meeting of the KATTALAN (Hunter) and Damayanti in NALA CHARITAM, the contest between Bheema and Hanuman in KALAYANA SOUGANDHIKAM, Lalitha in NARAKA-SURAVADHAM, Urvasi in KALAKEYAVA-DHAM, to be performed straight away. without indulging in the elaborate PURA-PPADU. These striking episodes give full scope to the actors to display the genius of KATHAKALI and their mastery over the art.

Guru Gopinath was the pioneer among KATHAKALI thereby making the highly complicated art enjoyable to those who were not initiated into the intricacies of the art form. With unerring discretion and consummate skill, he lifted certain select scenes from the entire KATHAKALI Epics and portrayed them as solo numbers with ease and grace as to appeal to the Indian and foreign audiences who had no thorough knowledge of the highly stylised dance form. The inspiration attempt and achieve success in this came from Sri G. Venkatachalam, one of the front-rank critics of Art and Dance, who opines that 'KATHAKALI is certainly one of the most developed dance-arts, as it is the most perfect pantomime play in the world". This welcome and effective departure from the age old method is now followed by the KATHAKALI masters who have taken by storm art centres in foreign lands. Hence KATHAKALI has become more appealing to a larger section of the public all over the world.

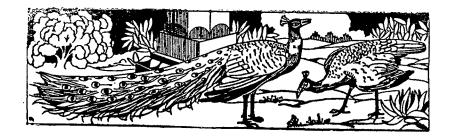
Art Perfected

The most brilliant exposition of the national genius of Kerala rising from the pit to the platform and expanding the vision to the highest altitudes of poetic imagination and irto the deepest recesses of the KATHAKALI is the loftiest manifestation of dance and art in which is embedded creative emergy, and aesthetic joy. Resonant with rovement, and vitality, full of suggestion, symbolism, melody, colour, grace and the rich subtleties of dramatic expression, KATHA-KALI is the Perfect Art, which has no parallel. Verily has it been pronounced by Havelock Ellis that "Dancing is the loftiest, the most moving, the most beautiful of the arts, because it is no more a translation or abstraction from life, it is life itself."

Uday Sankar, the foremost Indian Dancer

who has earned an international reputation, says of KATHAKALI: "It is art perfected, the most marvellous," manifestation of the artistic impulses in man. There is nothing like it to interpret human sentiment, thoughts and emotions. The language of the limbs, hands, muscles and eyes is more powerful than spoken words. Graceful and telling, the effect is realistic. It is a vast mine the plentiful resources of which remain yet to be tapped."

Our great poet Tagore, after witnessing a KATHAKALI performance, remarked: "Those of us belonging to Northern India who have lost the memory of the pure Indian classical dance have experienced a thrill of delight at the exhibition of this marvellous art of Kerala called KATHAKALI. I feel greatful at the assurance it has brought to us that the ancient art is still a living tradition in India with its varied grace and vigour and subtleties of dramatic expression."



AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF SIKKIM

SURENDRA NATH CHATTERJEE

The Himalayan Kingdom of Sikkim with its terraced uplands, winding valleys and frolicking streams is at present passing through a new type of revolution—widely known as green revolution. The revolution started early had left a clear imprint on the blueprint of the state's economy. As early as in 1954 Sikkim took steps to develop its economy in a planned manner. In that year a seven year plan was launched. The third five year plan was inaugurated in 1967. The results of the last two plans were a matter of great disappointment. During this period only 6,000 acres of land were brought under cultivation. Improvement in per acre yield and extension of cultivable land was negligible. climate, poor soil, precipitous slope frequent landslides cause a serious hindrance to agriculture. Not only that, crop diseases are also frequent. Furkey virus cardamom, greeny virus affects oranges and pest destroys cereals. But the war against nature continues at present at outposts like 200 acre "Geba Experimental farm which has yielded considerable success. The failure of the early years necessitated a vigorous step in the agricultural sector during the third plan. Out of 91% of Rs. 1,60,040 spent on the third plan, 85% are said to have been fully utilized on agriculture. This includes reclamation of wasteland, use of better seeds and implements, fertilizer and pesticides and intensive agricultural programme in selected localities. All these measures have increased the productivity of food and cash crops to a great extent.

Food Grains

Sikkim is not self sufficient in production of food grains, The Chogyal of Sikkim

Mr. Thondup Namgoyal is therefore keen that the economy of his country should be complementary to that of India and not competitive. By this, he meant that Sikkim should import Rice and other Cereals from India.

Sikkim is deficient in the production of rice, the staple food to the extent of about 30%. Rice fields occupy the terraced uplands covering 29,000 acres of land. Most of the Rice are Aus (Summer Variety) and are sweet smelling. Other important foodgrains of Sikkim include maize; millet, wheat and barley. The acreage under these crops are 110,000 acres 12,000 acres and 10,000 acres respectively. Only the area under maize during the last two plans has gone upto 140,000 acres. But the position with regard to other cereals remains more or less the same. In Sikkim wheat, maize and barley are used as a subsidiary human food white millet is used for preparing wine.

Cash Crops

Orange, Caradamom, Potato and Apple constitute the main items of Sikkim's export. Orange orchards covering 1800 acres of land pro duce the primary cash earning fruits of Sikkim. At present most of the oranges come down to the plains for whole sale. Some of them are processed in the Sikkim distilleries at the confluence of Rangpu and Tista rivers for making the famous Sikkim-liquor. The surplus are preserved in a fruit preserving factory at Singtam. Cardamom creeping like weeds on shaded mountain sides around Gangtok covers 14000 acres of land. The price of Cardamom is at present Rs. 500/- a maund in Gangtok as against Rs. 800/- in Calcutta. In 1963 it was Rs. 65/- per maund and had shot up to Rs. 350/- in 1967. The high prices of cardamom together with its potential possibilities have encouraged the Government of Sikkim to set up a nursery at Mangon on experimental basis. Mr. M. M. Rasaily, the present Secretary of the Trade Industries Commerce and Food Department of Sikkim has expressed recently that his Govt. would have earned a revenue of Rs. 2½ crores from cardamom alone if he could sell it abroad directly. But, in practice it is not possible since most of the cardamom trade pass through India and through Indian Traders.

Apple orchards and potato fields covering roughly 2200 acres of land are other important cash producers. The present out-turn of potato is roughly 30,000 mounds in a year. Sikkim is famous for its potato seed. It is exported to India at Rs. 70 to Rs. 80 per maund. During

the third plan a number of important agricultural programmes were taken up by the Government of Sikkim in order to raise the agricultural output. This includes an apple orchard at Luchung, a potato farm at Ribdi and a tea estate covering 2000 acres at Kewsing.

To ensure a balanced development of the State's economy in the fourth plan, Sikkim rejects agriculture for industry. It is proposed that most of the available resources during the fourth plan will be spent on industry, tourism and on repairing the 1968 damages due to natural calamities evident in bridges, roads and stream layouts.

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VARKALA—A TOURISTS' PARADISE

M. SATHYAPRAKASAM

Varkala, the beauty spot of Kerala is popularly known as the 'Gaya of the South'. Kerala is extravagantly blessed by Nature and it is really richer in natural prospects than Kashmir. Tourists from other parts of India as from abroad pour in here being captivated by the panorama of her nature, characterised by the undulating lie of the land with a verdant landscape irrespective of seasons. Little wonder it is therefore, tourists find their paradise in Kerala. Arts and crafts are fully developed here and it is the home of Kathakali. At present there are a few tourist centres in Kerala and Varkala is one among them. But

as ill luck would have it, this beauty spot, a special gift of Nature is sadly neglected by the authorities. Situated almost mid-way between Trivandrum and Quilon, Varkala is easily accessible to tourists by rail, road and water.

How this place derived its present name Varkala, is traceable by a dig in Hindu Mythology. The 'Nava Prajapathies' angered Bhrama. The provoked Bhrama cursed the Nava Prajapathies that they should become human beings and suffer from the misery of birth and death. For deliverence from this curse the ubiquitous Narada, the friend of all the distreassed and the unhappy advised them

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to do penance at a place he would select for them. Accordingly, he threw his Valkalam (back garment) and it fell at a place which subsequently assumed the name "Varkala".

Varkala is famous for its panoramic scenery and natural set up which in turn attracted film producers from all over India. As a pilgrim centre hundreds of devotees flock to the temple of 'Janardanan' every day. It is situated very close to the Arabian seashore. Two tunnels were bored through the hills of Varkala and they were constructed as early in 1870 & 1877. These two tunnels eloquent testimony to a stupendous feat of engineering skill of the 19th century. Situated fairly high above sea level, the cool and salubrious breeze flowing direct from the sea makes the life of the local people enjoyable. Coupled with this advantage is the cheap availability of excellent drinking water containing medicinal properties, obtained from a perennial flow of natural fountains.

Varkala is well on its way to attain progress. It is an educational centre where Arts, Science and Training Colleges are functioning. The importance of Varkala is further enhanced by the Mutts and Ashrams established by the late Sree Narayana Guru of happy revered memory. It is from here that the Guru preached and propagated the gospel of "One Caste, One Religion, and One God for Man."

As an expounder of Advaita philosophy he was second only to Sree Sankara. To quote Swami Sivananda, 'He was a living embodiment of Advaita. He lived to serve humanity. We can repay the debt of gratitude to him only by following his precious teachings and his glorious example. His Samadhi Mandir with a super structure majestically and spectacularly towering above the spot where Swamiji's physical remains were laid at rest is an imposing sight capable of arresting the attention and igniting the imagination of all tourists.

There is another Ashram here known as 'Gurukulam' which is under the direct control of Nataraja Guru, one of the chief disciples of Sree Narayana Guru. The proximity Kaikara (a village near Kadakkavur) to Varkala adds no less to the importance of the latter in that Mahakavi Kumaranashan who is ranked with some of the greatest poets of India, was born here. Further, the Fort of Anjengo said to have been constructed by the English East India Company during the first half of the 17th century is hardly five miles from Varkala and it is within easy reach of the tourists. That such a beauty spot still remains obscure to many outsiders, reminds me of the following lines of Thomas Gray;

"Full many a gem of purest rays serene, The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear Full many a flower is born to blush unseen, And waste its sweetness in the desert air."



SELF-IMMOLATION AND OUR ANGUISH OVER INDO-CHINA WAR

BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

Self-immolation or burning oneself to death by fire, has been practised from ancient times. Recently a Buddhist monk and a nun self-immolated themselves by fire in south Viztnam, to bring the forceful attention of all mankind to a calamitous war that has overtaken their ancient lands in South East Asia. Self-immolations occurred before in Vietnam. and even in America, to protest against American involvement in an unjust war and to stop the persecution of Buddhists by the tyrannical Diem brothers, who were subsequently assassinated by their enemies. These acts of noble self-sacrifice shock the conscience of all humanity.

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To burn oneself by fire is to prove that what one is saying is of the utmost importance. To ask for peace while experiencing this kind of pain is to express utmost courage, frankness, determination and sincerity.

During the ceremony of ordination, as practised in the Mahayana tradition, the monk candidate is required to burn one or several spots on the body, in taking the vow to observe the 250 rules of monkhood, to live the life of a monk, to give enlightenment and to devote his life for the spiritual betterment of all beings. One can say these things while sitting in an armchair, but when the vow is taken kneeling before a community of Buddhist monks and nuns, this kind of pain will express all the seriousness of one's heart and mind, and carry much greater weight.

The Rev. Thich Man Giac states: "The Vietnamese monk, by burning himself, says with all his strength and determination that he can endure the greatest of sufferings to protect Buddhism, that he is protesting with all his being the policy of religious oppression and destruction of his land. But why does he have to burn himself to death? The difference between burning oneself and burning oneself to death is only a difference in degree, not in nature. A man who burns himself too much must die. The importance is not to take one's life, but to burn. What he really aims at is the expression of his will and determination, not death. In the Buddhist belief, life is not confined to a period of 60 or 80 or 100 years: life is eternal. Life is not confined to this body: life is universal. To express will and protest by burning oneself, therefore, is not to commit an act of destruction but to perform an act of construction, i. e., to suffer and to die for the sake of one's religion and one's people. This is not suicide. Suicide is an act of self-destruction."

Self-destruction or suicide in Buddhism is a serious crime, as sinful as killing someone else. In self-immolation, on the contrary, one does not think of destroying oneself but considers it a noble act of self-sacrifice for the sake of others. It is a higher form of compassion.

In spite of all these self-immolations and world-wide public protests, this war goes on,

destroying the lives of men and beasts. Thousands of men, women and children have been maimed or crippled, their houses, crops and whole villages destroyed. Millions of people left homeless after aerial bombardments drift helplessly, not knowing who is their friend or foe.

Although the warring parties are on the negotiating table, a real and lasting peace has eluded them all.

Professor Chomsky states: "American participation in the Indo-China war can be opposed from three points of view: the absolute moral one that this kind of destruction of man and nature cannot be condoned on any ground; the deterministic one that this kind of war inevitably derives from a particular economic and political system which must be changed in order to bring that war to an end and prevent new ones of a similar nature; and the pragmatic one that this particular war happens to be indefensible on moral, political and military grounds."

U Thant—the Secretary General of the United Nations—has called this "the most barbarous war in history." He states further that Vietnamese are fighting to unify their country, and what animates them is Nationalism and Communism.

Apart from Hiroshima and Nagashaki, when millions of people died due to atom bombing of these cities, no other Buddhist land has fared worse except under Genghis Khan, in ancient Afghanistan 750 years ago. Then she was a famous Buddhist land, and in a city called Shar-i-Ghulghale (City of Cries), near the abandoned Buddhist Center Baniyan, which stood on the old silk routes to China, this terrible tyrant, in his fury over losing his favourite grandson in battle near there, ordered every living thing to be killed—man and beast alike.

Why is America fighting on lands on the

periphery of the Chinese People's Republic? Is it fear of Communism amongst the cultured Chinese people? If the billions of dollars spent on this war were given as economic aid to the lands from India-Ceylon to Indonesia, they would have blended the wisdom of the East and West and established themselves as strong socialistic democracies.

If Ping Pong diplomacy had been initiated twenty years ago, the Chinese Republic might have been a respected member of the United Nations. And this Mother of a great civilization would have exerted her influence to bring peaceful solutions to all Eastern problems. Mankind cannot ignore one fourth of mankind and expect the United Nations to function efficiently.

This war may go on until the American Presidential elections in 1972. Continued American military presence in South Vietnam could result in a military confrontation with China. After China's admission to the U.N. membership in the 1971 General Assembly session, peaceful solutions might be found to this calamity that has befallen three ancient Buddhist lands.

Buddhists throughout the world do not shout insulting hatred at America, since thousands of American youths have shed their lives for a worthless cause, and many more millions of Americans are in anguish over the war and the helplessness to stop it.

We Buddhists express our compassion and loving kindness on the folly and savagery of men who live in fear, hate and greed. What did the Buddha do in a similar situation 2515 years back? When Prince Vidudabhe besieged his father's Capital, Kapilayastu, the Buddha sat under a withered tree silently. When the Prince saw him and asked why he was sitting under such a tree, the Buddha answered that shade of relatives was superior

to that of non-relatives. This made the Prince desist from attacking the city, but eventually he devastated it, together with his father's kingdom. When asked, the Buddha said, "Previous deeds (Karma) are ripe and produce results." This may be true of Inda-China.

The Indo-Chinese people—Loatians,

Cambodians and the Vietnamese are very dear to every Buddhist, as was the Buddha to his own Sakyan people. We sit meditating in silence—perhaps in our armchairs, in the fervent hope that this terrible calamity and suffering that have befallen our fellow Buddhists may soon come to an end. We hope so without malice or hate.

SUPREME COURT AND FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND EXPRESSION

M. SALEEM KIDWAI

Introductory

The framers of the Indian Constitution decided to ensure "Liberty of thought, expression, belief and faith" for all citizens. They gave them the liberty of thought and discussion and a distinct right to the freedom of speech and expression. This freedom includes the freedom to talk, converse, communicate, publish or propagate ideas and their publication and circulation.

The rationale of this lies in its importance for democracy, and dangers of silencing the expression of opinion, and robbing:

> "The human race; posterity as well as the existing generation those who dissent from the opinion. Still more those who hold it. If the opinion is right, they are deprived of opportunity of exchanging error for truth; if wrong they loose

what is almost as great a benefit, the clear preception and the linchier impression of truth, produced by collision with error."²

However, this freedom of a citizen like his other freedoms is not absolute. His right of free speech and expression can be neither permitted to impair a similar right of other fellow members of the community, nor beallowed to injure socially accepted standards of decency, or be unrestricted in the common interests in the maintenance of communal peace and security of the state. Originally the constitutional limitation clause in Article (2) was not so comprehensive. Merely that laid. down that "nothing shall affect the operation of any existing law or prevent the state from. making any law relating to liberal, slander and defamation, sedition or any other matter which offends against decency or morality or undermines the security of the state or tends to overthrow the state." That forbade any limitation on the right of free speech and expression, except on the grounds of inalienable minimal interest in social harmony, accepted norms of morality or state security.

In the early decision of the Cross Roads³ the Chief Justice Patanjali Shastri held that a citizen's freedom of speech and expression could not be restricted for the purpose of securing public safety or the maintenance of public order. It could be restricted only to avert the aggravated forms of public disorder which are calculated to endanger the security of the state or overthrow the established order. Nothing less than an imminent danger to the foundations of the state and the legally established order could provide a justification for regulation of freedom of speech and expression.

The Cross Roads a weekly printed and published from Bombay was banned in the state of Madras under the Madras Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1949. The alleged purpose of the ban was securing the public safety and the maintenance of public order.

The Supreme Court squashed the order prohibiting the entry of the weekly into, and its circulation within the state. It held that the relevant provision of the impunged state statute under which the order was made fell outside the scope of authorised legislation under clause (2).

A bit later in the case of Brij Bhusan, V. State of Delhi,⁴ the court held an order of the chief commissioner of Delhi void under "freedom of speech and expression" clause as being a denial of the right to publish unrestrictively to the publisher and the editor of a weekly, because, the order deprived him of the freedom of the press (an aspect of the freedom of speech and expression).

The circulation of one weekly in one and publication of news concerning a foreign country in another could neither, the court held, endanger an established and constituted government, nor threaten the safety of a state of the Union, much less the security of India. Following the rule of directness of restrictive legislation laid down in the case of A. K. Gopalan V. State of Madras, it held that unless a law restricting the otherwise absolute freedom was directed solely against an attempt, or acts likely to undermine the security of the state, or its overthrow, it could not be sustained, its reasonableness not withstanding. It was unconstitutional, although the restrictions imposed under it might be conducive to the needs of law and order.

An analysis of the above cited early decisions of the Supreme Court reveals that the phrase "matter which undermines the security of, or tends to overthrow the state" was very restrictively interpreted to exclude the eventuality of restrictions being placed in the interests of the public safety and public order. However, the law declared by the Supreme Court was for from being clear. Thus, Justice Sarjoo Prasad of the Patna High Court expressed a hope that the Supreme Court itself would some day reconsider its majority decisions handed down in the cases of The Cross Roads and The Organiser. In the Shailbala Devi V. State of Bihar⁵ case, Justice Mahajan of the Supreme Court tried to explain the scope of the majority opinion and stated that "those decisions had been misun**d**erstood. The learned judge held that freedom of the citizen could be restricted when the demand for such restriction was clear and threat to society not too remote.

Nevertheless, the Government decided to correct the supposed imbalance between freedom and social control caused by the decisions of the Court on the scope of clause (2) of Article 19 by a constitutional amendment. Under the amended clause reasonable restrictions can be placed on the exercise of the right of free speech and expression in the interest of (i) the security of the state, (ii) friendly relations with foreign states (iii) Public Order, (iv) decency or morality (v) contempt of court (vī) defamation, and (vii) incitement to an offence. To these restrictions one more has recently been added under the 16th Amendment i. e., the sovereignty and integrity of the Union of India.

If the liberty of a citizen is curtailed in respect of his freedom of speech, it must be shown that the law under which this is done fails within the four corners of any of the above heads of restrictions. The Supreme Court held that where a citizen preached non-volent disobedience asking the peasants not to pay an irrigation rate without in any way committing an offence, the citizen could not be prevented from exercising his right of speech, and could not be disuaded from continuing with his campaign of disobedience. His detention could not but operate as a restriction for an ulterior purpose not recognised by clause (2).6

Similarly, the utterances aimed at bringing about a change of government by lawful and constitutional means are not seditious and not forbidden. The democratic criticism of the government, its policy and disapprobation of its administrative measures have not been forbidden. The Supreme Court in Kedar Nath Singh V. State of Bihar, held:

"The explanations appended to the main body of the section make it clear that criticism of public measures, or comment on Governmental action however strongly marked would be within reasonable limits and would be consistent with the fundamental right." In another leading case, the Supreme Court held:

"Though the power of the state in respect of control of the freedom of speech and expression is limited in definite terms of the clause (2), yet its reach is long enough. In a fit case a restriction denying a citizen of all apportunity of exercising his right of freedom of speech and expression can be permitted. For instance, he may be removed from the scene of his activities under an order of preventive detention passed on allegations of inciting people to violence and for reasons connected with maintenance of public order."

But while in detention he can not be forbidden to read, write and send outside the jail, any book on art, science or literature for publication. In persuance of the policy of improving the financial condition of the small newspapers, the Government issued the newspaper (Price and Page schedule) Order, whereby it formulated a basis for page: price ratio. It gave a schedular formulation providing for fixation of the price of a daily newspaper on the basis of a given number of pages it could carry in one week. It restricted the choice of putting extra supplements etc. without an increase in price by insisting upon the official permission.

The Supreme Court held¹⁰ that the Act and Price-Page schedule Order issued thereunder were unconstitutional for the reason of abridgement of the freedom of the press, a necessary part of the freedom of speech and expression, under Art. 19 (1) (a)/(2) of the constitution. Freedom of press has thus come to mean an unregulated volume of circulation, a right to fix the number of pages printed in a newspaper or periodical, and the right to fix its price considering the cost of its production,

its advertisement revenue, and its general financial condition.

To sum up it may be said that by and large, the Supreme Court has tried to maintain a balance between freedom and social control. The court looked upon a restrictive piece of legislation from every point of view, and is obliged to scrutinise the statutory, restrictions as carefully as possible. The consideration of their purposes, the nature of the restrictions, manner in which they are imposed, their extent both territorial and temporal passed through the judicial mind. The court repeatedly held that a restriction must not amount to a complete ban on any mode of expression.

- right to freedom of speech and expre-
- 2. Mill, J. S., "On Liberty", p. 20,
- 3. Romesh Thapper V. State of Madras, AIR 1950 SC/24.
- Brij Bhushan V. State of Delhi, AIR 1950 SC/29.
- 5. State of Bihar V. Shailbala Devi AIR 1952 SC/329.
- 6. Ram Manohar Lohia V. Superintendent, AIR 1960 SC/633.
- 7. Kedar Nath Singh V. State of Lihar, AIR 1962 SC/955.
- Virendra V. State of Punjab, AIR 1957 SC/8960.
- P. P. Sanzgiri V. State of Maharashtra AIR 1966 S 424.
- The Sakal Papers (P.) Ltd. V. Union of India, AIR 1962 SC/305.



^{1.} Art 19(1)(a)—"All citizens shall have the

PROGRESSIVISM IN AMERICAN LITERATURE : MARXISM AMERICANIZED

K. P. SARADHI

In the year 1932 at the height of his career Dos Passos wrote:

It seems to me that Marxians who attempt to junk the American tradition, that I admit is full of dryrot as well as sap, like any tradition, are just cutting themselves off from the continent. Somebody's got to have the size to Marxianize the American tradition before you can sell the American worker on the social revolution. Or else Americanize Marx.¹

As though following the lead given by Dos Passos most of the progressive writers after this date began to argue that international communism was in no way different from 'true Americanism', and that it was but an extension of the basic American revolutionary traditions.² Literary and political agitators of the past War years drew mostly on the revolutionary traditions of the American proletariat and of the toiling agrarian masses to instruct their people in the benefits of communism.⁸ Clara Weatherwax in her novel Marching! makes Granny hear one worker tell another:

They talk about radical foreign stuff;
Americanism; that's what; Americanism;
Dicn't we have a revolution to get founded?
.....to get ourselves a government for the people and by the people? And isn't the peope the masses?

.....And now that the bosses and politicians is running the country like money Kings, we got to take it away from 'em to run it for us people again.'

Daniel Aaron, a foremost critic of the progressives, ascribes the beginnings of the

American type of progressivism to the writings of Emerson, and calls Emerson "the real prophet of the progressive traditions," and the "protean" figure among the early progressivists.⁵ The Emersonian type of progressivism as it is expressed in Whitman which Dos Passos too realized to be the central knot of the real American tradition, 6 is a social philosophy of the Jeffersonian sort, promising equality and freedom and happiness for all; and it was born of the pioneer "red-mouthed abolitionists" crusade against the social ravages committed against a righteous people.7 Ever since, American writers, with few exceptions, have upheld the socialist ideology and fought against oppression of every kind, on economic and moral grounds.

Surprisingly, most Americans do not like to be called communists or even socialists, though, in their opinions and actions they are as socialistic as socialists can be. Bellamy once said to Howells:

Every sensible man will admit there is a big deal in a name especially in making first impressions. In the radicalness of opinions I have expressed I may seem to out-socialize the socialists, yet the word socialist is one I could never well stomach. In the place it is a foreign word itself and equally foreign in all its suggestions. It smells to the average American of petroleum, suggests the red flag with all manner of sexual novelties, and an abusive tone about God and religion, which in this country we atleast treat with decent respect.

To people like Edward Bellamy nationalism in the sense of collectivism or communitarianism sounded more domestic. Bellamy wrote in 1892:

Nationalism.....(that is, the socialism of Looking Backward) is the doctrine of those who hold that the principle of popular government by the equal voice of all for the equal benefit of all, which in advanced nations is already recognized as the law of the political organization, should be extended to the economic organization as well.⁹

Though the writers belonging to the period between the post civil war and the first World War have generally been termed the progressive generation in America,10 the term itself may be used to describe a good number of American writers of all times, for, throughout history, American writers have been battling hard to transcend conventional attitudes and arrive at secular, scientific, relativistic outlook.11 One has only to run through a list of names of popular and serious writers to know that they are all examples of revolt against everything that is conservative and socially unhealthy in the past. The progressive way is not limited to the literary artists alone. A number of political scientists and speculative thinkers like John Veblen, John Dewey, J. Allan Smith, Vernon L. Parrington, like the men of letters, made current certain basic notions relating to the American progressive thought. Besides these, a number of liberal critics from Howells and Garland to Van Wyck Brooks and Edmund Wilson with their stress on sociological interpretations paved the way from the first for a literature of protest. These writers and critics, compelled by the upsurge of the new evolutionary theories and by the confusion of values generated by rapid industrialization, grappled with the concrete problems of their age and understood the social conditions of their day more acutely than did most of the even highly acclaimed social scientists.

The term progressive in the literary context may have two interpretations: to denote, one, a literature written by members of the working class about their struggles against the exploitative nature of capitalism, their experiences and aims; and, two, literature produced by anyone, whatever be his class, who is conscious of the characteristics of the working class people and who works out into his writings a Marxist analysis of society. A large bulk of the progressive literature in America conforms to both the interpretations, as it was primarily a literature with its bearings on the national (as understood by the progressives) consciousness, and one produced not by a sect of people, but by people of all classes touched by the miseries of the masses. 12 In other words, progressivism in America is an effort to combine the precepts of Marxism and the native literary consciousness.

American progressivism has not been so much an organized movement; it is like a yeast brewing at all levels of American social The American writers and political life. largely agreed with the ideology of Marx and Engels that all progress of human society was patterned according to the dialectics of the general laws of motion, and that human culture as a process reflected economic and class struggles. Thus all art is founded on materialist relations, and to that extent is social. Whereas an aggressive Marxist equates humanity with the proletariat, the proletariat with the party and the party with the topknots till everything crystallizes into a one man affair, the American does not consider proletarianism as an extreme form of dialectical materialism and proletarian writing as the political polemics of a Lenin or a Stalin. Most of the progressive writers in America were idealists in their outlook and ethical in their human relations. As Emerson said: "In a day of small, sour and fierce schemes, we are cheered by aims of bold and generous proportions." Most of them believed in a nonviolent revolution in the possibility changing the capitalist social structure into a working class society. The American proletarian writers are, unlike those belonging to the Russian Union of Soviet Writers who are a class under a centralized control, a distinctive of in their attitude to social ethics. The American proletarian advocates and resorts to strikes and riots only under compulsions of the severest kind.

Thus American progressivism is a repository for varied influences that pressed on the American consciousness since the days of the abolitionist crusaders, and it mainly attacked the abuses of the economic system and the advantages enjoyed by a few monopolists. Marxism came into America as a counterpoise to the capitalist chaos, as the philosophy which could offer a "scientific programme of action"15 to counter the exploitation of the poor by the rich.16 "Out of the first embattled years of the new industrial epoch developed the abiding quality of an American li-erature which has ever since been alien to a domineering capitalism and half-nostalgic for a pre-industrial society. The cleavage between the artist and the capitalist-society that runs all through the history of modern western literature found its first expression in America in people who were themselves, as citizens, striken by industrial capitalism and frightened by it; citizens who did not so much rebel azainst the new order as shrink from it.17

The period from the post civil war through the end of the first World War was America's take off point into modernity, a period of social dislocation, human misery and moral confusion. It was also a period of alarming

civil fights, rapid industrialization, urbanization and large scale immigration. There was progress, but there was also poverty, and the response to this paradox, and other paradoxes deriving from the shifts in emphasis inherent in a civilization largely agrarian growing into a commercial-industrial one, was a violent mistrust in the equalitarian traditions, and out of this mistrust was born the progressive movement.18 Thus, in the main, the progressives, either in literature or in politics were concerned with awakening the democratic conscience. They were all agitated by "the slum problem, and the farm problem, the Negro problem and the immigrant problem, the trust problem and the labor problem, and the problem of the political machine".19 So violent was the reaction and so sustained, that books touching on social problems and proposing remedies for the social evils sold in their millions. By the end of the nineteenth century over three million copies of Henry George's Progress and Poverty (1879) and over three million copies of Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward (1888) were sold. Bellamy's was a utopian romance prophesying a new economic and social order. In his Equality (1897) written a year before his death, as a sequel to Looking Backward, Bellamy talked of a theory of state capitalism largely on the lines of Marxism which influenced the progressivists and the US economic thinking of the 1900s to a great extent. Henry George realized that the threat to community welfare lay in the insecurity resulting from class conflicts. His Progress and Poverty was a bold attempt to explain how poverty could be abolished by Other progressive revolutionary means. writers like Hemlin Garland, William Dean 🖲 Howells, were in great vogue. Bellamy and Howells were greatly influenced by Laurence The Co-operative Commonwealth Gronlund's. (1884) in which the author applied Marxist

doctrines to the situation obtaining in the United States of his day.²⁰ In their turn these writers inspired a line of radical writers Ellen Glasgow, Dreiser, Dos Passos, London, Upton Sinclair, who fully subscribed to socialistic theories. In the twentieth century Sherwood Anderson, John Steinbeck, Howard Fast, among the leading writers, definitely sympathized with the socialist cause and brought literature close to contemporary social problems.

Most Americans, writers, politicians as well as laymen, responded in a big way to the socio-economic challenges that came in the post-civil war period. One such man who grappled with many of the problems of an industrializing nation was William Howells. An untiring fighter for truth²¹ and an active socialist, Howells was concerned with social problems and economic inequalities. In 1888 he wrote to Henry James that "after fifty years of optimistic content with 'civilization' and its ability to come out all right in the end, I now abhor it, and feel that it is coming out all wrong in the end, unless it base itself on a real equality."22 Tolstoy was his literary ideal, "he has not influenced me in aesthetics only, but in ethics, too,"28 and the influence of the Russian on Howells was the most profound and lasting. His sympathy for the cause of the working class people, the impact of Tolstoy, the vogue of the Populist movement and the Haymarket executions brought him directly to 'the riddle of the painful earth', and his literary career was a long effort to serve the cause of the economically oppressed.24

A Hazard of New Fortunes and Annie Kilburn are novels with a leading social significance. They are concerned with the American proletariat, and reveal much of the author's socialist programme and outlook. In A Hazard Howells presents a picture of the

varied aspects of life in New York at a crucial moment in America's economic growth. In a long series of economic novels The Quality of Mercy, Annie Kilburn, The World of Chance, etc., and the two utopian romances Through the Eye of the Needle and A Traxeller from Altruria, Howells gave a most penetrating analysis of the American economy of the half century following the civil war.

Howells did not create either heroes or villains. His sense of realism was too sure and he was too faithful a reporter to indulge in simplifications of life. He has millionnaire characters who are yet virtuous (Silas Lapham); but even such millionnaires get crushed under the burdens of an economic system which they do not understand and which they cannot possibly change without grave consequences. Howells makes Basil March in A Hazard say:

What I object to is this economic chance-world in which we live, and which we men seem to have created. It ought to be law as inflexible in human affairs as the order of day and night in the physical world, that if a man will work he shall both rest and eat, and shall not be harassed with any question as to how his repose and his provision shall come.....but in our state of things no one is secure of this. No one is sure of finding work; no one is sure of not losing it.....

A man of deep social conscience Howells is as sure of his grounds when he talked of his society as when he undertook to explain the economic order. Competition he hated as it stained all who engaged in it: "Competition enslaves, monopoly liberates. We must therefore have the greatest possible monopoly; one that includes the whole people economically as they are now included politically."20 Indian Summer is an attempt to demonstrate that any slavish adherence to conventional

patterns of conduct set by the moneyed big solution down-right absurd. Here, as in most of his other novels, Howells fully embodies the economics and the ethics of the progressive reformers.

Stephen Grane declared that his literary 'reed' was identical with that of Howells and Garland,27 and like Howells he found in Tolstoi "the writer I like most." He was a naturalist in a sense, but he was more than a naturalist in essence. The American zaturalists, like the progressivists rejected conventionalism in ethics, morals and human E∈haviour and embraced the cult of determinism propounded by the new science. But the naturalists had a pessimistic outlook on life, and would always end up their works with a gloomy picture of it. In contrast, the progressivists envision the universe as a brighter and a more habitable place. Whereas the naturalist explores the tragic possibilities, the progressivist endeavours to change its basic structure by a recourse to revolutionary programmes. Lars Ahnebrink descibes .The Red Bodge as "a sample of naturalism because of its candor, its treatment of man as dominated by instincts, its pictures of masses and its pessimistic outlook."28 The central figure of this short novel, The Red Badge, Henry Fleming is a dreamer, and like most dreamers he is an idealist. His quest for his dream world at first leads him into troubles and he is severely boxed in by tradition and law. But towards the end he develops an individuality consistent with his ideals, and grows into a socialist of free will:

He felt a quiet manhood, nonassertive but of sturdy and strong blood. He knew that he would no more quail before his guides wherever they should point.....He was a man.²⁹

He is at odds with his society, inexperienced, and caught in the fury of a battle, but he frees

himself from its shackles, and towards the end he is successful. In his struggles with the society he shows a deep personal involvement; his struggle is not passive. The hope of courage that the novel ends with is, far from being pessimistic in its implications, a comment on what can be achieved by honest fight against social evils.

Stephen Crane was in active revolt against his society. He rejected the Gospel of Wealth and easy optimism to study humanity in its entirity. Of Maggie he said that he wrote it with no other purpose "than to show people to people as they seem to me."30 He had deep affinities with the people of the slums and the underdog. Because of its social implications and the highly powerful narrative, The Red Badge sold out like a hot cake. Within a year of its publication it went into thirteen editions.81 Maggie was no less pupular. It, too, propounds the gospel of socialism in that the author implies that Maggie's fall can be remedied by intelligent and effective social reforms,82

Crane's short tale "The Open Boat" 'was based upon an actual experience of the author," and portrays in a dramatically moving way the plight of four men from the sunk steamer "Commodore"—a cook, a captain, a correspondent, and an oiler in their fight against nature, and tells how these men shared the common danger with courage establishing a brotherhood of men on the sea.

Like Stephen Crane, Frank Norris was also a child of the Gilded Age and was as gravely concerned with the social inequalities and economic disharmonies of the day. Unlike Crane he set out with an artistic credo in which he says that the best novel "proves something, draws conclusions from a whole congeries of forces, social tendencies, race impulses, devotes itself not to the study of men but of man," 34 and wrote novels that upheld

his ideology. In the economic struggles of this day he found a most fruitful material for putting his theory of fiction into practice.

Being a man of deep social consciousness he was struck by the economic implications of the fight for land between the ranchers and the big monopolists, and conceived a plan for writing his Epic of the Wheat in three parts: first, a story of California (the Producer), The Octopus, second, a story of Chicago (the Distributor), The Pit, third, a story of Europe (the consumer), The Wolf. The Tritogy of the "Huge Niagara of wheat rolling from West to East,"35 would be a modern American epic involving the big business and the economic underworld. Norris' life was unfortunately cut short before he could completely realize his plan, but in The Octopus (1901) and The Pit (1902) he succeeded in a large measure in writing a realistic and thoughtful account of the conflict between big enterprisers and collective ranchers.

Jack London in his socialistic treatises as well as in his novels was concerned with class discriminations and economic inequalities. His The People of the Abyss is a realistic description of the slum conditions and the slum dwellers. The Iron Heel tells of the fascist dictatorship that dying capitalism imposed upon mankind, and predicts an equalitarian golden age the time of the socialist triumph.

Besides these more pronounced progressive writers there have been a host of sympathisers and fellow-travellers. Theodore Dreiser, Winston Churchill, Ellen Glasgow, Willa Cather and others revolted against a disorderly and wasteful economic system, and against social stratifications, their revolt finds complete expression in their works. The note of protest is loudest when the writers are convulsing with anger against an economy that victimizes a large bulk of their fellow men.

Following the Second World War a series of social and economic changes have taken place in America which in a big measure filled the country with affluence. However, there persist some of the older assumptions and traditional dogmas which constitute a threat to social equality and economic parity. For that reason the American writers have continued their protests.

Not all literary critics and social historians are fair to the progressive writers in America. Edward Wagenknecht in his Cavalcade of the American Novel finds occasion to discredit the progressivist writers and the significance of their connections with the socialist and the pupulist movements. Bernard Devoto, surveying the literature of the twenties in his The Literary Fallacy claims that:

The repudiation of American life by American literature during the 1920's signified that the writers were isolated or insulated from the common culture. There is something intrinsically absurd in the image of a literary man informing a hundred and twenty million people that their ideals are base, their beliefs unworthy, their ideas vulgar, their institutions corrupt and, in sum, their civilization too trivial to engage that literary man's respect. That absolutely is arrogant but also it is naive and most of all ignorant.³⁶

De Voto charges the writers with ingratitude and ignorance; but he doesn't stop to ask the question how it came about that all the writers from Howells to Steinbeck have been so persistently critical of the business civilization of America.

Foot notes

 Italics mine. In answer to the questionnaire entitled "Whither the American Writer," printed in V. F. Calverton's

- Modern Quarterly, VI (Summer, 1932), 11-12.
- 2. Cf. Earl Browder, Communist Party of the U. S. A. Its History, Role and Organization (N. Y: Harcourt, Brace and company, 1952), P-16. "Beginning with the Party's Eighth National Convention in 1934, was launched our systematic campaign to revive American revolutionary traditions, for rediscovery and revaluation of American History in general."
- 3. See Edward Newhouse, This is your Day (N. Y: Lee Furman, Inc., 1937) P. 151.
- 4. (N. Y: The John Day Company, 1935), p. 208.
- 5. Men of Good Hope: A Story of American Progressives (N. Y: Oxford University Press,11961), P-21.
- ā. See "Whither the American Writer," Op. Cit.
- 7. See Russel B. Nye's "Far-sighted Reformers" in The Abolitionists: Reformers or Fanatics, ed: Richard O. Curry (N. Y: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), pp. 107-112. As early as 1849, leaders of the American democracy warned their fellowmen against overlooking the ills of the "despotic attitude of the Slave Power" at the South, and the domineering ascendency of the Monied Oligarchy in the North as equally hostile to the interests of labor, and incompatible with the preservation of pupular Cited in George E. Mc Neill, The Labor Movement (Boston and New York, 1887), P-115.
- 8. Quoted in Daniel Aaron, op. clt., P-112. Also, ibid, P-182.
- 9. Quoted in Walter Fuller Taylor, The Economic Novel in America (N. Y: Octagon Books, Inc., 1964), P-194.
- 10. Robert W. Schneider is one of the latest to term the period the progressive age.

- See Five Novelists of the Progressive Era (N. Y: Columbia Univ. Press, 1965). Also, Evolutionary Thought in America, ed., Stow Persons (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1950).
- See Heary Steela Commager, The American Mind (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1950), and Vernon L. Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought (Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1958).
- 12. Cf. W. F. Taylor, op. cit.
- 13. Quoted in Aaron, op. cit., P. XIV.
- 14. There are, of course, a few exceptions. Jack London in The Iron Heel and C. A. Steere in When Things were Doing advocated the need for a fierce and bloody revolution to change the social order.
- 15. See Alfred Kazin, On Native Grounds (N. Y: Reynnal & Hitchcock).
- 16. Americans did not take the news of the formation of the steel corporation in 1900 lightly. Said President Hadley of Yale "that unless some way could be found to regulate such trusts, there will be an emperor in Washington within twenty-five years." Quoted in F. L. Allen, The Big Change: America Transforms Itself: 1900-1950 (N. Y: Harper & Brothers, 1952).
- 17. Kazin, op. cit., P-80.
- 18. See George E. Mowry, The Progressive Movement: 1900-1920. Recent Ideas and New Literature (Service Centre for Teachers of History, 400A Street, Washington, 1958).
- 19. See "Introduction," The Progressive Era:
 Liberal Renaissance or Liberal Fallure,
 ed., Arthur Mann (N. Y: Holt, Rinehart
 and Winston, 1963), PP. 1-5.
- See Walter B. Rideout, The Radical Novel in the United States: 1900-1954 (Harvard University Press, 1956), P. 7.
- 21. Cf. Herbert Edwards, "Howells and the

- controversy over Realism in American Fiction," American Literature III (1931), 237-248.
- 22. QUOTED in Edward Wagenknecht, Cavalcade of the American Novel (N. Y: Henry Holt and Company, 1952), P. 136.
- 23. See L. J. Budd, "William Dean Howells Debt to Tolstoy", American Slavic and East European Review IX (1950), 292-301.
- 24. "He made an outspoken protest against the judicial murder of the Chicago anarchists, following the Hay-market Square riots of 1887." See Wagenknecht. op. cit., P. 137.
- 25. See Gtzel's "William Dean Howells and Socialism, Science and Society, II (1938), (376—386)
- 26. David Hughes in The World of Chance, PP. 118-19.
- 27. Stephen Crane, An Omnibus, ed., Robert

- W. Stallman (N. Y: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958), P-693.
- 28. The Beginnings of Nationalism in American Fiction (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1950), P. 229.
- The Red Badge of Courage and Other Writings, ed., Richard Chase (Houghton Mifflin Co., 1960), P. 230.
- 30. An Omnibus, P. 656.
- 31. John Berryman, Stephen Crane (N. Y: William Sloan Associates, 1950), P. 125.
- See Russel Nye, "Stephen Crane as a Social Critic," Modern Quarterly, XI (1940) 48-54.
- See Ray B. West's analysis of the tale in The Art of Modern Fiction (N. Y: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1958).
- 34. The Responsibilities of the Novelist (N. Y: 1903), P. 21-2.
- 35. Quoted in W. F. Taylor, op, cit., P. 293.
- 36. P. 150.



PRESIDENT'S POWER TO ASSENT THE BILLS IN INDIA

MAHINDER SINGH DAHIYA

The power to assent to the Bills, which is given generally to the Constitutional Head in a democratic set-up, has become a matter of utmost importance in the Indian political system for the simple reason that the Congress Party has lost its monolithic character. The problem is bound to arise because the larguage of the Constitution gives a large amount of discretion to the President to be used in this connection. Article 111, which is concerned with the President's power to assent the Bills runs as follows:

When a Bill has been passed by the House of Parliament, the President shall declare either that he assents to the Bill or that he withholds assent therefrom:

Provided that the President may, as soon as possible after the presentation to him of a Bill for assent, return the Bill if it is not a Money Bill to the Houses with a message requesting that they will consider the Bill or any specified provisions thereof and, in particular will consider the desirability of introducing any such amendments as he may recommend in his message, and when a Bill is so returned, the Houses shall reconsider the Bill accordingly, and if the Bill is passed again by the Houses with or without amendment and presented to the President for assent, the President shall not withhold assent therefrom.

After a careful reading of this provision it appears that the President has three options before him. He shall declare either that he assents to the Bill or he withholds assent therefrom or he may return the Bill for reconsideration if it is not a Money Bill.

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Now the question is: Is the President's power to withhold his assent absolute? D. D. Basu says that if any Bill is brought in the direct contravention of any of the Directive Principles, the President or the Governor may refuse his assent to such Bill on that ground, though the Courts may not declare the Act is valid, if it is enacted. K. M. Munshi observed:

If a Bill submitted to him for instance, violates a fundamental right or the prescribed ambit of State powers, he is bound, consistently with his Oath, to exercise one of the two vetoes; otherwise he would be guilty of a failure to protect the Constitution.

The view that the President can withhold his assent, is supported by the following facts.

Firstly, there are cases wherein the President and the Governors withheld their assent to the Bills passed by the Parliament and the State Legislature. The Pepsu Appropriation Bill was vetoed by the President which was presented to him on March 8, 1954. The Bill was passed by Parliament while the State

was under President's Rule under Article 356 of the Constitution and the Parliament had the power to make laws in this respect. By the time, however, the Bill came for President's assent the Proclamation under Article 356 had been revoked. The President withheld his assent on the ground that on the date in question the power of Parliament to legislate in respect of Pepsu had already lapsed. The Governor of Madhya Pradesh, Mr. H. M. Patasker, withheld his assent from the Land Revenue Rationalization Bill on the ground that there was every possibility that the Bill might generate harm for the smooth working of the administration.

Secondly, the Patna High Court has decided that the Courts cannot question the constitutionality or propriety of either assent or refusal by the President to reserved Bills under Article 201.⁵ If the President can veto a Bill under Article 201 there is nothing to prevent him from withholding his assent under Article 111 because the only difference between the two is that under Article 111 the President cannot withhold his assent to a Bill which has been reconsidered by the Parliament. Under Article 201 there is no such condition.

Thirdly, the view that the returning of a Bill by the President amounts to withholding of assent does not find favour that is why under Article 111 the President cannot return the Money Bills for reconsideration. He is required to declare either that he assents to the Bill or that he withholds his assent therefrom.

Fourthly, the language of Article 111 is clear on this issue and the problem is that the Court attaches importance to the language of the Constitution rather than the intention of the framers.⁶

Fifthly, R. N. Mishra observes that the revival of an obsolete power of the King in

England indicates that this power may be used by the President.⁷

Keeping in view the said arguments, it appears that the President has the absolute and exclusive power to veto a particular legislation. But it does not fall in line with the accepted principles of parliamentary democracy prevailing in the country both in the States and the Centre. The parliamentary democracy is not made of words only but the conventions also. We have modelled our democratic setup on the basis of the British pattern and the King's veto power is considered as a closed chapter since Queen Anne refused her assent to the Scottish Militia Bill in 1707.8 Hence it is not desirable to arm the President with such a kind of power. In 1913, it was argued in some quarters that the Monarch could and should refuse to accept the highly controversial Irish Home Rule Bill but this would hardly seem to be practical politics today.9 Even in Canada, for the last sixty years the Governor General has not refused to give the royal assent to a legislation. It may be recorded that the very first occasion on which a Governor-General came into conflict with his ministers and with Parliament over his own Reduced Salary Bill, 1868, which he reserved for the King's pleasure. It was one of the three reserved Bills which failed to secure royal assent.10 When Leiutenant-Governor Bastedo reserved a Bill passed by the Sasketchewan Legislature, that action was in effect repudiated by the Conservative (Diefenbaker) Government in Ottawa, 11

The supporters of the President's power to veto the Bill compare section 32 of the Government of India Act, 1935 with Article 111 of the Indian Constitution but as C. L. Anand says that this is out of place in the present Constitution which rests wholly on the principles of parliamentary government. In the scheme of federation contemplated in the

Act of 1935 the Governor-General was to administer certain departments of federal government "acting in his discretion" and as regards those which were to be transferred to control of Ministers he was to be vested with a wide range of "special responsibilities" and "individual judgement powers". Consequently his power to assent to or veto Bills passed by the Legislature was unfettered..... In the present Constitution of India the President has no "discretionary" or "individual judgement powers" and he can only act, therefore, as advised by his Council of Ministers. 12

The President being a component part of the Parliament would have the power of clipping its wings if he is armed with such a weapon. It would lead to the conclusion that he is the "Supreme Limb" of Parliament which is fundamentally wrong and basically absurd.

According to Article 117, a Money Bill cannot be introduced without the prior consent of the President; therefore the question of withholding assent to such a kind of Bill does not arise. It would be absurd on the part of the President to veto a Bill which has been introduced in the House of People on his own recommendation. Moreover, the political power in a democratic set-up hinges upon the power of purse which is considered the right of the popular chamber; and if an indirectly elected President pokes his nose, that would be antithetical to the real concept of democracy.

If it is accepted that the President is free to resort to such a kind of mechanism, it would open floodgates of vetoes like that of the United States. The use of veto by the Presidents in United States, since 1789 to 1963, is being shown in the table; 13

President	Total vetoes	Regular	Pocket	Overridden
Washington		2	0	0
Madison	7	5	2	0
Monroe	1	1	0	0
Jackson	12	5	7	0
Tyler	10	6	4	1
Polk	3	2	1	_
Pierce	9	9	0	5
Buckaman	7	4	3	0
Lincoln	6	2	2	0
Johnson	28	21	7	15
Grant	92	44	48	4
Hayls	13	12	1	1
Arthur	12	4	8	1
Cleveland	414	304	110	2
Harrison, B.	44	19	25	1
Cleveland	170	42	128	5
McKinley	42	6	36	0
Roosevelt, I	r. 82	42	40	1
Taft	39	30	9	1
Wilson	44	33	11	6
Harding	6	6	1	0
Coolidge	50 ·	20	30	4
Hoover	37	21	16	3
Roosevelt, F	. 631	371	260	9
Truman	250	180	70	12
Eisenhower	181	79	102	2
Kennedy	25	14	11	0
Johnson	0	0	0	0

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M. V. Pylee says that the experience also clearly indicates, though it is too short a period, that the President is, in reality, only the constitutional Head of the State. On the eve of the 1951-52 General Elections in India President Dr. Rajendra Prasad sent a message to Parliament expressing his views on the Hindu Code Bill which was under his consideration. In that message he said that personally he was opposed to the passing of the Bill but if adopted by Parliament, he would give his assent to it however reluctant that might be. 14 Moreover, Dr. Prasad had to assent the Bihar Zamindari Abolition Act.

which was declared by the Supreme Court as unconstitutional. Dr. Prasad was personally against it and raised some objections but consequently he had to approve the Bill. ¹⁵ Austine rightly says that parliamentary government in India would have disappeared before it was two years old, had the first attempt of Prasad to ignore Conventional restrictions not been foiled. ¹⁶ Mr. Vishnu Sahay, an ex-Governor, says - ¹⁷

In the winter of 1960, when I was appointed acting Governor of Assam in a short vacancy caused by the illness of the permanent incumbent. The Assamese of the Brahamputra valley wanted Assamese to be the official language of the State. The considerable Bengali and Tribal minorities were opposed to this and the controversy had led to serious "language riots". The Assembly had passed a Bill which made Assamese the Official language and it was awaiting the Governor's formal approval... In the end, I found that there was no possibility of a compromise till time had brought a cooling off of tempers, and after having the controversial Bill on my table , for a few weeks, I had no choice but to approve it.

Article 200, which is concerned with the Governor's power Bill, is a duplicate copy of Article 111; hence their position is similar in their respective spheres.

Constitutional Amendment and the President's Veto Power

According to Article 368, when the Bill is passed in each House by a majority of the total membership of that House and by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members of that House present and voting, it shall be presented to the President for his assent and upon such assent being given

to the Bill, the Constitution shall stand amended in accordance with the terms of the Bill. 17A The question arises: Can the President veto such a kind of Bill? answer seems to be in the negative. There is a lot of difference between the phraseology used in Articles 368 and 111. Article 111 is infested with negative phraseology whereas the phraseology used in Article 368 is positive. Had there not been any difference between the two; where was the necessity of putting them under different heads? The framers could have adopted only one article for this purpose. As a matter of fact, under Article 368 the President's assent is simply a formality. Arguing in the Golakhnath case, Mr. Niren De, Additional Solicitor General of India, who is, at present the Attorney-General, pointed out that under Article 368 the President has no other recourse open to him but to assent to the Bill. - For this purpose, the arguments between the Supreme Court and Mr. De are being reproduced below:18

Mr. Justice Shah:- Hc may return the Bill.

Mr. De: No, it is not open to him to do so. Article 111 does not apply to Article 368, which is a complete code by itself.

Chief Justice: If the President has no option but to assent, do you mean it is an empty formality?

· Mr. De:- Yes, he is guided by ministerial advice.

In this connection it is also important to mention the modes of amending the Constitution According to the traditionalists, there are three modes—amendment by simple majority, by two thirds majority and by two thirds majority plus fifty per cent States. But this is not so. Those who think along these lines, appears, they did not read the Constitution carefully. Constitutionally speaking, there

are only two modes—amendment by two-thirds majority and two-thirds majority plus fifty per cent States. The case of simple majority cannot be considered as an amendment in the technical sense. If it is accepted an amendment; then, under Article 210(2) there would be the fourth mode of amendment, which the traditionalists are not prepared to accept. 19

The another problem to be tackled is: Is the assent of the Governor essential for the amendments wherein the States are co-partners? Article 368 requires only the ratification by the Legislatures of not less than one-half of the States. Here, the Governor does not come in the light. The Calcutta High Court has decided that a resolution of a State Legislature ratifying a Bill for amendment of the Constitution does not require the assent of the Governor. The first part of Article 368 relates to Bill which has to be passed in particular manner, and there is specific provision for the assent of the President. So far as the State Legislatures are concerned, it requires that a "resolution" should be passed ratifying the amendment. While it expressly provides for the assent of the President, it does not provide for the assent of the Governor.20

The President and the Qualified Assent

It may, however, be asked, can the President have some reservation while giving assent to a Bill? The answer seems in the positive. S. N. Jain and Alice Jacob cite the cases wherein the President did so.²¹ Assent to Mysore Municipalities Bill, 1959, and Kerala Motor Vehicles Taxation Bill, 1963, was given on the condition of exempting the property of Central Government from tax, Assent to Punjab Temporary Taxation Bill, 1962 was given on the condition that assurance be received from the State Government that exemption from levy of tax on carriage and

sale of goods which were proved to be exported out of India would be given. Again, assent to Assam Tax (on goods carried by Road or Inland Waterways) Act, 1961, was given on the condition that mineral ores, petroleum products, tea and other exportable goods be exempted from tax. Similar condition was imposed while giving sanction to the Maharashtra Tax on Goods (Carriage by Road) Bill, 1962.

The Assent of the President and Tenure of the House of People

Since the dissolution of the House of People does not affect the Bill pending before the President, there is nothing to prevent him from giving his assent during the second tenure of the House of People. The Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill may be cited as an instance. The Supreme Court declared that the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bills had not lapsed before the President gave his assent to it after the dissolution of the Assembly.²

Declaration of the Assent

In K. C. Gajapati Narayana Deo and others Vs. State of Orissa, it was decided by the Orissa High Court that what is indicated by the word 'declaration' it is anything by way of a public notification. To declare an assent is nothing more than an assertion by the President or the Governor as the case may be, that in fact he has so assented. It does not involve any idea that assertion must be made with any publicity or in any particular form.²³ Where certain Acts as published in the State Gazette show that the assent to them was given on a particular date by the Head of the State and an affidavit to that effect is also filed _____ on behalf of the State, it cannot be held that the Acts did not receive the assent on that date. The burden under these circumstances lies heavily on the party disputing the fact. The mere fact that the Head of the State was

not present in the Capital is in itself not nough to prove that his assent could not be brained as there are other methods of braining his assent viz., by telephone, or by elegram or by sending a special messenger.²⁴

leturning of Bills

Article 111 does not prescribe any timeimit for the President to return a Bill for econsideration. He may do so "as soon as ossible". In Article 91 of the Draft Constiution, it was stated that "the President may, ot later than six weeks after the presentation o him of a Bill for assent, return the Bill if t is not a Money Bill....." But Dr. Ambedkar, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, noved an amendment in the Consembly to substitute the words "as soon as possible" or the words "not later than six weeks". The amendment was carried.55 H. V. Kamath was very critical of this move. 26 The Constiution uses the word "May" instead of "Shall", which means that it is not obligatory on the part of the President to send the Bill for econsideration. Moreover, there is nothing in the Constitution which binds the President to return a Bill vetoed by him. When a particular Bill is returned by the President, the Houses are required to consider it "accordingly", which means in the light of the amendments suggested by him. They cannot incorporate any fresh amendment. If the Houses, in addition to the amendments suggested by the President, introduce any new amendment, he is not bound to assent the Bill. This is obligatory on his part only in case the Bill is passed in the same form or in the light of his own amendments.

Another ticklish problem is whether the President is bound to assent the Bill which was returned by him on the ground that it was unconstitutional?²⁷ The answer seems to be in the positive. There are cases wherein

the President had to give his assent even in the first instance. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the First President of the Indian Republic, had to give his assent to the Bihar Zamindari Abolition Act, which was declared by the Supreme Court as unconstitutional.²⁸ Even in the United States, in 1955, President Eisenhower gave his assent to an Appropriation Bill by ignoring certain provisions which he held to be unconstitutional.²⁹

It may, however, be asked: Can the President send a Bill for reconsideration to the successor House? Since the dissolution of the House of People does not affect the powers of the President and the position of the Bill pending for his assent, there is nothing to prevent the President from sending it back to the successor House. The Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill was passed by the Kerala Assembly on June 10, 1959. It was then reserved by the Governor for the consideration of the President under Article 200 of the Constitution. Meanwhile, on July 31, 1959, the President issued a proclamation under Article 356 and the Assembly was dissolved. In February 1960, mid-term elections took place. On July 27, 1960 the President for whose assent the Bill was pending sent it back with his message requesting the Legislative Assembly to consider the Bill in the light of the specific amendments suggested by him. When this case came before the Supreme Court, it decided that when it is said that if the Bill is passed again the Governor shall not withhold his assent therefrom it does not postulate the existence of the same House because even if it is the successor House which passes it, it is true to say that the Bill has been passed again because in fact it had been passed on an earlier occasion. Therefore, the validity of the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act cannot be attacked on the ground that it was passed by the successor House.30 It seems

right to observe that the same can be applied in case of the dissolution of the House of People.

No v question is as to what is the procedure to reconsider a Bill which is passed by the Parliament in a joint sitting under Article 108? It seems that the President will send the Ell to the House in which it originated. Thereafter, the Houses shall take up the Bill in a joint sitting and not separately. This is so because even in the first instance the Bill was passed in a joint session; hence the cuestion of its reconsideration separately does not arise. Here, it is also important to mention that near about 95% Bills are initiated by the government and if a particular Bill passed by the Council of States is lost in the House of People, the government is bound to resign for the simple reason that it is responsible to the House of People.31 But if the Bill is passed by the House of People and is lost in the Council of States, the Ministry is not supposed to resign. Here the problem is: Who is to advise the President to convene a joint sitting? Can the President do so on his own accord? Since a normal session is convened by the President on the advice of the Ministry, it leads to the conclusion that under such circumstances also, the President is required to act upon its advice because the President has nothing to do with the business to be transacted in the Parliament. Moreover, the general philosophy of Parliamentary Democracy and the principles of Cabinet-Government demand so. But the problem is, where is the Council of Ministers if the Bill is lost in the House of People? The defeat of the government on an issue in the popular chamber would result in its resignation; hence the question of a joint sitting does not arise because there is no government to advise the President for a joint sitting. The successor government need not to do so because its

supporters have already voted against the Bill. Therefore, there is no possibility of a joint sitting in case the Bill is lost in the House of People. If the Bill is lost in the Council of States, the Council of Ministers will advise the President for such a kind of sitting if it has a following in the House of People, If there is a majority of two with the government in the House of People and its Bill is defeated in the Council of States by 20 voters; where is the necessity of advising the President to convene a joint sitting when there is no chance of getting the Bill carried? This provision was incorporated in Constitution simply to establish the supermacy of the popular Chamber over the Council and for nothing else.

Article III and the Advice of the Council of Ministers

The most controversial problem relating to Article 111 is whether the President is bound by the advice of the Council of Ministers? When the controversy arose over the Hindu Code Bill 1951, in response to the letter o' Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Attorney-General of India, Mr. M. C. Setalvad and Mr. A. K. Ayyer are believed to have communicated to him that 'by Article 74(1) the President was required to act in all matters with the aid and advice of his Council of Ministers' and innumerable Constitutional authorities were cited to prove this point. The note was sent to Nehru by the Attorney-General on September 24, 1951 and among his authorities were Anson and Dicey.32 Justice P. N. Sapru supports this view and says that the Constitution left no room for doubt that the President is expected to act on the advice of the Council of Ministers.33 In 1955, in Rai Sahib Ram Jawaya Kapoor Vs. The State of Punjab, the Supreme Court has decided that the parliamentary democracy

in our country reduces the President to a Constitutional Heal. His position is similar to that of the King in England.³⁴

The practice prevailing in India for the last 20 years shows that inspite of the major changes in the political and economic system followed by four General Elections, none of the Presidents dared to ignore the advice of the Council of Ministers. Even the assent to the Pepsu Appropriation Bill was withheld by the President on the advice of the Council of Ministers and not in his discretion.35 Had President Prasad withheld his assent to the Hindu Code Bill, 1951 against the wishes of the Prime Minister, he would have had to face the Hobson's Choice in the sense that in 1952, in the General Elections, Nehru thundered in the Parliament with a thumping and very big majority. Under such circumstances position of the President was bound to be undermined.

Moreover, when this provision was being considered in the Consembly, Dr. P. S. Deshmukh assumed that that the President would be bound by the advice of the Council of Ministers.³⁶ On August 18, 1948, Dr. Prasad wrote a letter to B. N. Rau, the constitutional adviser, and asked: Could the President use his discretion in giving assent to a Bill? The answer was in the negative.³⁷ It is also important to mention here that the Instrument of Instructions was dropped by the framers in favour of the Conventions of the parliamentary democracy, according to which the real powers are vested in the Council of Ministers responsible to the electorates through the Parliament.88

In the light of the aforesaid arguments, it appears sound to observe that the Indian President is normally bound by the advice of the Council of Ministers. The President is neither the real head nor the figure head but he is the Constitutional Head, which means that if the Council of Ministers is inclined to

disrupt the democratic set-up and is not acting in consonance with the spirit of the Constitution and the principles of cabinet government, the President may reject its advice for the welfare and betterment of the electorates.

The Fresident and his Power to Assent the States' Bills

Article 200 empowers the Governor, in his discretion to reserve a Bill for the consideration of the President. But in some cases the reservation is compulsory.³⁹ The Governor cannot give assent to a Bill which, if it became law, would derogate from the powers of the High Court as to endanger the position which that Court is by this Constitution designed to fill. If an Act is passed during the pendency of a case which affects the rights of the parties, it cannot be said that there has been any derogation from the powers of the High Court.

The Governor is free to reserve any Bill but normally he reserves a Bill which is either unconstitutional⁴² or contrary to the Directive Principles⁴³ or the matter falls within the jurisdiction of the centre⁴⁴ or there is already a Central legislation⁴⁵ or it does not comply with the central Statutory Requirements.⁴⁶

The difference between Articles 111 and 201 is that if the President sends the Bill for reconsideration, it should be considered within six months and the President is not under any obligation to give assent to it. Like Article 111, Article 201 does not say that the President shall not withhold his assent but it speaks that "if it is again passed by the House or Houses with or without amendment, it shall be presented again to the President for his consideration".

The application and nature of Article 201 shows that the Union Government can freely disturb the autonomy of the States. It is likely to be done when the party in power in the Centre is opposed to that of the State.

Since the Governors are appointed by the Central Government, there is every possibility that through the instrumentality of Governors this power may be used to protect the interests of the party in control of the Central Government.47 If the men like Mr. Morarji Desai and S. K. Patil with conservative thinking happen to be in control of the Central Government, there is no possibility of the implementation of the radical changes oriented programmes of Mr. Joyti Basu and Namboodripad in their v States. Mr. Namboodripad had to face such a kind of fate when he became Chief Minister of Kerala. He could not implement those policies on which he secured the verdict of the electorates in 1957. If the Central Government, however, becomes an impediment in the way of the application of a programme adopted by a party in control of a State Gevernment, it may be characterised as the violation of the mandate given by the electorates and the party government, which is the cornerstone of parliamentary democracy.

In this connection, it is also important to mention that in a country like India where the centrifugal tendencies are gaining ground, some sort of check is essential over the States otherwise the Fifth Columnists would destroy the unity of the country as purported by the framers of the Constitution. But this power should be used in the interests of the nation and not to enhance the objectives of a particular party. The President should use this power on the basis of provincial autonomy and the principles of federation.

- D. D. Basu. Commentary on the Constitution of India (Calcutta), vol. II, 5th Ed., 1967, p. 667
- 2. K. M. Munshi, The President Under the Indian Constitution (Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay, 1963), p. 42.
- 3. H. M. Jain, The Union Executive (Allahabad, 1969), pp. 63-64.

- 4. The Bill was passed by the State Legislature amidst walk outs and divisions. Even the Congress members widely criticised it. M. G. Gupta, Aspects of the Indian Constitution, Edited, 1964, p. 387.
- 5. Kameshwar Vs. State of Bihar, A. I. R., 1951 Patna 91 (101).
- 6. In 1955, in Bengal Immunity Company Ltd., Vs. The State of Bihar, the Supreme Court had the distinction of hearing Dr. Ambedkar, the Chairman of the Drasting Committee of the Constituent Assembly argue before it what certain constitutional provisions were intended to mean. It refused to seek help from such sources where the provisions were plain and clear. Occasionally some of the justices tried to gather what evil a particular provision of the law or the Constitution was intended to cure.
 - Sri Ram Sharma, The Supreme Court in the Indian Constitution (Delhi), First Published, 1959, p. 64.
- 7. R. N. Mishra, The President of Indian Republic (Bombay), First Ed., 1965, p. 100.
- Andre Mathio, The British Political System (London, 1958), p. 268. See also H. J. Laski, Parliamentary Government in England (London), Fourth Impression, 1952, p. 408.
- 9. G. C. Moodie, "The Crown and Parliament", Parliamentary Affairs, 1956-57, pp. 256-64. See also M. R. Curtis, Central Government—An Introduction to the British System (London, 1958), p. 89 O. Hood Phillips, The Constitutional Law of Great Britain and the Commonwealth (London, 1952,) p. 75.
- H. Mc D. Clokie, Canadian Government and Politics (Longmans, Green & Co., Toronto, London, New York, 1950), p. 118.

- 11. E. Rnssell Hopins, Confederation at the Crossroads—The Canadian Constitution (Toronto, 1968), p. 335.
- C. L. Anand, Constitution of India (Law Book Company' Allahabad), Second Edition, 1966, p. 265.
- 13. William H, Young, Ogg and Ray's Essentials of American Government, 9th Pd., 1967, p. 240.
- M. V. Pylee, Constitutional Government in India (Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1960), p. 340.
- 15. Dr. Prasad is said to have argued that such a sweeping Bill, which gave illusory compensation, was unjust and should not be approved by the Centre. His opinion was overruled and the Bill was passed. K. M. Munshi, Indian Constitutional Documents (Bhartiya, Vidya Bhawan. Bombay), Vol. II, First Ed., 1967, p. 289.
- 16. Granville Austine, The Indian Constitution: Cornerstone of a Nation (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1966).
- 17. Vishnoo Sahay, "Governor's Role in Administration", The Indian Journal of Public Administration, Vol. XVI, No 3, July-September, 1970, pp. 280-81.
- 17A. The Amendment in Arts. 54, 55, 73, 162, 241, Chapter IV of Part V, Chapter 5 of Part VI, Chapter I of Part XI, any of the Lists in Seventh Schedule, the representation of States in Parliament and the provisions of Article 368 require two-thirds majority plus ratification by 50% States' Legislatures.
- 18. Cited in H. M. Jain, op. cit., p. 68.
- 19. Article 210 (2) says: "Unless the Legislature of the State by law otherwise provides, this Article shall, after the expiration of a period of fifteen years from the commencement of this Constitution, have effect as if the words "or in English" were omitted therefrom."

- Dr. K. C. Markandan also thinks along the lines that there are only two modes of amending the Constitution.
- Jatin Chakravarty Vs. Justice Himansu Kumar Bose, A. I. R., 1964, Calcutta 500 (502).
- 21. Report of the National Convention on Centre-State Relations, Convention Secretariat, The Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies, 19 Vithalbhai Patel House, Rafi Marg, New Delhi, pp. 345-46.
- Karimlul Kunhikoman and K. Ganapathy Bhat Vs. State of Kerala, A. I. R. 1962, S. C. 723 (727).
- 23. Gajapati Naraina Deo and others Vs. State of Orissa. A. I. R., 1953, Orissa 185, (194).
- 24. Raja Hari Singh and others Vs. state of Rajasthan and others, A. I. R., 1954, Rajasthan 117 (120).
- Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol VIII, pp. 192-6.
- 26. He stated: "No body knows what they mean, what 'as soon as' means. We Assembly in the Legislative know Ministers are in the habit of answering questions by saying "as soon as possible". When we ask "When this thing be done"? The answer is "as soon as possible or very soon." But six months later, the same question is put, and the answer is again, "as soon as possible" or "very soon". This phrase is vague, purposeless and meaningless and it should not find a place in the Constitution, especially in an Article of this nature where we specify that the President must do a thing within a certain period of time." Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. VIII, p. 195
- 27. The Kerala Education Bill was returned by the President for reconsideration to

the State Legislative Assembly after seeking the opinion of the Supreme Court. Giving its opinion on the Constitutional validity of some of the Clauses, on May 22, 1958, the Supreme Court held that Clause 3(5) of the Bill relating to establishment and recognition of schools violated Article 30 (1) of the Constitution. The amendments were accepted by the Assembly.

Indian Affairs Record, Vol. IV, No. 5, June 1958, p. 112. See also H. M. Jain, op. cit., p. 71.

The Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill was also returned by the President to the Assembly for reconsideration. On October 15, 1960 the Bill as amended in the light of the President's recommendations was passed by the Assembly. It then received the Assent of the President on January 21, 1961.

A.I.R., 1962, S. C. 694 (697).

These two Bills were passed by the State Legislature. Though the President gave his assent to both the Bills yet he was not bound to do so under Article 201. But under such circumstances, if the Parliament passes the Bill in the same form, the President cannot withhold his assent.

- 28. Supra, n. 15.
- 29. William H. Young, op. cit., p. 241.
- 30. Purushothaman Nambudiri Vs. State of Kerala, A. I. R., 1962, S. C. 694 (702).
- 31. Article 75 (3).
- 32. Austine, op. cit., pp. 140-41.
- 33. Henry W. Holms, Jr., "Powers of the Indian President" Journal of the Indian Law Institute, vol. 12, No. 3, July-September 1970, p. 370. n. 12.
- 34. A. I. R. 1955 S. C. 549 (556).
- 35. D. D. Basu, Commentary on the Constitution of India (Calcutta), vol 2, 5th Ed. 1967, p. 687.

- 36. Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. VIII p. 194.
- 37. Austine, op. cit., pp. 135-36.
- 38. A. V. Dicey says that with the Instrument of Instructions gone the protection, of parliamentary government in India was left to convention, to the vigilance of Parliament, and ultimately 'to the will of that power which.....is' the true political sovereign of the State—the majority of electors or......the nation. Law of the Constitution, 429, cited in Ibid., p. 139.
- 39. Articles 30. 31-A, and 288 fall under this category.
- 40. Purushothaman Nambudiri Vs. State of Kerala, A. I. R., 1962, S. C. 694 (703).
- 41. Prem Narain Tandon Vs. State of Uttar Pradesh, A. I. R., 1960 Allahabad 205 (207).
- 42. The Kerala Education Bill, 1957, The Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill 1961. Supra, n. 27.
 - The Punjab Temporary Taxation Bill, 1962, was reserved and examined to see whether its provisions were discriminatory and violative of Article 14. On scrutiny, it was found that the Bill could not be held to be violative of Article 14. S. N. Jain and Alice Jacob, op. cit., p. 341.
- 43. The Madhya Pradesh Panchayati Raj Bill, 1960.

The disputed article in the M. P. Panchayat Raj Bill was Article 106 providing for the nomination of the first janpad panchayats to be established under the Bill. The M. P. Government is understood to have argued that the procedure of nomination as provided for in the Bill was only due to the fact that M. P. was a backward State with a very high ratio of illiteracy. The Constitu-

ion of the Panchayats for the purpose of village administration is a State subject under the exclusive jurisdiction of the State Governments. However Central Government had been of the strong opinion that whatever the condition prevailing in M. P., the system of nomination to the panchayats was a negation of the concept of Panchayat Raj; thereby suggesting that the body should be elective one from the very beginning. R. P. Pandey, "The Presidential veto Over State Legislation", Union-State Relations in India, Edited by S. A. H. Haqqi (Meennakshi Prakashan, Meerut). First published, 1967, pp. 99-100.

- 44. Punjab Sale Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1965 which had a provision for research and seizure affecting the working of the post office a matter over which the States had no power.
- 45. M. P. Oil Seeds Milling Industry (Regulation) Bill 1960.

- 46. The Mysore Village Officers Abolition Bill, 1961.
- 47. From 1950 to 1964, out of the 45 Governors 24 belonged to the Congress Party. In most of the cases, the burnt out politicians, defeated candidates of the Congress and the favourite boys and crack pots of the Central Government are appointed as Governors. Under such circumstances, it is wild to imagine that they can go against the policies of the Centre. For detail study see Mahinder Singh Dahiya, "The Appointment of the Governor and its Implications", The Modern Review, June 1971, pp. 37-78.
- 48. Mr. Prokash Singh Badal the former Chief Minister of Punjab, is reported to have threatened to secede from the Indian Union. It is regarded as highly improper and unpatriotic on his part. See the letter of Bharpur Singh published recently in The Tribune, Chandigarh, August 30, 1971.



Mrs. ALEY T. PHILIP

Many discerning political commentators in France and elsewhere hold that General De Gaulle has virtually destroyed and violated the Fifth Republican Constitution, by making it a presidential system. "After De Gaulle's departure, we hope that the President will become more of an 'arbiter and less of a power" said a few Frenchmen. 1 De Gaulle had become both an arbiter and a power. Yet to some of the others the great merit of De Gaulle's system was that it was truely parliamentary, with a President who made the decisions and a Prime Minister who carried out. Strangely enough De Gaulle them regarded himself more as a "Republican Monarch" than a President, because he felt that the French people were at heart like himself essentially monarchists. His opponents called him a 'megalomaniac' and rephrased Lord Acton's aphorism as "power attracts neurotics and absolute power attracts absolute neurotics."2

Thus opinion is divided as to how the French Constitution evolved under General De Gaulle. The political commentators agree on the fact that the Fifth Republican Constitution was not sufficiently institutionalised. The phrases and articles of the Constitution were such that they could permit an evolution either towards classic parliamentary system or a true presidential system, and by the time De Gaulle retired, it was evident, how it had evolved.

This article is intended to discuss how De Gaulle effected the evolution towards a presidential system in France. Three factors helped him in this:

(1) The provisions of the Constitution dealing with the powers of the President were vague

and ambiguous—and it was possible for De Gaulle to give the most liberal interpretations to them. In fact as the 'true father' of the Constitution he interpreted the provisions, as he liked.

- (2) De Gaulle was trusted—perhaps the only politician to be trusted at that time—by both the leftists and the rightists and this helped De Gaulle to make use of the presidential powers as he wanted. President De Gaulle has imprinted his qualities so deeply on the office, that it is difficult to imagine the office without him or how it would have evolved had it been some one else.
- (3) Lastly, the atmosphere of crisis that existed in France as a result of the Algerian question also helped De Gaulle to dominate over the government. Nicholas Wahl terms De Gaulle's Presidency as a "crisis executive".

In modern times there is no one individual who has become such an integral part of France as De Gaulle. De Gaulle could truthfully have said "I am the state". Gaullism has become part of French tradition though De Gaulle htmself refused to recognise a political opinion called "Gaullism". He spoke for France, since he was the unrivalled hero of the Liberation and the tried and proven saviour. He declared that he had incarnated "legitimacy" of France in his person for the last 20 years. He declared that he loved France and on being asked by a reporter whether it was true that he regarded France as his mother, he replied, "of course she is". His enemies assert that "De Gaulle loved not France, not history but his own persona power"8

Fifth Republican Constitution:

De Gaulle believed that the Fifth Republican Constitution, which was drafted under his supervision was the beginning of a new era of political stability. He had advocated from 1946 an effective executive to rule over France, because he believed that it had been only countries with strong executives that played a vital role in international affairs. He was against governmental systems in France, that consecrated "instability" in governments as a virtue and had through all the period of his retirement in his country residence Colombey, fought a battle in Franch politics against the debilitating executive in France. Michel Debre when he declared that governments must combine "authority with stability" was echoing the words of De Gaulle, Despite long years of waiting when De Gaulle came back to power in France, under the most dramatic developments in Algeria, he did not come with a ready made constitution in his pocket. Yet the constitution was drafted by Gaullists like Michel Debre.

De Gaulle agreed to respect five basic conditions, while framing the constitution and one of them was to make the executive responsible to the legislature, and this was in deference to French tradition. This promise ruled out the presidential system. Gaulle and Debre had the difficult task of creating an effective and strong executive while at the same time making it responsible to the legislature. De Gaulle reversed the traditional relationship between the legislature and the a "bicephalic" government, by creating executive, where power was divided between the President and the Cabinet, giving the cabinet better defences against the legislature.

President in Theory:

De Gaulle and Debre insisted that the President of the Fifth Republican Constitution would be above parties and political factions,

speaking for the nation. Debre's president was not intended to make personal policies or to interfere in day to day administration. The office was to be one of 'moral magistracy'-He was to be a 'Republican monarch' acting as a symbol of unity, a supreme arbitrator, above parties and interests. In 1958 the idea was to have a President who does not actively govern but does more than reign. A perusal of the Constitution shows that the Fifth Republic gives to the chief executive most of the normal powers belonging to any executive, intended merely as the head of the State. The right to appoint the Prime Minister,-and other civil and military officials, to preside over a number of bodies, to summon, and dissolve the legislature to hold up a bill by a suspensive veto, to be the Commander in Chief of the armed forces, are rights that belong almost to all executives of the parliamentary form of government including Presidents of the Fourth and Third Republics. One can find nothing drastic in any of these powers vested in the President of the Fifth Republic. The President has a few special powers, namely the right to hold referendum on legislative and constitutional bills, to declare emergency, to negotiate and ratify treaties. Thus the constitutional position is not greatly changed though it is true, that the President of the Fifth Republic has been given greater elbow-room than his predecessors in the IV and III Republics.

All constitutions are necessarily modified in practice, and it is unrealistic to base deductions, only on the written part of the constitution. This is never more true than in the case of De Gaulle's presidency.

De Gaulle interpreted these provisions very drastically, and very differently from the way his predecessors had done, and converted an office of "arbitral authority" in to one of real authority. Instead of being in the back seat De Gaulle insisted on taking the 'wheel'

nimself. In other words, he so interpreted the constitution and presidential stage.

Status and Position: Article 5.

"The President of the Republic shall see that the Constitution is respected. He shall ensure, by his arbitration, the regular functioning of the governmental authorities, as well as the continuance of the power that he made the Presidents the centre of the political State.

He shall be the guarantor of national independence, of the integrity of the territory and of respect for community agreements and treaties". These phrases and words are vague and are capable of being pressed to mean much. This article may have been meant only to indicate a general improvement in the status of the President. Thus it would seem that the President could intervene when governmental organs were deadlocked. De Gaulle felt, that this article subordinated all other governmental organs to the President. Thus General De Gaulle took a personal responsibility for all that happened to France, both internally and externally.

President and the Council of Ministers:

Article 9-"The President of the Republic shall preside over the Council of Ministers"-General De Gaulle presided over the Council of Ministers as his predecessors did and under him the Council became no longer merely the decision ratifying body but the real decision making body. In fact the decisions of the cabinet were not reached together in the Council of Ministers at all. De Gaulle merely listened to the opinions of his Prime Minister, and other Ministers and finally made his own decisions which he imposed on the Cabinet. The communique issued to the press at the end of the cabinet meeting, was issued in the name of the President. The decisions of the Cabinet were the decisions of De Gaulle. Cabinet meetings were held regularly but every minister knew that on most matters De Gaulle

had already made up his mind and that discussions were perfunctory. He would call press conferences to outline policies, and clarify decisions. He felt he was personally responsible for determining all policies. For carrying out the decisions, De Gaulle looked to the Cabinet. "Thus under De Gaulle the process of execution began where once the policy decisions were debated—in the Council of Ministers." De Gaulle took care to see that he was in the centre of the news. Public interest was focussed on him and not on the Prime Minister.

This reminds one of the President of U.S.A. who makes all the important decisions—and the communique is given out to the press in the name of the President. When all France is at dinner at 8 p. m. President De Gaulle used to appear over the T. V. to talk to them on important decisions very much like President Roosevelt's 'fire-side' chats. according to De Gaulle was the best way to reach all Frenchmen. Once De Gaulle said "The newspapers are against me. I have the T. V. and I shall keep it"-and keep it, he did till the end.

Article 8—The President of the Republic shall appoint the Premier. He shall terminate the functions of the premier when the latter presents the resignation of the Government.

The choice of the Prime Minister was completely in the hands of the President, and therefore it was often likely that the Prime Minister and other ministers were all creatures of the President. Like the American President, it is certain, that the French President would choose a Prime Minister and a cabinet that would work amiably with him. This was just what De Gaulle proceeded to do. He appointed, with few exceptions, Gaullists like Michel Debre, Georges Pompidou, Andre Malraux, Jaaques Soustelle, M. Joxe etc. and found little difficulty in controlling them. He exacted total and abject subservience. The

cabinet, under De Gaulle's Presidency, was merely an executing agency of the President. The Ministers in many cases were responsible personally to the President rather than to the Prime Minister as was required by the Constitution. De Gaulle shifted about ministers as he liked, dismissing those he did not like or those with whom he disagreed as in the case of Antoine Pinay (Jan. 14, 1960), M. Boulloche Jacques Soustelle, all within a period of two months, January to February 1960. Many political thinkers predicted that all these were the prelude to a dictatorship. He moved about ministers as no American President would ever have done. The first draft of the Fifth Republican Constitution had given President, the right to dismiss the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, though, when the draft was revised, this article was changed. The French cabinet worked in the shadow of the President and he protected and shielded it from attacks by the National Assembly. This accounted for the fact that the cabinets were not over thrown by the Assembly.

The Constitution provided that the cabinet should be supported by the majority in the National Assembly but even this majority was provided because, of the popularity, not of the cabinet but of the President. When in 1959, the first Parliament tried to overthrow the cabinet, De Gaulle warned the deputies, that if they continued their factional quarrels, he would dissolve the legislature. He said "Gentlemen, you will have only this government and you won't have any other". It was a-veiled threat to the National Assembly, and the threat worked.

Right of Appointment:

President De Gaulle made extensive use of the appointing power to "civil and military" posts of the State, as per article 13. In a government where the day to day administration was in the hands of the Prime Minister, this was an unusual right. De Gaulle effectively used this, to appoint in Algeria, military officers in whom he had the trust. One such was the appointment of M. Joxe as minister of State for Algerian affairs and he was made directly responsible to the President and not to the Prime Minister.

Foreign Policy:

The Fifth Republican Constitution gave the President a great deal of initiative in foreign policy. Article 52 was written into the Constitution at the insistence of De Gaulle giving him the right to negotiate and ratify treaties. No doubt, De Gaulle thought he was qualified to play an important role in international politics as one who had watched at close quarters, European politics for fifty years. As a statesman said, in foreign policies, General De Gaulle seldom consulted experts. He would without informing his ministers announce his decisions. A constant phrase that he used while announcing his decision was "things being what they are". Under De Gaulle the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the ministry became merely administrative agents called upon to execute and apply the decisions. "He explodes his bombshell all by himself."5 The legislature would meet to discuss foreign policy but usually the debates took place long after a decision had already been made. In 1959, regarding the question of Algerian selfgovernment, De Gaulle declared "I consider it necessary to proclaim here and now that there will be self-determination". He did not make any mention of the Prime Minister or the Government and it seemed as if it was his own decision. In his second term of office, that began in January 1966, without any consultation with the legislative organ, and perhaps without even the knowledge of the cabinet, De Gaulle decided to ask for the withdrawal of NATO forces from France. When he went abroad he forcefully advocated his own foreign

policy invariably catching his own ministers unawares-and when he advocated "the liberation" of Quebec and its independence, even his own ministers expressed surprise. De Gaulle was personally responsible for determi-France's attitude ning towards. Berlin. European Economic Community, Peking, French Community etc. Strictly and constitutionally speaking, this right to actively participate in foreign affairs conflicts with the intended position of the President as the 'arbiter' in politics. President De Gaulle felt most at home in European politics.

Thus De Gaulle far exceeded his powers in theory and practice. Political parties protested against this compelling role of De Gaulle in loreign politics. Yet very strangely they felt safer with him than with any one else, and therefore generally gave into his political gimmicks.

The Presidential Sector:

As early as November 1959, Chaban Delmas, the President of the National Assembly attributed to the President instead of to the Prime Minister, constitutional responsibility for within the "Presidential Sector" ncluding foreign affairs, national defence. French Community and Algeria. President De Gaulle regarded these as his special responsibilities and to deal with them he created a special policy making process centering in his office. The political parties registered mild protests at the growth of the "Presidential Sector" but "by now it corresponded to the defacto situation so that no one questioned it seriously"6 Those involved in the Presidential Sector were the minister of foreign affairs, of armies, of Algerian affairs, of overseas departments and minister for co-operation administered aid programmes to former French colonies. To carry out all the decisions, the staff at the Elysee palace was vastly expanded and De Gaulle depended to a very great extent on the support and advice of his friends like

Geoffroy de Courcel, Jacques Foccart etc. rather than on the ministers. Many held that the French executive was no longer 'bicephalous' but was headed in effect by the President of the Republic.

Legislative Powers:

It seems as if in France as in the U.S.A. there can be hostility between the executive and the legislature. They were placed in opposition rather than in apposition. Inspite of bickerings and discord between the President -and the Parliament, De Gaulle managed to sweep away all opposition and generally to get his way. He had contempt for the legislature, and as early as March 1960, the relations President and the National between the Assembly deteriorated, on his turning down a request made by the majority of deputies, for a special session of the Assembly, to consider a bill on agriculture.

A novel right that the constitution gave President De Gaulle was the right to hold referendum on bills. This clause was included, particularly because, De Gaulle thought, that it would give him the right to communicate cirectly with the French people. De Gaulle knew that his charismatic appeal would swing any referendum, in his favour. In fact referendum was regarded by De Gaulle as a Presidential and not a governmental instrument, and he decided to take it in to his own hands. Even though the Constitution did not give the president the initiative in holding referendum. De Gaulle announced in 1961, that referendum, was going to become a normal feature of the government under the FifthRepublic. During the first referendum in January 1961, his plans for Algeria were accepted by 75% of the people. In April 1962, 90% of the voters accepted his cease-fire agreement with the Muslim rebels in Algeria—and on that occasion he said "I am appealing to you over the head of all intermediaries" meaning the legislature. on all

occasions, De Gaulle made referendum not merely a vote on a particular bill but also a vote of confidence on himself. When the second referendum was held even his friends felt, that he need not have resorted to referendum, and that he showed scant respect for the constitution. At any rate it is evident that he regarded the legislature at best as a nuisance, a "Step-child".7

The Power of Dissolution:

Article 12—The President of the Republic may after consultation with the premier, and the Presidents of the assemblies, declare the dissolution of the National Assembly.

"The biggest stick in the President's arsenal is the right to dissolve the Parliament. He holds the power of life and death over Parliament"8, with the limitation that he could dissolve the national Assembly only once in twelve months, and could not dissolve it during an emergency. The motives in giving the president the power to dissolve the legislature were two fold—(1) To strengthen the hands of the government against the legislature (2) To prevent dead lock between the government and the National Assembly. De Gaulle lost no time, in making it clear that he would use it against the National Assembly to save the cabinet. The cabinets of both Michel Debre and Georges Pompidou were saved by the threats, and warnings of De Gaulle that the National Assembly would be dissolved.

Emergency Powers

No provision aroused more sustained criticism than article 16 governing the emergency powers of the President. Emergency could be declared when

- a) institutions of the Republic
- b) independence of the nation
- c) integrity of its territory
- d) or the fulfilment of its international commitments are threatened and the constitution could not function regularly. While

drafting the Constitution, the idea was to give the final decision, on emergency to the Constitu'ional Council but it was changed in view of De Gaulle's preference. It was pointed out that a President seeking personal power could use the power to declare emergency, for a coup d'etat, while the supporters argued that it was to be used only in exceptional and abnormal situation. Only once was emergency declared by De Gaulle, on 22nd April 1961 following the military insurrection in Algeria. Most people agreed that the Algerian coup constituted a threat to the institutions of the Republic. emergency lasted five months and contrary to expectation, the first experience of article 16 set at rest many doubts regarding its operation. Paradoxically that provision that aroused the greatest apprehension, proved to be the least dangerous under De Gaulle.

During the period of emergency, several constitutional issues were raised, for example, the nature of the functions of the Parliament during emergency, whether a vote of censure against the cabinet could be moved during emergency etc. In fact Chaban Delmas even went to the extent of asserting that the President had the right of interpreting the Constitution. Thus he upheld what De Gaulle had decided the Parliament could not do, during an emergency. The Parliament acquiesed in such decisions because they were made by none other than De Gaulle. The Parliament would have protested had the decisions been made by someone else.

That a large number of the powers of the President was to be countersigned by the Premier did not act as a deterrent as far as De Gaulle was concerned. It was reduced to a formality. Instead of the Prime Minister assuming political responsibility for the actions of the President, the relationship was reversed and the President assumed responsibility for all the actions of the government. In fact the government's actions were De Gaulle's.

Conclusion:

Thus De Gaulle intended to be not only the guide and head of France but also to exercise his supreme powers to the full. In the day to day administration of France, in making important civil and military appointments. in foreign policy, in holding referendum, in declaring emergency President De Gaulle made personal decisions. He ruled as well as reigned and turned a Parliamentary system into a presidential system. De Gaulle became President in the true sense of the term. He became the Head of the State and the Head of the Government. The Constitution under him, instead of evolving towards a parliamentary system towards a presidential system.

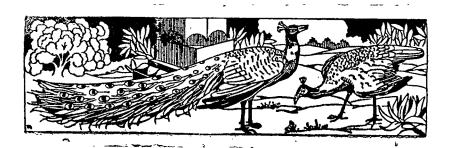
The majority of the French today want a true representative government rather than a presidential system and they hope that under Georges Pompidou, the President will become more an 'arbiter' and less a 'power'. Recently Pompidou' declared, that the Parliament of France would be restored to its 'rightful' place. Perhaps it is an indication, that in the seventies the trend of the Fifth Republican Constitution may change and go back towards a true parliamentary system.

De Gaulle believed that there was a little

bit of Nepoleon in the heart of every French man—and he tried to be a little Napoleon. He spoke of bearing on his shoulders the destiny of the country. He embodied the 'grandeur' of France. He said "Without me this country would not be anything. Without me it would all have collapsed". He believed that he knew the French people very well and yet when they let him down, and voted Georges Pompidou as President, De Gaulle retired as a "prophet doomed to failure", leaving to his successor, the traditions of a strong Presidency which the successor can either build up and strengthen or dilute and weaken.

- 1. Bernard E Brown—Elite attitudes in France.
- 2. Edward Whiting Fox—Megalocracy in France (Current History, March 1968)
- 3. Megalocracy in France—Edward Whiting Fox.
- 4. Nicholas Wahl in The French Political System (Patterns of power ed. Samuel Beer)
- 5. Michael Godfrey—French People and De Gaulle—(Foreign Affairs, July 1964)
- 6. Dorothy Pickles-The Fifth Republic 1959.
- 7. E. Drexel Godfrey Jr.—The Government of France (1959)
- 8. E. Drexel Godfrey Jr.—The Government of France (1959)

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AUROBINDO AS A JOURNALIST

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

Aurobindo's father, Dr. K. D. Ghosh had desired that Benoybhushan, his sons Manmohan and Aurobindo should grow up strictly as Englishmen and as unlike Indians as possible. A fourth son Barindra Kumar Ghosh was born in England but escaped being put in a school in England by the father's financial crisis and he became famous as a revolutionary leader. Aurobindo was sent to England in 1879, when he was barely seven years of age, with instructions that the brothers should be kept away from any contact with Indians. "He (Aurobindo) returned entirely anglicized in habits, ideas and ideals, -- so strongly that Aurobindo as a child spoke English and Hindustani only and learned his mother-tongue only after his return from England. He (the father) was determined that his children should reveive an entirely European upbringing. While in India they were sent for the beginning of their education to an Irish nun's school in Darjeeling and in 1879 he took his three sons to England and placed them with an English Clergyman and his wife with strict instructions that they should not be allowed to make the acquaintance of any Indians or undergo any Indian influence. These instuctions were carried out to the letter and Aurobindo grew up in entire ignorance of India, her people, her religion and her culture."

land until fourteen years later in 1893. He knew no Indian language. At the age of 23 learning Bengali, Aurobindo started mother tongue, Sanskrit, Marathi and Gujarati. It was not until six years later that he learnt to converse in Bengali from Dinendra Kumar Roy (a good Bengali writer, more known for his hackwork detective novels in Bengali). Although Aurobindo succeeded in mastering Bengali well enough to be able to write in that language for publication, the only language in which he could, or chose to, express himself was English. The vast bulk of Aurobindo's English writing bears testimony to that fact. He began writing poetry in the English language as early as 1886 while at school in London. And his epic volume Savitri in English was published sixtyfour years later in 1950, the year of his death. After leaving Calcutta in 1909 he virtually did not write anything in Bengali in which his only extant work is Karakahini (Story of Jail Life) on his experiences in Alipore Central Jail where he was detained in 1908-1909. During the last forty years of his life Aurobindo wrote only in English as he had done during the first thirtyfive years of his life. Thus except during a brief period of three years 1906-1909, when he casually wrote a few articles in Bengali-and, of course, letters to his wife, -Aurobindo used to write Aurobindo did not return to his mother- in English during his life of seventyeight years.

A Transformation

Aurobindo, who came back to India a confirmed nationalist believing in the necessity of the use of force to achieve national freedom from the British, must have caused the greatest shock to his father who wanted him to be totally unIndian. There is yet to be a proper reconstruction of Aurobindo's life during the first twentyone years of his life, fourteen of which were spent in England. What had made Aurobindo who was sent by his father to imbibe an unIndian outlook on life, become so much committed to the Indian way of life as he did in fact? We do not know. It is nowhere satisfactorily explained how the person who was intended to be unIndian became the staunchest supporter of Indian culture. We can only recall that the maternal grand-father of Aurobindo was no other than the pioneer revolutionary and Hindu nationalist Raj Narayan Bose; and Aurobindo, on his return to India, had rushed to see him first at Deoghar. Raj Narayan was the fountainhead of inspiration at Deoghar and a first-rate Eengali writer and interpreter of national culture. Indeed, the entire significance of Aurobindo's life and work came to be identified with his defence and interpretation of Indian culture.

From the very first year of his arrival in India Aurobindo became actively engaged in contributing articles to periodicals. As he was then in the Baroda State Service he could not write under his own name but had to take the cover of anonymity. During 1893-94 he contributed a number of articles under the general title "New Lamps for Old" to the Incu-Prakash, a bilingual Anglo-Marathi journal of Bombay. I must confess that I have not seen the magazine Indu-Prakash and, therefore, cannot offer any comments on the

character of the periodical. However Aurobindo's articles represented the general standard of the contributions the periodical was of a very high standard, indeed. In Aurobindo's own words, "This title (New Lamps for Old) did not refer to Indian civilization but to Congress politics. It is not used in the sense of the Aladdin story, but was intended to imply the offering of new lights to replace the old and faint reformist lights of the Congress." The articles were true to the name. The first articles represented a forthright attack on the politics then pursued by the Indian National Congress and gave a clarion call to the people to liberate the country. The great liberal leader Mahadev Govind Ranade is reported to have warned the proprietor of the Indu Prakash that if the series were continued in the same tone he would run a grave risk of prosecution for sedition. The original plan of New Lamps for Old' had thus to be modified at the instance of the proprietor. Aurobindo reluctantly agreed to continue the series in a modified tone. Out of the eleven artides written by Aurobindo on the Indian National Congress in the Indu Prakash only nine could be traced and published under the Sri Aurobindo's Political Thought by Professors Haridas and Uma Mukherjee. The last of the articles on the Congress in the Indu Prakash appeared in the issue of 6 March 1894. Subsequently he contributed nine articles on Bankim Chandra Chatterjee in the Indu Prakash from 16 July to 27 August 1894, but could he have read Bankimchandra, at least the Ananda Math before that in original Bengali?

What do we find from these articles written by a twenty two year old young Indian who had never learnt any Indian language and was utterly ignorant of the Indian tradition and culture? He was in fact deriding the

Anglicized Indians to become which he had been groomed for long eighteen years by his father. Aurobindo wrote that the Anglicized Babu "is a man of the present but he is not the man of the future." We are struck by the vehemence of his anti-British stand. "We in India, or at any rate those races among us which are in the van of every forward movement", Aurobindo wrote seventyeight years ago, "are far more nearly allied to the French and Athenian than to the Anglo-Saxon, but owing to the accident of British domination our intellects have been carefully nurtured on a purely English diet. Hence we do not care to purchase an outfit of political ideas properly adjusted to our natural temper and urgent requirements, but must eke out our scanty wardrobe with the cast off rags and threadbare leavings of our English masters." One can readily see from this outpouring of a young heart how hard it felt about the subjugation of India to the British. Aurobindo was at pains to distinguish the Indian culture from the British culture and further to underline the need to have an Indian ideology independent of other cultures, ideas that are "properly adjusted to our natural temper and urgent requirements." Herein summed up Aurobindo's future course af action, to make India free so that she can come out of the cultural thraldom of the alien British and to evolve a truly Indian political philosophy which would reflect, and respond to the Indians' aspirations. Once Aurobindo had reached this conclusion it was but natural for him to criticize the utterly confused policies of the Congress and the nefarious activities of the British bureaucracy. He had no difficulty in being openly contemptuous of the British bureaucrats ("I grant that they are rude and arrogant, that they govern badly, that they are devoid of any great or generous emotion.....", he wrote of them) because he had received

the same training as they had and was their social equal but intellectual superior. his anti-British conviction made him see the weaknesses of the policies which had been confined to securing concessions from the British for the English-educated middle class which constituted an infinitessmall proportion of the Indian population. Aurobindo in these distant days saw the force of the proletariat. "Theorist trifler though I may be called", Aurobindo wrote in 1893, "I again assert as our first and holiest duty the elevation and enlightenment of the proletariat." Elucidating further he wrote four months later in March 1894 that "the proletariat is.....the real key of the situation. Torpid he is and immobile; he is nothing of an actual force, but he is a very great potential force, and whoever succeeds in understanding and eliciting his strength, becomes by the very fact the master of the future....." In those first articles he was exhorting the Indians to develop a sense of self-respect independent of what the British might say or do. "Our appeal, the appeal of every high souled and self-respecting nation, ought not to lie to the opinion of the Anglo-Indians, no, nor yet to the British sense of justice, but to our own reviving sense of manhood, to our own sincere fellow-feelingso far as it can be called sincere—with the silent and suffering people of India....."

Authentic Voice

Aurobindo—who did not know a word of any Indian language and had not read any of the great Indian classics—was voicing the authentic sentiment of India. He was also announcing his future course of action. The three aspects of the programme enunciated by him—driving the British away, giving up the selfish middle class moderation of the Congress and the building up of a positive Indian outlook—were interrelated. Without the one

the others were not possible of being achieved. Whatever he did or said during the following years of his life was by away of elucidation of this central ideology of Indian emancipation—physical and spiritual.

Aurobindo's debut in journalism occurred with a long and with a stated purpose of reasser ting the individuality of India. The intensity of his feelings was expressed in one of his letters to his wife in October 1905, "If a demon sits on the breasts of my mother and is about te drink her blood, shall I sit idle and coldly calculate whether I have the strength enough to fight it? My only duty is to rush to the rescue of my mother." "In a similar spirit", he said, "the Indians should approach the political question—their prime duty was to save the Motherland. It was for them to rush headlong to achieve this goal without pausing to think of its probable success or failure." In this is evident another latent trend in Aurobindo's thought pattern-the spiritual approach to politics which found fuller expression in later writings. After the publication of his articles in the Indu Prakash in 1193-94 Aurobindo's attention was engaged in promoting revolutionary secret societies and, although he kept on writing articles and poems, for the following twelve years he was not very active in journalism. He became an artive journalist in the wake of the movement against the Partition of Bengal after he had come to Calcutta in March 1906 where he stayed till his departure for Chandernagore in 1910 enroute to Pondicherry where he remained from 4 April 1910 till his death on 5 December 1950.

Aurobindo gained fame as a journalist for his writings in the Bande Mataram, started by another great leader of the struggle for Indian freedom, Bepin Chandra Pal in August 1906. About Aurobindo's role in the running of the Bande Mataram, Bepin Chandra Pal has written the following in his book, Indian

Nationalism: Its Personalities and Principles "The Nationalist school was without a daily English organ. A newspaper was started. Aurobindo was invited to join its staff. A joint stock company was floated to run it, and Aurobindo became one of the directors. This paper—Bande Mataram—at once secured for itself a recognized position in Indian journalism. The hand of the master was in it from the very beginning. Its bold attitude, its vigorous thinking, its clear ideas, its chaste and powerful diction, its scorching sarcasm and refined witticism were unsurpassed by any journal in the country, either Indian or Anglo-Indian. It at once raised the tone of every Bengalee paper, and compelled the admiration of even hostile Anglo-Indian editors. Morning after morning not only Calcutta, but the educated community almost in every part of the country eagerly awaited its vigorous pronouncements on the stirring questions of the day.....It was a force in the country which none dared to ignore, however much they might fear or hate it, and Aurobindo was the leading spirit, the central figure, in the new journal."

About the role of Bande Mataram, another writer J. L. Banerii, had the following to say, "The Bande Mataram, leaped into popular favour almost in a day; and soon achieved for itself a remarkable position in the field of Indian journalism. The vigour and energy of its style, the trenchant directness of its tone; the fearless independence of its attitude, the high and inspiring ideal which it held up before the people, its passionate faith in the genius of the country-all combined to root the new paper in the hearts and affections of its ever-widening circle of readers. Moreover, the people knew that the Bande Mataram was their very own-no organ of any clique, set or faction, but wide as Indian nationality itself. No newspaper that we know of has ever evoked such passionate personal enthusiasm as

the Bande Mataram did during its short tenure of life.

"Whoever the actual contributor to the Bande Mataram might be—the soul, the genius of the paper was Aurobindo. The pen might be that of Shyam Sundar or who not—the world did not care about it; but the voice was the voice of Aurobindo Ghose: his the clear clarion notes calling men to heroic and strenuous self—sacrifice; his the unswerving, unfaltering faith in the high destinies of his race; his the passionate resolve to devote life, fame, fortune, all to the service of the mother"

New Realisation

Aurobindo was arrested for the first time on 16 August 1907 for reproducing some articles from the Bengali daily Yugantar, which was the mouthpiece of the revolutionaries, in the English daily Bande Mataram. But the charge failed as Bepin Chandra Pal refused to give evidence choosing to court six months' imprisonment for contempt of court. From December 1907 Aurobindo was away from Calcutta until February 1908. In a speech in Bombay on 19 January 1908 Aurobindo said, "What is the situation in the country today? Just as I was coming in, this paper (showing the copy of the 'Bande Mataram' newspaper) was put into my hands, and looking at the first page of it, I saw two items of news, 'The Yugantar' Trial, Judgment delivered, printer convicted and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment.' The other is 'Another Newspaper Prosecution, The 'Navasakti' Office sacked and searched, printer let out on a bail of Rs. 10,000'. This is the situation of the country today. Do you realise what I mean? There is a creed in India today which calls itself Nationalism....."

On 2 May 1908 Aurobindo was arrested in connection with the Manicktala Bomb Conspiracy but through the clever advocacy of the late C. R. Das who subsequently became

another great leader of Indian nationalism in the twenties of this century, Aurobindo was acquitted and released on 5 May 1909. In his arguments on behalf of Aurobindo, C. R. Das made a prophetic statement. Addressing the court, Das said, "He (Aurobindo) stands not only before the bar in this court but stands before the bar of the High Court of History... Long after this controversy is hushed in silence, long after this turmoil, this agitation ceases, long after he is dead and gone, he will be looked upon as the poet of partriotism, as the prophet of nationalism and the lover of humanity. Long after he is dead and gone his words will be echoed and reechoed not only in India but across distant seas and lands."

Almost immediately after his release from jail, Aurobindo started a new English weekly the Karmoyogin on 19 June 1909. As the name of the new periodical indicated, Aurobindo had undergone a great transformation during his stay in jail for little over a year. Three weeks before starting the new periodical Aurobindo spoke out of his new realization in a speech delivered at a meeting held at Uttarpara near Calcutta on 30 May 1.09. The speech was heavy with occult vision and Hindu spiritualism. In Aurobindo's own words, "I spoke once before......that nationalism is not politics but religion, a creed, a faith. I say it again today, but I put it in another way I say no longer that nationalism is a creed, a religion, a faith; I say that it is the Sanatan Dharma which for us is nationalism. This Hindu nation was born with the Sanatan Darma, with it moves and with it grows. When the Sanatan Dharma declines, then the nation declines, and if the Sanatan Dharma were capable of perishing with the Sanatan Dharma it would perish. The Sanatan Dharma, that is nationalism. This the message that I have to speak to you."

The Karmoyogin was the vehicle for the expression of this new found spiritual realiza-

t.on of Aurobindo who also started a Bengali weekly Dharma in August 1909 for the same purpose. According to Sisir Kumar Mitra Aurobindo himself used to write most of the articles in the Bengali weekly Dharma. However there is a doubt if Aurobindo himself was capable of writing fluently and well in Bengali. Saumyendra Ganguli in his book Swadeshi Andolan O Bangla Sahitya (Swadeshi Movement and Bengali Literature) doubts whether all the writings in Bengali attributed to Aurobindo were really written by him in Bengali, But the collection of his reminiscences of jail life published in August 1909 in the Bengali monthly Suprabhat, which was subsequently brought out by Sri Aurobindo Society of Fondicherry during Aurobindo's life time, showed Aurobindo as the author of the book and nowhere was there any hint of its being a translation from English.

Although during this period Aurobindo was writing mainly on religious subjects, he contributed an article entitled. "An open letter to my countrymen" in the sixth issue of The Karmayogin of 31 July 1909 which was a purely political statement and caused a great stir in official circles. Aurobindo said, "In case of my deportation it may help to guide some who would be uncertain of their course of action, and, if I do not return from it t may stand as my last political will and testament to my countrymen." This he wrote parely six months before his self-imposed exile to Pondicherry from where he never returned to Calcutta or what might be legally considered to be Indian territory. In that article ne appeared to be advising the people to be guarded in the steps they took for the cause Aurobindo wrote, "The men of freedom. who have led hitherto (the nationalist movement) have been strong men of high gifts and commanding genius, great enough to be the protagonists of any other movement, but even

they were not sufficient to fulfil one which is the chief current of a world-wide revolution. Therefore the Nationalist Party, custodians of the future, must wait for the man who is to come, calm in the midst of calamity, hopeful under defeat, sure of eventual emergence and triumph and always mindful of the responsibility which they owe not only to their Indian posterity but to the world.

"Meanwhile the difficulties of our situation ask for bold yet wary walking. The strength of our position is moral, not material. The whole of the physical strength in the country belongs to the established authority which our success would, so far as its present form is concerned, abolish by transforming it out of all possibility of recognition. It is natural that it should use all its physical strength to prevent, so long as it can, that transformation. The whole of the moral strength of the country is with us, justice is with us, nature is with us. The law of God, which is higher than any human, justifies our action; youth is for us, the future is ours. On that moral strength we must rely for our survival and eventual success. We must not be tempted by any rash impatience into abandoning the∜ ground on which we are strong and venturing on the ground on which we are weak." Summing up Aurobindo wrote, "The policy I suggest to the Nationalist Party may briefly be summed up as follows: 1. Persistence with a strict regard to law in a peaceful policy of self-help and passive resistance. regulation of our attitude towards the Government by the principle of 'No control, no cooperation'. 3. A rapprochement with the Moderate party wherever possible and the reconstitution of a united Congress. 4. The regulation of the Boycott Movement so as to make both the political and the economic boycott effective. 5. The organisation of the Provinces, if not of the whole country, according to our original programme. 6. A

system of cooperation which will not contravene the law and will yet enable workers to proceed with the work of self-help and national efficiency, if not quite so effectively as before, yet with energy and success."

From Politics to Spiritualism

By then, however, Aurobindo had ceased to be much of an active political leader. He left Calcutta in February 1910 for the nearby French territory of Chandernagore from where he arrived at Pondicherry on 4 April. 1910. Four years after his arrival at the French territory of Pondicherry Aurobindo started the journal Arya on 15 August 1914 in joint editorship with Mother Richard. From this time onward Aurobindo's writing assumed an entirely philosophical character devoid of all touch of politics. It was in this periodical Arya that the greatest philosophical works of Aurobindo, including The Life Divine, On the Veda, The Foundations of Indian Culture, were published. The Arya had run for seven years from August 1914 to July 1921. Subsequently a few journals appeared from the Sri Aurobindo Ashram. Pondicherry, viz The Advent under the editorshsp of Nolini Kanta Gupta in 1944 and the Bulletin of Physical Education in 1969. The eight articles that Aurobindo contributed to the Bulletin elucidate the ideas in The Life Divine and have been published in the form of a book under the title. The Supramental Manifestation upon Earth.

the In first article in the Arya, lamented Aurobindo the over unreal divorce "that has been pronounced between reason and faith" and urged for the "synthesis.....of religious aspiration and scientific faculty, as a beginning; and in the resultant progress and integrality also of the inner existence." Aurobindo's chief concern became the interpretation of Indian philosophy and culture. In one of his articles in Arya in 1918 Aurobindo wrote, "Philosophy and religion are the soul of Indian culture, inseparable from each other and interpenetrative. The whole objective of Indian philosophy. its entire raison d'etre, is knowledge of the spirit, the experience of it and the right way to a spiritual existence; its single aim coincides with the highest significance of religion. Indian religion draws characteristic value from the spiritual philosophy which illumines its supreme aspiration and colours even most of what is drawn from an inferior range of religious experience." Aurobindo visualizes a life which is more conscious and fuller for man. He concludes his magnum opus, The Life Divine with a very optimistic note. "If there is an evolution in material nature and if it is an evolution of being with consciousness and life as its two key-terms and powers", Aurobindo writes, "this fullness of being, fullness of consciousness, fullness of life must be the goal of development towards which we are tending and which will manifest at an early or later stage of our destiny. The self, the spirit, the reality that is disclosing itself out of the first inconscience of life and matter, would evolve its complete truth of being and consciousness in that life and matter. It would return to itself, or, if its end as an individual is to return into its absolute, it could make that return also,-not through a frustration of life but through a spiritual completeness of itself in life. Our evolution in the Ignorance with its chequered joy and pain of self-discovery and world discovery, its half fulfilments, its constant finding and missing, is only our first state. It must lead inevitably towards an evolution in Knowledge, a self-finding and selfunfolding of the spirit, a self-revolution of the Divinity in things in that true power of itself in nature which is to us still a Supernature."

Aurobindo had withdrawn from social life. After he had gone to Pondicherry several attempts were made by the most eminent among the Indian leaders to persuade him to come back to social life. Although occasionally Aurobindo had even on his own given his views on contemporary political developmentsin 1919 he had written to Annie Besant's New ndia on the Morley-Minto Reforms, in 1923 ne supported C. R. Das's Swarajya Party programme, and in 1942 he supported the Cripps' Proposals and had even sent his personal emissary to the Congress Working Committee requesting acceptanceits Aurobindo spurned repeated offers (including an invitation to preside over the Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress in 1920) to come back to active political and social life. Nevertheless Aurobindo retained an active interest in Indian developments and imbibed a faith in the future and progress.

From this very brief review of Aurobindo's life it is seen that from the very first year of his active life in India in 1893 to the very last year of his life (1950) Aurobindo had contributed to the periodical press of course, with intermittent breaks. Viewed thus Aurodindo's active life can be termed the life of a journalist. But the content of his journalism had changed over the years. From being an ardent spokesman of rising Indian nationalism in the nineties of the nineteenth century Aurobindo had become a mystic recluse by the middle of the twentieth century. It was on 24 April 1949 that Aurobindo allowed himself to be photographed for the first time in forty years since he left Calcutta in 1909. The photographer was the world renowned Henri Cartier Bresson. On many occasions even his messages came—not from him direct -through the Mother. It is thus somewhat remarkable that, although Aurobindo lived

the last years of life away from the company of men, he retained a faith in the future. Nevertheless the message is couched in such terms as to be virtually unintelligible to the Unless someone general people. forward to relate the essentially constructive ideas of this Indian turned Indian through being un-Indian, Aurobindo is likely to remain outside the mainstream of Indian life as he was during the last forty years of his life and has been during the period of over two decades since his death. But his message being innately sound that isolation has been unfortunate both for Aurobindo and for the world at large.

Aurobindo has drawn attention to the freedom of the unit while commending the whole. In his book The Ideal of Human Unity, Aurobindo writes, "The result must be the formation of a World-State and the most desirable form of it would be a federation of free nationalities in which all subjection or forced inequality and subordination of one to another would have disappeared and, though some might preserve a greater natural influence, all would have an equal status. A confederacy would give the greatest freedom to the nations constituting the World-State, but this might give too much room for fissiparous or centrifugal tendencies to operate; a sederal order would then be the most desirable. All else would be determined by the course of event and by general agreement or the shape given by the ideas and necessities that may grow up in the future." If this principle is applied to the situation in India and if the Indian Union is converted into a true federation with genuine freedom for the States (a freedom that is denied by the semi-unitary Constitution of India) there is no doubt that India would be a more peaceful and desirable land to live in

than it is now. Aurobindo wrote these words over half a century ago in 1918. Are we too small to give them a concrete form even today?

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B. B. Ghosh Awarded Padma Bhushan posthumously

Current Affairs

Recognition of Bangla Desh by Various States

Since India recognised Bangla Desh as an independent state many states have followed Poland, East Germany, India's example. Bulgaria, Hungary, Bhutan, Nepal, Burma, Norway, Austria, Denmark, Czecho-Slovakia and some other countries had been the first few groups of countries to establish diplomatic relation with the newly liberated state. Coming with these recognitions are the series of severance of diplomatic connections carried out by Pakistan against all the countries that recognised the state of Bangla Desh. This has the nature of an expression of displeasure by Pakistan against these countries for making friendly overtures to Bangla Desh. But the number of countries that are progressively establishing friendly relations with Bangla Desh are on the increase and, at this rate, the Pakistanis will soon have to cut off political connections with almost all nations. As some people have facetiously pointed out Pakistan's foreign relations will soon be utterly inexpensive. Pakistan's action is unjustified in so far as, Pakistan has been defeated and ousted from the territory formerly described as East Pakistan. It was Pakistan's policy of exploitation and repression that started the revolt and the Indo-Pakistan War. It is therefore now necessary to deal with the de facto government of that region if one has at all to have any dealings with the people who live there. Pakistan had better learn to face facts.

Doing without American Aid

Mrs. Indira Gandhi has said on several occasions that she was not going to accept any foreign aid that had any conditions attached to We do not know which country has offered aid to India in recent times; but if any country has, and has made it conditional, Mrs. Gandhi has done right to reject such offers. As far as we know, America has not made any offers to give money to India. The reason for this is clear. America has now an anti-Indian outlook. Moreover America is cutting down all financial assistance to all countries. Her public expenses have gone up tremendously and she has no surplus funds which she can utilise for aid to other countries. Other nations may have money and they may give some to India; but such aid will be most probably unconditional. We believe Japan and West Germany may be in a position to lend money to India. They are, however, not in a position to impose terms. In the circumstances any expectations of financial aid should assistance. unconditional be for Mrs. Gandhi's ideas of self-help are definitely better than accepting even unconditional aid. We hope she will stick to her ideas.

The Seas around us and the Sky Overhead

India has a fairly large and well equipped army. She manufactures most of her arms and has an air force which can support her army. This air force also can produce its own planes and weaponry. These facts go to show that India has the ability to potect her own territory. But a country with a long sea coast has

to have a strong navy too so that it can protect its harbours and ports, seaside townships, merchant vessels and fishing boats and foreign trade and commerce, in a proper manner. Foreign navies with aircraft carriers can make air attacks on places which are hundreds of miles inland. **Submarines** equipped to launch rockets can cause great damage to places right inside the country. A large and well equipped navy is therefore essential for the safety of any country that has a long sea front. India has a fairly competent naval force but it is not large enough for the size of our seacoast. We need at least four aircraft carriers, ten cruisers, 20 destroyers and 20 submarines. There should be other craft in proportionate numbers. Our air force should be doubled too. We shall need large sums of money to get all these ships and planes; but we should go after this plan of enlargement of military strength immediately. The question of ways and means will be difficult to answer; but once we make up our mind, we shall surely get things done by a purposeful utilisation of our national resources.

Bangla Desh and Bengal

The people of East Bengal, formerly known as East Pakistan and now as Bangla Desh have created a problem of nomenclature for the people of the state of West-Bengal in India. There being no place now which calls itself East Bengal there remains no point in calling a state West Bengal. Moreover the name Bangla Desh is rather comprehensive. and one gets the idea that Bangla Desh is the whole of Bangla Desh, east as well as west. It has therefore become necessary to change the name of West Bengal to something that will signify that this area, now called West Bengal, is the homeland of the Bengalis in the same manner as Bangla Desh is the motherland of the Bengalis of Bangla Desh. It is

unfortunate that the Districts of Manbhumi, Singhabhumi, Santhal Parganas and Purnea have been kept attached to the State of Bihar; but the Districts of Birbhumi, Mallabhumi (Bankura), Barabhumi (West Burdwan) Subarnabhumi (West Midnapur) etc. are still parts of the state of West Bengal. The word "bhumi" (used as a shortened suffix "bhumi") signifies "land of" and the term Bangabhumi would therefore mean the land of the Bengalis. This will be very suitable name for that part of Bengal which is a state of India for the reason that this area has been predominantly associated with the history of the Bengal race. Chaitanyadev, Jayadev, Krittibas Ojha. Raja Ramhoun Roy. Iswarchandra Vidyasagar Ramkrishna Paramhansa, Swami Vivekananda Bankimchandra Chatterjee, Keshabchandra Maharsi Devendranath Tagore Rabindranath, Abanindranath, Gaganendra nath and many other eminent Bengalis were born and carried on their activities in this part of Bengal. Vijay Singha who conquered Ceylon and the semi-mythical Chand Saudagawere also people of this area. Many great preachers of Buddhism who went to Tibet and China were Bengalis from this part of Bengali The Great Capitals of Bengali dynasties which were founded at Vishnupur, Gaur, Pandua and other places were in what we call Indian The great ports of Tamralip i Bengal. (Tamluk) and Chandraketugarh were here too. From the religious angle the Gange., brought down mythically from heaven by Bhagirath, a descendant of Sagar Raja, for the release of the souls of his ancestors, flowed down to Sagar Island through the Adi Ganga (original Ganges) and the Bhagirathi (The Hooghly river) through the districts of Murshidabad, Hooghly, 24 Parganas and Midnapur. The Ganges assumes the name Padma in Bangla Desh and is not considered to be the Ganges proper from the religious point of view.

Leaving aside all these considerations connected with the religious cultural and political history of Bengal we may mention the economic importance of the port of Calcutta, of the great industrial belt that surrounds Calcutta, the coalmines, tea gardens and the engineering and manufacturing establishments which are associated with West Bengal. I the name of the state therefore is converted to Bangabhumi and the English version of it made just Bengal, this state of India will be distinguished from Bangla Desh which is really the Eastern part of the land of the Bengalis. If friendly relations are maintained between the two wings of this land, prosperity and progress will undoubtedly come to both through commercial, cultural and social exchanges. With about 125 million or more persons in India and Bangla Desh the Bengalis as a racial cultural community will certainly make great contributions to world literature. music, art, dance, drama, philosophy, theology history and science. The names of numerous persons come to our mind in this connection. Bankimchandra, Madhusudan, Rabindranath,

Jadu Bhatta, Radhika Goswami, Gopeswar, Alauddin, Ravishankar. Uday Shankar, Devi Prasad, Abanindranath, Gaganendranath, Dwijendralal; Nandalal. Girish Chandra, Brajendranath, Devendranath, Jadunath. Jagadishchandra, Prafullachandra, Satyendranath are great names in the world of intellectual achievements. The Bengalis cannot and will not stop contributing to the progress of human civilisation; whatever happens. It is therefore very necessary to give a proper and suitable name to the Indian side of Bengal. We think Bangabhumi is a very suitable name as in Bengali we call the motherland "matribhumi", our birthplace "janmabhumi" and so forth. The Indian government should take this matter up and make a change of nomenclature. If at a later date those parts of Bengal which have remained attached to other states since British times, are reunited to Bengal, it would be of great significance in point of doing justice to the people of the Bengali race. If that is not done there should be full arrangements made by the states concerned to safeguard the minority rights of the Bengalis everywhere.



Indian and Foreign Periodicals

Economic Growth of Israel

News from Israel gives us the following facts and figures relating to the economic growth of Israel in recent years:

The social and economic gap between the various sections of the population in Israel has been considerably reduced in the past ten years, according to the findings of an Inquiry Commission set up by the Prime Minister to examine the division of income and the social gap in the country.

The Commission which was headed by Mr. David Horowtiz, Governor of the Bank of Israel, also found that there has been a marked reduction in disparity between residents of Asian and African origin and those European and American origin, and that the standard of living of families of Asian and African origin has shown a decided improvement, in comparison with that of the general population. This improvement expresses itself in term of increased income, better housing and the ownership of durable commodities. improvement Such notwithstanding, average income of families of Asian or African origin still amounts to only 70% of the average income of Israeli families generally.

Rising Standard of Living

There was a considerable rise in the standard of living of the general Jewish urban population in Israel from the end of the 1950's until the end of the 1960's, the gross income of the general population rising by about 92%. Between 1963/64 and 1970, the real income of the general population increased by 34%. The income of families of European and American origin increased by 36% that of families of Asian and African origin increased by 46%;

and that of families born in Israel by only 27%. The relatively small growth in income of families whose heads were born in the country is to be ascribed to the fact that these are comparatively young and are still in the initial stages of economic development.

The Commission also took into account additional indicators, such as housing conditions, composition expenditure and ownership of durable commodities. A considerable improvement set in in the housing of the general population. The percentage of families living three to a room dropped from 21% in 1960 to 8% in 1970. For families whose heads were born in Asia or Africa and who immigrated to Israel before the rise of the State, the percentage of those occupying 3 persons and over per room, dropped from 37% in 1960 to 12% in 1970. During the same period the density of housing for families of the same origin, whose heads arrived after the establishment of the State dropped from 49% to 17%.

Role of Food Basket

An additional indicator is the gradual drop in the role of the food basket in the composition of the family's outlays. In 1959/60 the average family spent 36% of its income on food; in 1968/69 food accounted for only 27% of a family's expenditure.

As for durable goods, the Commission examined the ownership of electrical refrigerators, cooking stoves, washing machines, television sets and private cars.

At the beginning of the decade, electric refrigerators were owned by only half the number of families in the country; at the end of the decade they were owned by 96% of all families in the country—97% of families of

European and American origin, and 92% of families of Asian and African origin.

Durables Commodities

During the same period the ownership of cooking stoves rose from 64% to 88%, and that of washing machines from 17% to 46%, the discrepancy in ownership between families of Western and Eastern origins being negligible.

Having regard to these findings the Commission arrived at the following conclusions: in the first years of the decade—1957/58 to 1953/64 hardly any change set in the distribution of income in the period of economic recession 1966/67—there was a marked increase in disparity in so far as division of income was concerned, but since 1968 there has been a clear tendency for this disparity to drop.

As for the division of income, there has been a considerable improvement in the financial situation of families of Asian and African origins. At the beginning of the decade such families earned only 63% of the average income per family in the country; a the end of the decade they earned 69% of the average income.

Arguments favouring EEC for Britain

Economic Record, published by the British Information service, gives us the following information relating to the white paper that was placed before the British Parliament.

A Government White Paper now before the British Parliament argues strongly that Britain should become a full member of the enlarged European Communities. Five million copies of a simplified version of the document are being distributed free to the public from post offices throughout the country.

The White Paper, which was presented to Parliament by the British Prime Minister, Mr. Edward Heath, says: "Every historic chaice involves challenge as well as opportu-

nity. Her Majesty's Government are convinced that the right decision for us is to accept the challenge, seize the opportunity and join the European Communities."

The White Paper, entitled The United Kingdom and the European Communities, gives the historic background of the Communities, sets out the case for British membership and lays out in detail the terms for entry which have been achieved since negotiations with the Communities opened in June last year.

The White Paper stresses that the interests of Commonwealth countries have been a major concern of the British Government throughout the negotiations. It says that independent Asian Commonwealth countries will not only benefit from the Generalised Preference Scheme of the enlarged Community but have an undertaking that it will be the enlarged Community's continuing objective to expand and reinforce existing trade relations.

The Government, says the White Paper, is satisfied that the arrangements for entry agreed in the negotiations will enable Britain to adjust satisfactorily to her new position as a member of the Communities and thus reap the full benefits of membership.

It adds: "The Government will therefore seek the approval of Parliament in the autumn for a decision of principle to take up full membership of the Communities on the basis of the arrangements which have been negotiated with them."

The whole purpose of the White Paper is to explain to Parliament and to the country the satisfactory nature of the agreements and to persuade them of the advantages of membership. This is the theme which runs through the document.

On the economic side, the White Paper says that the costs of joining the Community—

which are set out in the document—are the price Britain will have to pay for the economic and political advantages, but these advantages will more than out-weigh the cost provided the opportunities are seized.

These opportunities would lead to "a substantial increase in trade, stimulus to growth and investment, and a greater rise in real wages and standards of living than we have known in recent years or would be possible if we remained outside the Communities".

The White Paper continues: "Beyond these economic considerations are the broad political perspectives. In an enlarged Community we could better serve our own interests and those of our traditional friends and allies.

Strikes and Lockouts in West Bengal Coal Mines

We take the following from the Coal Field Tribune:

5,00,280 mandays were lost in West Bengal coal mines due to strikes and lockouts in $1\frac{1}{2}$ years' time from January, 1970 to June, 1971 and 1710 labour disputes including strikes and lockouts were entertained by the Central Industrial Relations Machinery here of which 1235 were settled. There were 90 strikes and 10 lockouts involving about 19,93,000 workers. Of the total 90 strikes, 30 were settled by the Central Industrial Relations Machinery and the rest fizzled out while all the 10 lockouts were settled. 10 disputes were referred to arbitration and 50 were referred to Industrial Tribunal for adjudication.

The year 1970 was the year of intense labour unrest in West Bengal Coal mines when 2,11,180 mandays were lost in 60 strikes and 1,73,00 mandays were lost in 10 lockouts. 17,77,00 miners were involved in strikes and 5,800 in Lockouts. About 1170 labour disputes were entertained by Central Industrial Relations Machinery during the year includ-

ing strikes and lockouts of which 885 were settled.

During January to June, 1971 though there was no lockout, there was 30 strikes involving about 1,58,000 workers and 1,15,900 mandays were lost thereby. Central Industrial Relation Machinery entertained 540 disputes including strikes of which 390 were settled.

Shipbuilding Industry of Poland

Opening the exhibition of Polish Shipbuilding Industry organised by the Information Centre of Poland in New Delhi, Alfons Raszeja, representative of CENTROMOR gave out the following facts:

The Polish shipbuilding industry was started from scratch only in People's Poland, that is, in 1945, after Poland had gained full and historically justified access to the Baltic Sea as a result of the Scond World War.

In the years 1945-49 Polish shipyards had to be rebuilt after tremendous destruction caused by the War, and later followed their expansion, The first Polish sea-going cargo ship with a capacity of 2540 tons—as "Soldek"—which is still serving the Polish merchant marine, was launched in 1949. The beginning of the Polish shipbuilding industry was very modest: in the years 1949-50 Poland built only 5 sea-going cargo ships with an overall eapacity of about 13,000 tons including one carge ship, "Pierwo-majak" for the Soviet Union.

Expansion of repair shipyards and construction of marine equipment factories were started in the fifties. During the same time Polish river shipyards were also being expanded. Along with the expansion of shipyards and marine equipment factories the Polish shipbuilding industry was building up its large design and research centers which are among the largest in the world at present. The main design and research centre employs about 1,300 highly qualified engineers who can cope

with most advanced requirements in designing of the highest standard in the world.

At present the Polish shipbuilding industry has at its disposal 5 shipbuilding yards, 5 repair shippards, 9 river shippards and nearly 900 marine equipment factories and shipbuilding service workshops.

Poland produces and exports:

Cargo ships with a capacity upto 55,000 LMT (the production of cargo ships with a capacity upto 120,000 DWT will be started ir 1974).

Fishing ships with a capacity up to 10,000 DWT;

Research ships (it is worth mentioning that Palish research ships participate in the Soviet space research programme);

Training ships;

River ships various kinds and for various purposes;

Technical and auxiliary stock;

A wide range of marine equipment.

Finally, the Polish shipbuilding industry chers services in designing and construction of ships, technological services, as well as wide cooperation in shipbuilding.

In the year 1969 Poland built 59 ships including cargo ships, fishing ships and research ships with an overall capacity of about 451,000 DWT. Poland has now become one of the world's ten leading ship producers, the world's leading producers and exporter of fishing ships and one of the world's eight leading exporters of ships in general.

"CENTROMOR", the organizer of our exhibition here, is Poland's central office for import and export of ships and marine equipment. It was established in 1950 and is now one of Poland's 3 largest foreign trade enterprises. Its export turnover amounts to more than a milliard US dollars. It maintains trade relations with 63 countries in four conti-

nents and exports Polish ships to 22 countries including such important naval powers as Great Britain, Norway, the Soviet Union and France. It exports Polish ship repair services to 52 countries and Polish marine equipment to 39 countries.

After this introduction of the Polish shipbuilding industry it is interesting to discuss in brief the cooperation in the shipbuilding industry between India and Poland.

Since 1955 Polish repair shipyards have been rendering services to Indian ships calling at Polish ports; Szczecin, Gdynia, and Gdansk. This form of export has led to new contacts between the shipbuilding industries of of the two countries. During this period India has been the 6th largest customer of Polish repair shipyards among 47 non-socialist countries, next to such countries as Finland, Liberia, the GFR, Lebanon and Norway.

In the years 1964-65 Poland delivered to fisheries in Orissa four fishing "Storem 5" and "Corfish 1, 2, 3, 4" with a capacity of 15 tons, built at the Szczecin Repair Shipyard. In 1965 the first sea-going general cargo ship B-42 with a capacity of 11,600 tons-"Vishva Mahima" was built for the Shipping Corporation of India at the Gdynia Shipyard. In 1966 the Shipping Corporation of India bought from Poland three more general cargo ships of the same type, namely: "Vishra Kalyan", "Vishra Varti" and "Vishva Raksha". In 1968 a new type of a general cargo ship B-445 with a capacity of 20,000 tons called "Vishva Vikas" was built for the Shipping Corporation of India at the Szczecin Shipyard, and in 1969 three more, identical ships-"Vishva Sandesh" "Vishva Chetna" and "Vishva Bindu", were delivered.

Thus, in the years 1964-69 the Shipping Corporation of India and the fisheries of Orissa bought from Poland 12 ships with an overall capacity of 86,460 DWT. India is at present the third largest buyer among 22 buyers of Polish ships. The export of Polish ships to India represents approximately three per cent of Poland's total export of ships. Polish ships constitute about ten per cent of the tonnage imported by India in the years 1965-69. At present the share of Polish-made ships in the overall tonnage of the Indian fleet amounts to nearly four per cent.

Marine equipment was exported from Poland for the first time in 1966. In that year Poland supplied part of the mechanical equipment for three Indian ships built at the Hindustan Shipyard at Visakhapatnam. Since then the Hindustan Shipyard has imported from Poland equipment for 14 ships built there. The Shipping Corporation of India has also been buying marine equipment from Poland.

This year Polish marine equipment has also been bought by the "Mazagon Dock" of Bombay. In the years 1966-70 India bought from Poland over 50 different items of marine equipment made in 15 factories. Every fourth ship built in India between 1966-70 is fitted with Polish equipment. At present India is the fourth out of 27 countries (outside the

socialist world) buying Polish marine equipment, next to Finland, Denmark and Sweden.

As regards Poland's imports from India they date back to 1965 but are not significant as yet. They comprise mainly parts of ship refrigerating units.

In order to make the picture of our cooperation complete it is necessary to mention the appointment of "ŠLM-Maneklal Industries Limited, Bombay as Poland's sole trade agent in 1964. Polish shipping industries have been presented in India three times so far: twice in Delhi in 1959 and 1961, and once in Madras in 1968. Since 1965 Poland has been placing advertisements of our goods and services jointly with our agent in the "Indian Shipping' the "Shipping and Port Review" and the "Oceanite".

So much about the past co-operation between the two countries' shipping industries.

What about its future. Is it going to develop fruitfully? Will the Polish partner be in a position to meet the requirements of the Indian shipping market?

Judging from the past experience the answer can certainly be given in the affirmative. Yes, this co-operation can fruitfully develop and can even become much more broad-based.



REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

The Collected Works of Mahatma Gaudhi: Published by the Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Delhi 6. Ryl. Qto Pp. 554+XXIV (Vol. 42), Pp. 480+XXVII illust, (Vol. 43), Pp. 498+XXXII 1 plate (Vol. 44) and Pp. 494+XXVIII 1 plate (Vol. 45), Paper cover price Rs. 9/- per volume. Volume 42 covers the period Oct. 16, 1929 to Feb. 28, 1930. This is the period when complete independence became the objective of the struggle for freedom. Volume 43 covers the period March 1930 to June 1930. This volume has reference to the Civil Disobedience movement (Salt Satyagraha) and the Dandi March. Volume 44 covers the period July to Mid-December 1930 and contains the letters written from Yarveda Jail. Gandhiji's translations of the devotional songs in Ashram Bhajanavali are also in this volume. Volume 45 deals with the period December 16, 1930 to April 15 1931 and has particular reference to the Gandhi-Irwin negotiations which led to the suspension of civil disobedience and to the Congress participation in the second Round Table Conference in London.

Audhra Bhagavatanuvadaha: being a tranlation of Potana's Telugu version of Mahabhagavata into Sanskrit by Sri Suryanarayana Sastry. Sri Sastry is a great scholar in Telugu and Sanskrit and his work will be accepted by all students of Sanskrit and Telugu as a classic.

Sri Venkateswar Vachanashatakam: A transtation by Sri Suryanarayana Sastry. Published by the author from 4 Zeera, Secunderabad A. P.

Flowering Shrubs in India: By S. L. Jindal Published by the Director, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Patiala House, New Delhi-1. Royal Qto Pp. 178 cloth bound coloured art jacket, profusely illustrated with black and white and coloured plates, Price Rs. 30/. Sh.60. \$9. Mr. S. L. Jindal is a very well-known horticulturist of India and his book on flowering shrubs is not only authoritative but it is also a valuable addition to the very few books on the subject. Mr. Jindal received training in Japanese style gardening in Japan and worked with Japanese experts in designing gardens in India. He designed the Roshanara Park in Delhi. He is a well-known writer on gardens and gardening and his book will be found highly instructive and interesting by all garden lovers and persons who plan garden lay out.

Management in Family Living: By Paulena Nickell and Jean Muir Dorsey. Published by Wiley Eastern Private Limited J. 41 South Extension, New Delhi, Demy Oct. Pp. 554+X, charts, illustrations with Text, Cloth Gilt, illust jacket. Family management is an important subject but most family managers believe that they know all about it and have very little to learn from books. The complexity of family management increases with economic progress and although underdeveloped countries have a simple and elementary subsistence level way of life, the affluent societies produce a wide variety of factors of family life which provide much greater scope for scientific management. The writers of this book are Americans and have naturally written about family management in the USA. Indians will find the book interesting in so far as it will point out to them a subject matter for scientific study in affluent westernised Indian families. The

principles followed in this book will also enable Indian students of social sciences to lay down rules of family management for middle and lower middle class Indian households.

Paschtm Banger Puja-Parban O Mela:

(Festivals and Fairs of West Bengal) Census of India publication 1969, Volumes 1, 2 and 3, Bengali version. Demy OTO many charts, plans, maps and plates. Vol. 1 Pp. 350, Vol. 2 Pp. 740 and Vol. 3 Pp. 540. Paper board binding with monochrome jacket. Published by the Government of India Ministay of Home Affairs, Dy-Director of census operations West Bengal. Compilation carried out by Census Officer Sri Arun Kumar Roy under the supervision and editorship of Sri Sukumar Sinha, Officer on Special Duty and Sri Asoke Mitra I.C.S. Registrar General of India. These volumes published by the Census of India are of great social-anthropological interest and would guide students of sociological anthropological studies to carry on researches which will throw light on the history of religious ceremonies of Bengal. The subject is extensive and has been dealt with in a manner which is informative and of academic significance and value. Mr. Asoke Mitra and his assistants should be congratulated for the excellent work they have done. Census work is supposed to be dry calculation. folklore, mythology and the colourful aspects of social manners and customs could illuminate the pages of a census report would have been considered impossible a few decades ago. But just as the study of man is never complete by intensive enquiry into anatomy phsiology, so does one have to add extra dimensious the measurement to demographic facts to make it a complete enquiry into the precisely projectable features of human life. The first volume of the publication covered the d'stricts of Malda, Cooch Behar, West Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling; the second volume with Murshidabad, Nadia, Howrah and Hooghly and the third volume with 24 Parganas and Midnapore. We shall deal with the fourth volume at a future date.

Census of India Village Surveys of villages Khanaid, Badwani, Mattan, Matta. Zachaldara and Agral in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Published by the Government In his introductory of India. Mr. Asoke Mitra I. C. S., Registrar General India, points out that "this is, perhaps, for the first time that such a Survey has been conducted in any country, that purely as a llabour of love. It has succeeded in attaining what it set out to achieve; to construct a map of village India's social structure.....Apart from other features, it will perhaps be cenceded that the survey has set up a new census standard in pictorial and graphic documenta-J. N. Zutshi, Director of census operations said in the preface to the volume on Khanaid, "A new and challenging task was added to the work of census-taking during 1961. It was to invest the dry bones of village statistics with flesh-and-blood accounts social structure and social change." A few villages were selected from every State and the Census Organisation was told to find out, on the basis of personal observation. 'how much of a village was static and yet changing and how fast the winds of change were blowing and from where.' These surveys will enable us to understand the villages and their population. We used to count the villagers in the past and knew how many villages had how many men, women and children and how many were born or died We are now trying to discover annually. what they thought and how they felt or how they reacted to the impact of different social forces.

Spiritual Stories of India: Compiled and

Edited by Chaman Lal, illustrations by F. Khamraj. Publications Division, Ministry Information and Broadcasting, Government Information and Broadcasting, Government Lai India. Demy Oct. Pp. 127 black and white line drawings with text, paper cover, illust jucket Rs. 3.50. The stories are taken from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata mainly. The English versions are by different writers. The book will be useful to those who wish to sudy Indian fables and to be acquainted with ancient Indian classical lore.

Mahatma Gandhi as a Student: Compiled and edited by J. M. Upadhyaya published by the Publications Division Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Government of India. Demy Oct Pp. 84 paper cover, illust. Jacket profusely illustrated Price Re. 1.75. Not much is known about Mahatma Gandhi's boyleod. This book will be found very interesting by all students of Gandhiji's life, as it contains much material that has been published for the first time in this book.

Selected Speeches of Indira Gandhi: January 1966—August 1969. Publish

January 1966—August 1969. Published by the Publications Division Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Government of India Royal Qto Pp. 494—XVI many illustrations Paper cover illustrated price Rs. 12.00. The book reproduces the more important speeches broadcasts, messages, interviews etc. by the Prime Minister. Some speeches are published in an abridged form. If one goes through the book carefully one gets a good idea of the way she thinks on the major national and international issue. One also gets an idea of her interests and concerns.

Gandhiji in Bihar: By Dr. Kali Kinkar Datta, Vice-Chancellor, Patna University, published by the Government of Bihar Royal Qto Pp. 244+XII 19 plates cloth Gilt Price Rs.6.00. The book has been written under orders of the Government of Bihar by Dr. K. K. Datta who is a reputed scholar. He has dealt with the subject in the manner of an expert historian. His literary style is very good. The book deserves a place in all libraries.

Journalism in Bihar: By N. Kumar Barrister-at-law, State Editor Bihar District Gazetteers. Published by the Government of Bihar as a supplement to Bihar State Gazetteer. Demy Oct Pp. 216+XVIII plates. Cloth gilt illustrated jacket, price Rs. 16/-\$5. The book contains much useful information about journalism in Bihar and will be found to be a valuable book of reference.



The Modern Review

FIRST PUBLISHED: 1907

Founded by: The Late Ramananda Chatterjee

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77-2-1, Dharmatala Street, Calcutta-13. Phone: 24-5520

Editorial Executive
The Modern Review

Editor-Ashoke Chatterjee

Printed and Published by Samindranath Sircar, Prabasi Press Private Limited, 77-2-1, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta-13 THE MODERN REVIEW Price: India and Pakistan Rs. 1.50 P.
Subscription—Ind. & Pak. Rs. 17.00, Foreign Rs. 26.00, Single copy Rs. 2.25 or equivalent Phone: 24-5520

26 FEB 1973

THE MODERN REVIEW

Founded by Late Ramananda Chatterjee (First Published-January 1907)

Sixty Years of Significant Service

To National Resurgence and Human Progress

For Diamond Anniversary Supplements
Part I, II & III

Write to:

Circulation Manager
The Modern Review
77-2-1 Dharamtala Street
Calcutta-13

APRIL 1973

THE MODERN REVIEW



THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

Approach to Problems of Progress

We often discuss problems of progress and advancement of civilisation. Some say that progress and civilisation must be taken out of their unnatural paths in which their decadent sponsors have placed them as a matter of time honoured custom. It is only the common man who can decide which way progress and civilisation should go. That is why the Chinese cultural revolution has gone to the peasants and workers to seek inspiration, and discarded (destroyed?) the art galleries, libraries. universities and other institutions created in the past for the propagation of culture. We met a very learned man of a communist state recently. He surprised us by saying there can be no vulgar approach to progress and civilisation. Good poetry, high standard literature, sound philosophy and strict principles of conduct alone can help humanity to go ahead. The standards held up before the coming generations in the spheres of aesthetics, that is music, drama, art and other expressions of creative emotion; must not be crude ugly and base. Only the highest, the most useful and the clearly beautiful can give proper

guidance to the people. It is therefore futile fo break away from tradition in the field of civilisation for the simple reason that economic justice and fairplay can be achieved without interfering with human thoughts and emotions in other fields of life. Economic reforms and new ideals are also the products of sincere human emotions. They cannot therefore contradict the emotions that inspired a Homer or a Kalidasa, or led to the reation of Ajanta or the Parthenon.

Political Parties of India

Quite often one hears about the qualities of the various Political Parties of India. Some call themselves progressive, some revolutionary and others nationalistic, humanistic or by some other colourful name. In fact all the parties have come, one way or another, out of the great struggle that Indians went through in order to overthrow British imperial domination of this subcontinent. Many groups of Indians formed associations with foreign countries from time to time in order to ger assistance in their struggle for freedom. This habit of seeking foreign assistance has continued even after India obtained independence

and some groups seek the friendship of other countries not clearly for a nationalistic purpose but for, the realisation of ideals which have a wider than national significance. The communist parties which desire Russian or Chinese collaboration are not nationalistic in the stricter sense of the term and their ideas of liberty, freedom and the establishment of kuman rights are also different from what cthers think about such matters. In any case, there are no political parties which have a feudal, monarchist, capitalistic or, generally speaking, a non-socialistic outlook. No party works for the reestablishment of the "His Highnesses", the overlordship of men over women, the rule of the Brahmin, class domination, slavery or any other decadent and dead social institution. It is therefore not legical for any party to describe any other party as decadent or atavistic in outlook .as far as the declared creeds of the parties are concerned. All parties are the custodians of the highest principles of human civilisation and progress one way or another. Where they fail is in action and in individual deviations from the declared ideals of the parties. So, if the individuals who bring the party ideals down are removed, the parties could then recover their purity of outlook. But like most things in India, there is a right of inheritance of power in the parties or in government, and the undesirable individuals cannot be easily removed from power.

We quite often hear about Gandhism, the glory that was Ind., Tagore's Humanism or Marxism. But when it comes to individual conduct we find no trace of anything excepting an eagerness to fulfil one's own ambition and ordinary wishes and fancies. We have then to say that we do not see the necessity for quoting from the scriptures inorder to make it easy for the Devil to hold sway over our lives. If we want power to do good to our own immediate followers as against the people in

general, who have great wants in food, clothing, housing, medical assistance and in the educational field, it would require no recitation of high ideals to help us achieve that very ordinary and utterly simple purpose.

Science in Communist Countries

The communist countries of the world have achieved great progress in the field of science. This has been possible on account of the unlimited support that the scientists receive from the states under communist governments. Russia has achieved remarkable progress in the scientific field and one finds frequent references to new discoveries and inventions in all Russian newspapers. As an example one may cite the following bit taken from a press release from Alma-Ata: "Design work is under way to divert Northern rivers southwards. Siberian rivers will 'quench' the thirst of arid lands in Kazakhstan and Central Asia. It is planned to build this gigantic water artery in two stages. First, the Tobol reservoir will be built in the place where Tobol River discharges into the Irtysh. With the aid of pumping stations water from here will flow into one of the biggest reservoirs of the cis-Aral lowland and then, through canals, will head for Kazakh, Uzbek and Turkmen deserts. Then, the water flow will be additionally, fed by the Ob River owing to an engineering system to pass through Kulunda and Barabinsk steppes."

In Bulgaria we find in news from Bulgaria the following account of the use of Gamma rays in plant growth. "In our times the science of genetics has explained many problems of heredity and mutation. Experts at the Institute of Genetics and Plant Selection at the Academy of the Agricultural Sciences in Sofia are studying important problems in the realm of genetics, plant physiology, the introduction of new varieties, algology etc. The Section of Experimental Mutagenesis investi-

gates how plants can change under the effect of physical and chemical mutagenic substances and is trying to create genetic varieties in plant life. Of scientific and practical significance is the observation of the mechanism of chromosome aberrations and of the mechanism of the mutation processes of agricultural plants. The Institute has built an apparatus for the gamma radiation of seeds. Thick walls of concrete isolate the source of gamma power, charged with cobalt—60. The radiation takes place deep under the soil, in a water tank. The test material is placed in an automatic steel sounding cylinder, which is submerged by remote control to a depth of 3.5 metres."

Poland is very active too in scientific work. The Polish Facts on File give us the following information about cancer research in Poland. "Although for a long time scientists have suspected that Cancer is caused by an unknown virus, they have not been able to isolate it from the human tissue. Recently Professor Dr. Leontyn Ludomir Dmochowski, Head of the Virus Chair of the University of Texus Medical Centre in Houston, and his assistant Elisabeth Briori succeeded in isolating such a virus. It is too early to say definitely whether the discovery of Professor Dmochowski is a crucial step on the way to an effective fight with malignant tumours in man. It will be necessary to carry out a lot more toilsome investigations to find out beyond doubt whether this particular virus is the only cause of malignant neoplasms in the human organism. Yet it can not be recognized that Professor Dmochowski's discovery is of great and perhaps, epoch-making importance."

Professor Dmochowski was born in Przemysl, Poland in 1910. He studied in the Universities of Luov and Warsaw. He was a collaborator of the famous polish serologist—immunologist Ludwik Hirsfeld. In 1937 he joined the Royal Cancer Society in Great

ſ

Britain. He was also a lecturer at the University of Leeds. He went over to Houston, USA in 1950. In 1957 he separated the Virus causing leukemia from the human blood. The Americans have secured the services of many Polish scientists for research in this line. The following names are well known: Prof. Michal Laskowski, Dr. Hilary Kaprowski, Dr. Irena Koprowski, Dr. Ludwik Gross, Dr. Edmund Gicewicz and Dr. Wanda Wolinski.

Secularism or Mere Religious Tolerance?

We are always extolling our political status as being secular. By this we mean that India does not officially acknowledge the existence of a state religion in the sense that Pakistan does by calling itself an Islamic republic. And by our behaviour as a state we do not show any preference for any religious community nor do we put any handicaps in the way of minority religious communities. In fact our secularism stands for attachment to worldly considerations only, that is, to the affairs of our existence on this earth as against the otherworldly spiritual considerations or the affairs of the soul, of God or of an after life. We donot observe any religious rules as a state and we are totally non-ecclesiastical, nonreligious and non-sacred as far as our laws and statutory rules and regulations are framed and enforced. Our work as a state is exclusively of the material world as opposed to the spiritual. Secularism in the ethical sphere adheres to the Benthamite principle of the greatest good of the greatest number and does not rest on any considerations drawn from belief in God or in the continued existence of the soul after physical death. Secularism has no spiritual or other-worldly purpose. In these circumstances a secular state cannot have any preference for any abstract religious views.

But in the management of a state the managers; among whom we find administra-

legislators, expounders of the law, teachers and professional men; constantly come up against persons, institutions and communities whose basic setting is religious, philosophical and spiritual. Their background cannot be ignored and in all dealings with them the state has to consider their nonsecular background. The people who are individually the members of the Indian nation and who constitute the human element in the institutions, communities or political groups, have faith in this religion or that, observe the tenets of some religion or other and take part in rituals which have no secular significance. Thus the state is perforce dragged into a position where it spends its revenues, orders its personnel and supports indirectly the observances of various religions. The state admits the lawful possession of large properties by the temples and their gods, spends heavily for facilitating pilgrimages and holy dips in the holy confluences of religiously glorified One might say that rivers and estuaries. although the state has taken great care to abolish the kingdoms owned by the Indian princes and the estates of the Zemindars, on the ground that such large possessions were contrary to the greatest well being of the majority of the people; the state has ignored the fact that temple properties and the incomes of the priests were in a sense worsein point of exploitativeness than the princely domains and the incomes yielded by the same. When the British were here their king was our emperor and he was also the defender of his faith, Christianity. So, in a sense India was a Christian Empire and was not, therefore But apart, from showing a secular state. certain preferences to Christian institutions the British did not try to give any exclusive privileges to the Christians. They gave special advantages to the Moslems or to schedule caste Hindus and in that recognised religion as a specific characteristic

The to be handled by the government. no present day Indian government defends faith but does recognise religious institutions indirectly by reserving seats in the legislative Assemblies for schedule caste candidates and by recognising political groups like the Hindu Mahasabha, the Muslim League, the Akali Dal and so forth. In the circumstances onehas to admit that even if religion or spiritual standing in our considerations have no political set up, such considerations clearly recognised by our government in so far as we have not nationalised temple properties nor made it illegal for priests, Mullas or Padris to collect donations and to charge fees for rendering services which are secularly unrecognisable. We have however, been very active as a State to abolish all types of exploitative privileges in other spheres. We are even considering the creation of ceilings on wealth, income, size of privately owned houses and so on and so forth. Our secularism therefore will be likely to break up on this question of Temple and Church property. Muslim Waqf property also will have to be taken into account.

The reason for our indirect recognition of non-secular rights and obligations no doubt rest on the vast and historically long stretching back ground that we have of religion religiously developed cultural institutions. In fact very few things can be totally separated from religion or religions texts in this subcontinent. The Shastras or the Shariat touch everything in some point or another. Our communist sympathisers play an active part in all public religious festivals and our youngmen go round collecting donations for such festivals with a catholicity of outlook which is incomparable for its breadth of vision and comprehensiveness. Our secularism is therefore confined to the statute books and we can only give it full effect in the practical field by intensive propaganda over a long period.

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President Nixon's Many Prongled Problems

President Nixon's main trouble is that he has no moral approach to shaping his international relations' policy. The British say "Honesty is the best Policy" but President Nixon has been in the habit of choosing the next best policy in order to satisfy his greed for diplomatic shrewedness. In his opinion perhaps, nothing could satisfy the highest principles of statecraft unless it involved a hundred insincere moves. Duplicity requires more intelligence than simplicity and should therefore necessarily be a clever man's pastime. A straight forward, cut and dried policy must be taken as a proof that the person following it is incapable of thinking out a tortuous and complicated method of achieving the same or a similar objective; and is therefore second grade in diplomatic ability. Nixon keeps everybody guessing as to his next move; though nobody expects him to really do anything worth doing or to let anyone else do it. He has brought the USA to a position where most nations hate to have much to do with his great, powerful and prosperous country. He has forced the world to learn to do without the USA. When, however, he realises that things are going out of his clutches, he tries to suddenly change tactics and reach out to grasp something he has already allowed to go beyond the range of recovery.

He had been hating Russia and all countries which had friendly relations with Russia. But in a none too well disguised fashion he tried to win over some of Russia's friends by offers of money, military ware or other assistance. The Arab countries are a good example. The Arabs too, played the same game by accepting things from whosover offered them and avoiding all moral obligations in the field of action. Nixon had

also been hating China and had done everything he could do to undermine China's position in the South-East Asian Zone. But he thought it would be a good idea to make friends with China in order to set the Chinese against the Russians. And he has begun to make advances to China which the Chinese donot look upon without grave suspicion. The Chinese will no doubt take what they can from the USA and do nothing that will make the USA a stronger power on earth or enable President Nixon to win the next elections. China will not fight Russia nor attack Indía at the President's instigation for the Communist powers know that the USA want them to fight so that when they get weakened by fighting the USA would proceed to liquidate both Russia and China. And if the Chinese had any intention of attacking India they would have done so when conditions were favourable with Pakistan still in fighting form. The Chinese also know that the USA will neither attack Russia, nor India for the purpose of helping China. Nixon's overtures to China therefore are blatantly a part of his un-clever scheme to make others do his dirty work for him.

No one knows what he expects to achieve by putting pressure on India. His objective, doubtless, is maintaining Pakistan on the map of the world as a powerful opponent of India. But Pakistan is already broken up. East Pakistan has gone out of the Islamic Republic and it is now a separate state which calls itself Bangla Desh and is recognised as such by almost all major states of the world with the exception of the USA and China. In the circumstances even if India asks Bangla Desh to go back to Pakistan nothing will happen beyond a rebuff from Bangla Desh for India. Nixon may try to make Bangla Desh acknowledge responsibility for part of Pakistan's national debt. But considering that Pakistan

berrowed money from all lenders and used 90% of the borrowed money for West Pakistan, Bangla Desh should not be expected to undertake any liabilities for these loans. If money was given to an antocratic military administration which never consulted the people of the country for anything whatsoever and spent the borrowed money as it pleased them to do; no one should go to the people to pay back the loan amounts.

Nixon has also expressed a desire to negotiate with India about matters relating to American aid to India. His reiteration of various lies against India relating to the fourteen days war of December 1971 makes it unlikely for India to listen to Nixon's talk in a friendly and accommodating manner. India is now quite clearly a socialist sympathiser and has treaty obligations to the USSR. In the circumstances US diplomacy as exercised by President Nixon will hardly have any significance in the field of active considerations for framing India's foreign policy.

Reign of Terror in Iran

From British Press publications one finds that all is not well with the kingdom of Iran. The Shah of Iran, who is an autocrat and likes to be so, tries to repress opposition with an iron hand and last year 13 persons were executed for whatever it might have been in a summary and shadey manner. For they say all Political Prisoners are subjected to torture in Iran and that many die even before they come up for trial. This year there are two groups of persons who are being tried for political crimes. One group has 20 persons and another 23. The prosecutors will ask for the death sentence for many of these unfortunate people and some may die even before they can be sentenced and executed. The leftists who are the main target of repressive attacks by the government of Iran, are mainly students and intellectuals. There have been attacks on the American diplomats in Iran by the leftists, which points American collaboration with the absolute monarchy of that country. Iran is very friendly with Pakistan and that also indicates indicates that Iran is not progressive, nor is she a defender of Human Rights. people of Iran, therefore have a reason for opposing the Shah's regime. The Americans of course are thinking of retrograde diplomatic tactics of the sort that they have been indulging in recently.

Iran Sends Troops to Baluchistan Border

The Baluchis have been resenting the Punjabi domination in Pakistan. Even the Baluch soldiers who were brought to East Bengal to fight a Zihad; but were told to shoot down and terrorise large number of Muslims, expressed their faithful dissatisfaction with the unholy arrangement. Mr. Bhutto, who is neither a Punjabi nor a Baluchi but is a plain and simple political adventurer, has not liked the Baluchistani expressed desire to have local autonomy of some sort which will save them from Punjabi or any other sort of external domination. His dislike for the Baluchi gesture for achieving greater freedom might have induced him to approach his autocrat associate, the Shah of Iran, for assistance. The Shah very willingly sent troops to the Baluchistan border; for if Pakistan broke up the Shah could always collect bits and pieces of territory which would be contiguous with his domain. The United States of America too might have egged the Shah on to be on the spot in full force. That would be in keeping with the US policy of keeping India down. It should be noted that all these Pakistani territories were parts of India before 1947 and if Pakistan broke up, and the peoples

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of these areas so desired, all broken bits of Pak territory should form parts of India. If they wanted to form separate small states, that too could be supported as a desirable arrangement. But under no circumstances can any territory be joined up with the territory of foreign powers like Iran.

A Living Wage

The British miners are fighting for a living Their present earnings must have wage. enabled them to live in luxury as Indian workers understand living conditions. But British standards of living being what they are, the British miners would naturally want to live as British workers should in the opinion of British labour leaders. The British public are experiencing an acute coal shortage and that means suffering for British men, women and children. There are power cuts for hours together and less and less of working hours in industry. This has gone on for more than a month and, at the time of writing, there were no signs of a settlement. The miners demand a 25% rise in wages and the authorities suggest an increase which will be half of that. The critics of the conservative government think that Edward Heath cannot manage the affairs of Great Britain. His government, has, they say, disgraced the British nation in Rhodesia, proved itself inhuman in Ireland and unwise in the economic sphere. critics think appreciatively of the ink throwing on Health and of the hair pulling of Home. But they donot think that the Conservatives are on their way out. World opinion also is not against the Heath regime. In India the British reaction to the Bangla Desh affair was considered wise and realistic. Pakistan has left the Commonwealth but that is no loss to Britain nor to the Commonwealth. The British are slowly breaking away from American control and management. And that is a great achievement.

The United States of America and Communism

In the Second World War the USA had been allies of the Russians. But, soon after, the USA began to develop an anti-communist attitude and, with the growth of Russia's nuclear power and development of her control over movements by rocket craft in outer space, the Americans gave a definite shape to their foreign policy which took on the work of countering all acts of expansion by communists as its principal objective. It was the same attitude in a different field, against a different communist country when the USA tried to contain the Chinese communist expansionism in South-East Asia. In Vietnam both Russia and China helped the North Vietnamese with arms, war material and training of soldiers and the Americans fought the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese openly in the battle fields. They also trained up and armed large numbers of South Vietnamese troops who defended their country against the onslaughts made by the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese communists. All these clearly defined the USA as anti-Russian.

But progress in the diplomatic field is very often achieved by actions which contradict established practice and accepted principles in the field of policy. Moreover if the communists agreed to contain themselves within the boundaries of their own territories in exchange of American grants of aid and assistance of various kinds, what could stand in the way of a change over from an anii-communist to a pro-communist policy as far as it concerned only China? That would be a very desirable solution to many problems which faced the United States of America whose enemy no. 1 was Soviet Russia and not China. If the USA could, by aid and assistance, help China to build up enough military strength to fight Russia, that would help them to achieve an

objective which otherwise could only be carried out by direct warfare involving great nuclear attacks and counter attacks causing destruction of unimaginable dimensions in America and Russia. It is, of course, quite unnecessary for America to fight or destroy Russia; as it is unnecessary to cause the liquidation of China. If all powers merely practised what they preached, there would be no occasion for any expansion nor for any wars. But, unfortunately, human emotions are not always aimed at human well being, nor at the greatest good of the greatest number of human beings. One cannot say ruthfully that there are any nations on earth which are free from animosity towards other nations. Some are actively inimical to others, while others remain relatively passive and watch the down grade march of nations disliked by them. But all developments which lead to the strengthening of some nations and the decadence of others have the virus of War and annihilation in them. Had there been well planned efforts towards betterment of life only, as against repression and exploitation of some communities which were weak; there would be no requirement for wars. But love of power is a discase with those nations which make power worship a national-political cult and other nations have to emulate their example for self-defence or for competitive increase of military might. The powers which are now guilty of spending enormous sums of money on military preparations of a conventional and nuclear type, are the United States of America, Soviet Russia and the People's Republic of China. Other nations which may be following the example of these three super military giants are Great Britain and France. West Germany and Japan can join in the race too.

The sudden arrival of the American President Nixon in Peking, accompanied by an entourage of officials, diplomats and press men, is a new move made by the USA. The Chinese, obvisusly, are participants in whatever game the Americans are playing at. It is assumed that the Americans would try to win over the Chinese and help them to build up their fighting strength as well as their military industries. It is the hope of the Americans that China will use that strength against Russia. But America helped Pakistan to build up military strength, specifically for resisting communist aggression. The Pakistanis used the American arms against India. Not only once; but twice. The idea that the Chinese will fight the Russians once they feel strong enough, is also wishful thinking. The Chinese may use that strength for the conquest of Asia and their objectives may be Indo-China, Thailand, Burma, Malay, Indonesia, Ceylon and India. They may move on to Africa and the Arabian side of Asia later on. Russia and her Asiatic possessions can wait. So can the rest of the world. For China always hoped to conquer the world and she would spare no means, as too low, in order to achieve her plans of world conquest, President Nixon may prove to be too clever this time when he attempts to play with the Chinese. The Americans and the British had once before this played at this sort of a game by allowing the Chinese to conquer Tibet. The Chinese gained in power and used it against Indo-China and India. If now they add to their war strength; what guarantee that they will not use it against their own objectives rather than against America's competitor Soviet Russia?

ATUL PRASAD SEN

J. L. DAS

Atul Prasad Sen, poet, patriot, lawyer and philanthropist was born in Dacca on October 20, 1871. His father, Dr. Ramprasad Sen, possessed many qualities of head and heart. Not remaining complacent with his lot as pundit of a village school, Ramprasad sought better luck in Calcutta. There he came in contact with Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore, who helped him to enter the Medical College as a student of the vernacular section. After qualifying himself as a doctor from there Ramprasad accepted government service and went to Dacca as medical officer of the lunatic asylum. But the trammels of official work bored him. So he resigned the job and set up in profession as a private medical practioner. Soon he earned considerable name and fame as a physician. Needless to say, there was corresponding increase in his income.

Atul Prasad lost his father in his boyhood. But his mother, Hemanta Sashi Devi, and his maternal grandfather, Kali Narayan Gupta, brought him up with loving care. He passed the Entrance Examination in 1889 from the Dacca Collegiate School and then entered the Presidency College, Calcutta, as a student of the F. A. class. (Deshabandhu) Chitta Ranjan Das was a senior student of the same institution at that time. But Atul Prasad did not prosecute his studies at the college for long. Thanks to financial help provided by the eminent lawyer, Durga Mohan Das, his father's friend and Chitta Ranjan's uncle, and

ecouragement given by his maternal uncles, Atul Prasad sailed for England in 1890 with a view to studying Law. He was called to the Bar from Middle Temple and returned to India in 1894.

The young barrister started practice at the Calcutta High Court, which was then lit up with such legal luminaries as Rash Behari Ghosh, Tarak Nath Palit, Benode Mitter and S. P. Sinha on the civil side and Byomkesh Chakravarti and Mr. Norton on the criminal side. Failing to make much headway at the Calcutta High Court and subsequently at the Rangpur Bar, Atul Prasad went to and settled at Lucknow on the advice of Bipin Behari Basu, a distinguished lawyer of the place. He had, in the meantime, married Hemkusum Devi, daughter of Sir K. G. Gupta, the famous civil servant of those days. The marriage took place in Scotland in 1901. Twins, Dilip Kumar and Nilip Kumar, were born out of the wedlock. But, unfortunately, Nilip died when he was only two months olc.

No dissertation, however concise, on Atul Prasad Sen can be attempted without a reference to his lyrical compositions and his connections with Rabindranath Tagore. From his maternal grandfather, Kali Narayan Gupta and his father, Dr. Ramprasad Sen, Atul Prasad imbibed a profound and abiding love for music and talent for original composition of songs. His songs number fewer than three hundred and these are incorporated in

volumes titled "Gitigunja", "Kakoli" and "Koyekti Gaan". Piety and patriotism constitute the theme of most of his songs. Though he was a contemporary and a great friend of Rabindranath Tagore, the brightest star in the Indian literary firmament, yet his compositions bore the stamp of originality and distinctiveness. His patriotic songs were on the lips of the freedom-fighters and continue to inspire his countrymen to this day. He was also a singer of no mean calibre. Rabindranath, a highly gifted musician himself, loved to hear Atul Prasad sing. Once Atul Prasad went to Puri to recoup his health. Gandhiji also happened to be there along with Dr. Kailash Nath Katju. On Gandhiji expressing earnest desire to listen to his songs; the poet-cummusician readily translated his famous, piece ("Kay abar bajay banshi ey madhu kunja barey"-who plays on the flute in this sweet bower) into Hindi himself- and sang it before the Mahatma, setting the same tune as in Bergali.

Though Atul Prasad was younger in age than Rabindranath by ten years, yet there was an inusually warm rapport between these two great votaries of the Muses. Whenever he felt depressed as a result of domestic troubles or other worries, Atul Prasad sought comfort and solace in the presence and company of Rabindranath,—be it at 'Santiniketan, Calcutta, Darjeeling or somewhere Kaviguru, on his part, greatly desired Atul Prasad's association. Once in summer he wrote to the latter, when everyone was pining for clouds in the oppressive heat, he (Rabindranath) was thinking when Atul would come and soothe him. Inspite of serious illness, Atul Prasad attended the seventieth birthday celebration of Tagore, delivered a speech and recited a self-composed poem, eulogising the poet's genius. Rabindranath also dedicated his book of poems, "Parishesh"

to Atul Prasad and prefaced it with a masterly verse, dwelling on the latter's literary talent.

Mention has already been made of Atul Prasad's decision to settle at Lucknow, where he soon built up an extensive practice as a barrister. In course of time the name of Mr. A. P. Sen (by which name he came to be known) became a household word not only United in Lucknow but throughout the Provinces, Uttar Pradesh that now is. In Lucknow itself he was an institution. Indeed, Lucknow and A. P. Sen became practically connected with synonymous. He was Canning College, Harimati Girls' Institution, Ramakrishna Ashram, Oudh Seva Samity,in fact, with all the cultural and social welfare organisations of repute. The Oudh Bar Association and the Oudh Bar Council felt themselves honoured in having him as president. He was president for life of the Bengalee Club. He was also nominated a member of the Executive Council and Board of Appointment of the Lucknow University. It is said that he was even offered the Vice-chancellorship of the university, but he politely declined to accept it.

Atul Prasad Sen was a bridge between the peoples of U. P. and Bengal. He had great intimacy with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, C. Y. Chintamoni, Sir Wazir Hassan, Srivastava and other U. P. leaders. He played the host to Sarala Devi, Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das, Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, Bipin Chandra Pal and, of course, Rabindranath Tagore. His Lucknow residence was an open house for all classes of people. His charities were extensive and transcended all considerations of caste, creed and region. Though a moderate by conviction and temperament, yet he was a nationalist to the core. He twice presided over the yearly conferences of the Liberal Party. He also served as the G. O. C. of volunteers at the session of the

Indian National Congress at Lucknow in 1916. It was largely due to his initiative that annual sessions of Bengali Literature Conference were held in important centres of U. P. like Allahabad, Kanpur and Lucknow. Publication of "Uttara", an excellent literary journal, also owes its origin to his active support and financial patronage.

The people of U. P., on their part, did not fail to shower their affection and reverence on their beloved leader, Mr. A. P. Sen. In unique recognition of his manifold services, the road in Lucknow on which stood his house was named after him even during his lifetime. And when he breathed his last on August 26, 1934, the grateful people erected his marble statue in a prominent place of the city and inscribed the following at the base:

To the memory

of

A. P. Sen

Poet, Patriot, Lawyer Philanthropist who gave his loving service to all spheres of Life and Society

-- Erected by Friends Rabindranath attempted to give vent to his anguish on the demise of his dear Atuthrough a striking elegy, excerpts of which are given below:

Friend, you brought to this earth a vessel overflowing with nectar of ceaseless stream of cordiality. Unremitting was the bounty of your heart; none turned back disappointed from your door Your amity was sated with music,—that ambrosial gift of Heaven. Your company, replete with melody, radiated warmth of sweetness and kindled flames in ecstatic fluid, time and again, and in newer forms.

Long life is a great curse, thus I aver, as it effaces the pangs of separation,—an unmitigated grief indeed. Grievous may the loss be, I am not afraid,—only let me not outlive the period the pain lingers.*

* Translated by J. L. Das.



LANGUAGE MOVEMENT OF BANGLADESH IN RETROSPECT

SANTOSH CHAKRABARTI

The wheels of history have traversed much ground the language agitation of since 1948 in East Bengal, now renamed Bangladesh. Whatever the reason behind the creation of an independent Pakistan, there is no denying the fact that it was utterly senseless, that there can be no unification of two distinctly separate masses of land having no geographical contiguity, nor ethnic unity. Tagore, who was a red rag to the military rulers of Pakistan, is the mest cherished poet to the people of Bangladean. The rulers of West Pakistan tried to foist Urdu on an unwilling population and this, without their knowledge, sowed the seed of disintegration of the country.

It is indeed a diabolical irony of Pakistan's fate that the Bengali language, which was denounced as a language of the Hindus, those hated disbelievers, in a Chittagong journal in 1940, should turn out to be the cause of Pakistan's ruin. But the "Muslim Literary Society" that was established with the teachers of the Dacca University, tried to present the Bengali language in a more liberal perspective. The free thinking of eminent intellectuals like Kazi Abdul Odud, Kazi Motahar Hossain, Abul Hossain and others brought in a new whiff of free air in the orthodox Muslim society of East Bengal. Tremendous effort was putin to show that the use of Bengali was not a special prerogative of the Hindus. Thus, however feebly, one of the first efforts at

buttressing Bengali nationalism was found in this identification of the Bengali language as the language of the Bengali Muslims.

The need for this identification was felt all the more, when in March 1948, Jinnah, the father of Pakistan, announced in clear terms, while delivering the Convocation Address of Dacca University at Curzon Hall, that the State language of Pakistan was going to be Urdu and no other language. When he first made this announcement in Ramna's Race-Course Maidan, there was no protest. Encouraged by this seeming acquiescence he reiterated this decision of the Pakistan Government in his Convocation Address four days later to meet with a strong rebuff from his audience of young graduates. The protest strike, picketing and demonstrations, consequent police firing in front of the Judges Court causing the death of one demonstrator on 11th March, signalised the first outbreak of discontent of the people of Bangladesh against their discriminating rulers. Almost all over East Bengal there was a peaceful strike on that day. In Jessore girls were at the forefront of processions. Though the protest against Jinnah's announcement was spearheaded by the intellectuals and the student community, it cannot be said to have been confined to a handful of saboteurs and students as given out by a Government Press Note.

An interesting episode is related by

Mr. Kalipada Biswas about the predicament of Dhirendranath Dutta (reportedly killed by Pak Army), then a member of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, who pleaded in 1947 for acceptance of Bengali along with Urdu for use in the proceedings of that body. The incident provided a thrilling scene which highlighted the contempt of the Urdu zealots for the Bengali language. They surrounded the Constituent Assembly Hall wanting to kill the profaner of Urdu language. Liaquat Ali, understanding the gravity of the situation. despatched Mr. Dutta straight to the airport o go back home. Disembarking from the plane at Dacca Mr. Dutta found a bigger crowd and when he was apprehending death. he found himself on human shoulders to be borne truimphantly into the city. However. the Basic Principles Committee accepted Urdu as the sole official language of Pakistan.

This acceptance thrust the country into the lashpoint and the Bengalees understood to heir utter chagrin that it was an attempt of heir Western rulers to deny them their oirthright. Discontent was simmering just peneath the surface when there was an attempt o foist on the Bengali language an Arabic Script n 1949-50 and to make a hotch-potch language by diluting Bengali with Arabic and Persian words. This was done only to obliterate the eographic distance between the two wings of Pakistan through a fake form of uniculture. Sengali language was reformed so as to bring nearer Urdu. In place of maser arisamapti (Bengali word meaning 'end of the nonth') the Bengalees were asked to use naskabari to connote the same meaning, as ioted by Mr. Hasan Mursid, a Bangladesh ntellectual. But far from having any unifying ffect this approach precipitated the separation novement between the eastern and the western vings of Pakistan. Even at the All-Pakistan Historical Conference a speaker, named

Suleman Naqui, was beaten up for denigrating Bengali as a Hindu language.

'52 Movement

language movement historic February 21, 1952 was only a natural explosion of a long-suppressed disaffection. It culminated in the shooting down of 11 persons. A curfew was clamped down upon Dacca and some 1,000 students of Dacca University were served with expulsion order which affected another 1,500. No wonder that the first casualty of the Pak Army crackdown is the Dacca University, which, in the minds of the military rulers, is the epicentre of all waves of agitation. Many front rank leaders of the movement of February 1952, had to go underground for fear of Government reprisal. In a Provincial Assembly debate the Chief Minister Mr. Nurul Amin met with a severe challenge from a member when the former tried to show the agitation as an attempt by agent provocateurs to overthrow the Government. The member claimed that in the case of a plebiscite over the language issue 99% of East Bengalees would vote for Bengali. March 27 was observed by the Pakistan Youth League as Youths' Demand Day. East Bengal won the first round of victory when after a hot exchange of words between the Bengali and non-Bengali members of the National Assembly a Bengali member was allowed to speak in his mother-tongue.

The movement was so total that in 1952 the students, teachers and journalists of Dacca reverberated its air with Tagore's famous song, "My golden Bengal, I love you,/Your sky and air for ever play their flageolet in my heart". It became the battle cry of the mass movement of 1969 and has now been accorded the prime position of the national anthem of Bangladesh.

Muslim League Routed

The rout of the Muslim League in East Bengal in the 1954 elections was the direct result of its attitude to the Bengali language. The people of East Bengal came to feel how necessary it was to keep alive their own Bengali heritage. The Muslim students staged in the Curzon Hall of the Dacca University theatrical versions of Sarat Chandra Chatterjee's novels like "Parineeta" in 1956. The wave of Bengali culture and love of their mother-tongue swept over every walk of Bengali life in East Bengal. The "Bengali Language and Literatire" week organised in Dacca in September, 1963, was unprecedented in mass participation. However it was President Ayub Khan who ficessfully played an elaborate hoax on the ⊐eople of East Bengal by setting up "an Iducation Commission which recommended that both Bengali and Urdu should be State languages, followed by a clause that gradually English should be substituted by an admixture of Bengali and Urdù for communication between the two wings of Pakistan in business and educational matters. This was aimed at evolving a lingua franca for Pakistan in which Urdu would eventually be the dominant element" (Mr. Monojit Mitrà in the Statesman, 9th May, 1971).

But the hoax was seen through by such intellectuals as Dr. Syed Ali Ahsan, the then Director of Dacca's Bangla Academy. As a szemeless window-dressing the Ayub Government set up separate Boards to develop Urdu and Bengali. The Government and private spensors declared awards for creative writings. Ent it was found that to get them one must fall in line with the Urdu chauvinists by producing "Basic Democracy Literature". Even that sacred seat of learning and research, the Bangla Academy of Dacca, had been reduced to a hand-maid of the Government in its policy of weaning away Bengali Muslims from the mainstream of Bengali culture. Though it has its research wing, old MSS. and fclk literature preservation wing, publication wing and translation wing, among its many diversified activities, the Academy mostly busied itself with research on, and preservation of the writings of Bengali Muslim writers and poets. However, only recently it awarded a research scholarship for work on the Bengali Hindu poet, Jibanananda Das. But Rabindranath Tagore does not figure in about 300 titles published so far by the Academy. However, one consolation is that it is the only official forum for the development of Bengali language and literature. But hopes for further work on Bengali Language and Literature by it are frustrated by its premature destruction by the Pak Army.

Tagore Denigrated

It was however Tagore, the symbol of Bengal's modern literary culture, who has suffered utmost denigration under successive regimes in East Bengal. The West Pakistani rulers and their cohorts among Muslim Leaguers of East Bengal tried to show Tagore's writings as exuding Hindu, and therefore, divisionist, culture. The 1965 Indo-Pak War made the stigma on one of the greatest poets of the world complete. Tagore was superseded by Nazrul twisted and corrupted. Once again Persian-Arabic adaptation of Nazrul's diction in his poetry was attempted. A blanket ban was imposed on all broadcasts of Tagore songs and T. V. programmes on Tagore.

But no military regime has ever been able to obliterate Tagore from the minds of the Bengalees of Bangladesh. They know Tagore is theirs: by comparison the enthusiasm for Tagore on this side of the border which celebrate only half-hearted routine Tagore festivals on his birthday, is quite unimpressive. They defied all Government orders to register their love for their poet. In the Tagore Centenary year they organised meetings, symposiums and cultural functions. Their

wrath against anti-Tagorism expressed itself in the bonfire of copies of the "Azad" journal.

"Real Mother"

Repression on the use of the mother-tongue only enhanced the peoples' love for it immensely. Sons of Bangladesh have found that their mother-tongue is their "real mother". The movement for the recognition of their own language was greatly intensified in 1969. On February 18, 1969, as a result of military firing, a young professor of Rajshahi University, Dr. Samshuzzoha, laid down his life at the University gate. Trouble erupted at Dacca University also. The students again defied Government order and the demand for recognition of Bengali as the Official Language was met with more bullets, But bullets have not been able to silence the protests of Bangladesh people. What once was a demand

for recognition of their language has opened their eyes to the West Pakistani ruling clique's continued suppression of a whole nation. The year 1971 opened up the floodgates of its anger which had been accumulating against the colonial rulers of Bangladesh and it took the shape of an armed revolt.

A Bangladesh poet, Daud Haidar, once wrote in an ode to Tagore: "Rabindranath, down-trodden, here humiliated, tortured,/In the procession for you/The people lay down their lives, and so do I, and yet for what ?/Vainly do I tire myself out calling you most sincerely/But you do not respond/Yet I cannot go away neglecting you,/Ahead of me appears an abyss!/We want you now. Rabindranath,/Come, and see/We are terribly unhappy." The people of Bangladesh will regain happiness in freedom and also regain Rabindranath through their independence.



DANGÉR OF FORMING UNITED FRONTS

BIMAL BANERJEE

A Political Party is formed to execute its own programme chalked out on the basis of the political philosophy the Party believes in. Accordingly the Party goes before the electorate with its programme and tries to educate the electorate along the line of the political philosophy it believes in and holds dear. The electorate in their turn judge the programmes of the different political parties and support one or the other according to their liking and judgement. This is what happens in a Society where a democratic system of government functions. The chance of a permanent United Front of different political parties therefore occurs very seldom in a democratic setting.

United Fronts of different political parties are sometimes formed with a limited scope and purpose on specific issues. But a single United Front on a permanent basis to govern a state or nation is against the very principle of a democratic system of government and is a betrayal of the electorate by forcing a thing upon them without an alternative choice. The electorate fail to find out, judge and compare notes on the programme, policy and ideology of the different parties.

The tactics of the United Front had been taken out of the leaf of the popular front governments of Europe in and around the 30's devised, formulated, advocated and directed by the Commintern the central organ of International Communism, under the direct thumb of Moscow. It was a tactics of the Communists to get organised under the left national opposition against the conservatives in power, in order to gain an opportunity for infiltration and consolidation, when the Communists were weak and were distrusted by

the people. The tactics were first popularised in France with the slogan—to prevent division of left votes—.

After the defeat of Communism in Germany, the Communists raised the slogan of Popular Front of Socialists and Democrats to fight against Fascism led by Hitler.

The Communists did not succeed in the Western Countries of Europe of because of the democratic tradition but in Eastern Europe they were successful. In India the Communists even joined Congress Socialist Party and All India Trade Union Congress after dissolving their own Red Trade Union Congress and they were very much successful in their mission in capturing A. I. T. U. C. and breaking the Congress Socialist Party before the Second World War.

After transfer of power in India the Communists for some time were isolated because of their anti-national conduct in supporting British war effort at the directive of the Soviet Union and naturally betraying the national struggle for independence. But immediately before the first General Election they succeeded in manoeuvering the other leftist parties in West Bengal and could form an United Front to fight the election and after the election emerged as the largest Opposition Party in the West Bengal legislature. Forward Block, which was a powerful political force in West Bengal before the 1952 General Elections, was reduced to an insignificant position as a result of its pact with the Communists much to the advantage of the Communists but to the disadvantage of its own members. A big chunk came out of the Block

and formed a separate party styled as the Marxist Forward Block to climb on the band wagon of the Communists.

It should never be forgotten that the Communists have always been a minority in the political cross-section of all States. This was true in West Bengal in 1952. By way of the United Front they have become the most powerful political party in West Bengal, to-day. Never have the Communists come before the electorate all alone with their own programme to fight an election. In the last five general elections they only contested as one of the constituent parties of the United Front.

To take advantage of the immense popularity of Sree Ajoy Mukherjee, the Communists of both the varieties formed a United Front of fourteen political parties to fight the mid-term general elections in 1969. Gullible leaders of the other socialist and nationalist parties of the Front did not see through the game. In the mid-term general elections the Communists could capture almost half of the Assembly seats. The C. P. I.(M) directly won 80 seats and 10 of their fellow travellers came out successful while the C. P. I. won 30 seats and a few other C. P. I. members won with the tickets of other constituent parties. In the West Bengal Cabinet nearly half of the members were Communists. All the important portfolios went to the Communists. Home, Education, Land and Land Revenue, Labour, Food, etc., were under the control of the Communists.

In the elections in March 1971 the Communists could improve their position further. The Communist Party (Marxist) alone emerged as the single largest party in the West Bengal State Legislature and the Communist Party of India also secured quite a few seats. Seats won by the two Communist parties and their fellow travellers almost constituted a majority in the State Legislature.

After the elections of 1969, with the support of the massive political organisation outside and the direct help of a section of Government officers, the Communist employees and Ministers could use the Governmental machinery to consolidate and expand their party rapidly. Overnight rival trade unions under the leadership of C. P. I. (M) were formed and registered where previously the trade unions were under the leadership of other political parties. Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS) used to control some large trade unions in West Bengal in the coal fields, in tea gardens, Railways, Port and Dock, jute mills, etc. The selected H. M. S. controlled Communists formation and disruption Unions for extend their party of rival unions to activities in those industries with the direct The Communists assistance of the Police. formed rival unions in different collieries such as, Sripur, Rana, Ninga, East Chora, Ranigunge coal belt and intimidated the employees to join their unions. Those who opposed this were murdered. As many as 27 workers were murdered in the coal belt. The employers were forced to recognise the newly formed unions. The same thing happened in the tea gardens and other places. In 1969 the Communists could increase their strength, amongst the labour, fourfold by force and violence.

In the rural area lands belonging to small holders who were supporters or sympathisers of other parties were forcibly grabbed by the Communists and distributed to their own workers or supporters. Peasant organisations under the control of other constituent parties were disrupted by physical force. Number of peasant workers belonging to other parties were murdered. More than 300,000 acres of land were distributed, not by Government machinery, but by the Communist Party (Marxist) and the beneficiaries were mainly the party cadre or supporters.

Socialist Unity Centre, one of the constituent Parties of the United Front, had powerful peasant organisations in the southern subdivisions of 24-Parganas District and it was an eye scre to the Communists. The Communists took all the measures at their disposal to break the S. U. C. organisation. Their peasant organisers were assaulted, some of them were also murdered and in this effort the Communists did not hesitate to take the assistance of land lords, as well as of the police, which force was under the command of the Dy. Chief Minister Jyoti Basu, C. P. I. (M).

The dirty game was also being played in the sphere of education. 100 head masters were forced to resign and School Committees not friendly to the Communists were dissolved. A: many as 358 school Managing Committees party cadres were superseded and appointed as administrators. School curriculum included Communist literature to brain wash school boys. Gandhi, Netaji, Vivekananda were discarded and Mao and Ho Chi Minh were glorified in school text books. The whole education system in West Bengal became an appendage to the Communist Party (M) under the direction of the Minister who belonged to the Communist Party (Marxist).

The performance of the Home (Police) Department surpassed all other departments under the Communists in the matter of corruption, irregularities and evil practices. Loyal police personnel were removed from service, some were transferred. A parallel Police Association was formed with the Communist sympathisers in Police service. The police force was made completely ineffective.

All these policies were drawn up as a calculated move to make other parties in the Front ineffective and to gradually dissolve them. And this is the policy they have followed everywhere in the past and they will do so in the future too in any part, of the world they happen to work in.

The Democratic Socialists must take lesson from their own experience and from the history of their conduct elsewhere. They should know that United Fronts with the Communists can be nothing but a clever trap, to put the socialist elements in the death chamber with the lullaby of a classless society.

Therefore, democratic socialist parties should come before the electorate with their own definite programme. They should also educate the electorate as to what is beneficial to the masses. On specific issues united fronts or combinations of different parties might be found necessary and in such cases united fronts should be formed with the socialist democratic parties only, i. e., with those, who have faith in a democratic system of government and who believe in human dignity and the rights of individuals. The parties in such combinations will not indulge in violence to engulf or break other parties, or cannot be expected to disrupt trade unions or peasant organisations of fraternal parties, advantage of united platforms. Communists under no circumstances should be given the advantage of a United Front shield to hide their anti-national character and to enable them to work for social disruption, grab power and establish a dictatorship.

POPULARITY OF G. K. CHESTERTON AS ESSAYIST

B. DHAR

The essay loomed large in the colourful literary career of G. K. Chesterton. A versatile writer, he enriched every department of literature, but it was as an essayist that he made his debut in the world of letters and won immediate popularity. Again, it was as an essayist that he spoke, from week to week, of things uppermost in his mind to a fairly wide circle of readers. The publication of each weekly essay was to him an act of fulfilment. He, therefore, wrote voluminously and contributed over 2,200 pieces to the Daily News and the Illustrated London News alone. These essays, besides encompassing the whole gamut of his spiritual progress, are a notation of his times. They form, as Father Rice of Douai justly pointed out, "the finest and only reliable history of our times". They treat of - the topical without losing sight of the universal and touch life at all possible points.

"The essay was," as F. A. Lea says of Chesterton, "his literary form per excellence".1 It suited his genius very well. Its pliability as a mode of expression, its appropriateness for all kinds of discourse, its capacity to admit of of a wide range of themes, and, above all, its informality and brevity made it his favourite. In a life crammed with engagements, this literary form always came handy to him, because he could apply his mind and energies to it at will, producing a piece with amazing speed and ease. Maisie Ward tells us that she had noticed him in the thirties or forties writing two articles at a time and writing fifteen in five days in the fifties.2 nonspecialist speaking subjects, he could turn to the essay with the aplomb and easy mastery of a man to the manner, born. Whatever the manner place and circumstances in which he set about his task, he had, goat-like, the instinct of landing on his feet and turning everything to advantage.

Chesterton was one of the most popular and "the last of the great English essayists". An examination of the factors which contributed to his popularity and eminence as an essayist during his own and later times will perhaps provide an answer to the question of his relevance to our times,

One of the secrets of Chesterton's appeal to the English mind lay in his middle-class background. aspect of Treating of this Chesterton's authorship, Belloc remarked, "This tradition of his, the tradition of the merchants and writers, lawyers and religious men who had made the norm as it were and centre of English life for two hundred years, gave him, an especially national character, upon which in all that is or shall be written of him the greatest insistence should be laid."8 His middle-class background, then, ensured the representative national character of his writings. His Englishness took as varied forms as the English spirit had done down the ages. of its manifestations were love of the English past; the love of the landscape and the weather of the British Isles. Perhaps, the most amiable aspect his Englishness found expression in the love of the common people of his country and his willingness to understand their mind. his championship of the rights and liberties of his countrymen his fervour resembled William Cobbett's; in his love of the eccentricities and angularities of the common people his earnestness was comparable to Charles Dickens's.

His appeal derived its strength from his genial humour too, "a by-product of the vivid, exaggerated and therefore most powerful English visual imagination." There was no less of perspective in his essays, because he was seldom without humour, and his brilliant wit added a new dimension to his utterances. Moreover, wit and humour made his essays entertaining and provided an outlet to the expherance of his spirits.

Another quality which contributed to his popularity was the rational frame of mind which he brought to bear on the exposition, analysis and examination of ideas. It was not, as Belloc rightly suggests, an especially English virtue. All the same he employed and highligated reason in his essays through various devices of definition, exposition, illustration and parallelism. He went about his task most patiently, persistently, and even cheerfully. The "confusion of thought", as Belloc observed richtly, "was to him not so much an irritant as an immediate spur to corrective criticism; h∉ resolved the tangle with a gusto; he untied the knots with the enjoyment of one who makes rather than undoes. He argued as though he were building or carving."5 One of the purposes of Chesterton as essayist was to teach his age the wholesome habit of thinking logically. His own essays are good examples of deductive reasoning and exact thinking. "There was no other writer of our time," said Belloc, "in whom the appeal to the reader was perpetually through the intelligence."6

Yet another source of inexhaustible interest of Chesterton's essays is he himself. One can hear behind the written word the fountain of friendly chat spouting incessantly; one can listen to the living voice expatiating on some point, asking and answering questions that

might possibly be raised by others. He was an engaging talker which accounted for his great success as a broadcaster during the last years of his life. It has been rightly observed that "his writing seemed rather a by-product of his conversation"7 and that "his mere casual conversation was better than most good writers' deliberate compositions".8 It is not easy to analyse what diverse elements go into the making of the personality of Chesterton as reflected in his eassays. He is a spokesman of the submerged sections of society in the manner of Cobbett and Charles Dickens; a Dr. Johnson in stature, girth, appearance and habit; an "exuberant" Emerson determined to put his point across with the zeal of that oracle; a St. George fighting for many a good, even lost, cause; a St. Thomas Aquinas with a powerful mind; and a man of the mould of Sir. Thomas More. Ivor Brown, who called him "a multiple man" in the rather uncomplimentary sense of a man whose multiple selves contradicted one another, put the record straight when he said that "seemed to be Falstaff and Chesterton Aguinas, Blake and Dr. Johnson, Cobbett and Conan Doyle all rolled into one".9 "Social splendour and largesse" which Chesterton saw in St. Thomas Aquinas were part of his own. unique personality. A. G. Gardiner has pointed out that aspect of his personality which has become a legend. "He is"; says he, "a wayfarer from the ages, stopping at the inn of life, warming himself at the fire and making the rafters ring with his jolly laughter. Time and space are accidents: he is elemental and primitive. He is not of our time, but of all times.....One seems to see him coming down from the twilight of fable through the centuries, calling wherever there is good company and welcome wherever he calls, for he brings no cult of the time or pedantry of. the schools with him".10 This many-faceted;

personality finding expression in his essays in an unaffected, direct, effective and often exuberant manner, makes them an extremely fascinating reading.

One of the interesting features of Chesterton's essays is their, style rich in tonal effects and deft in the manipulation of linguistic resources. It is a style at once original, vigorous, apt, individual and brilliant. The preference for the everyday idiom saved his style from affectation, and an appropriate use of literary devices like metaphor, analogy, paradox and parallelism spared it from lack of colour, Consequently, the prose of his essays is a chiaroscuro prose. Even the ordinary passages seldom lack in a minimal raciness.

In any estimate of Chesterton his message should find a pride of place. The views expressed by him in his essays on universal and topical problems, which agitated his mind, have by and large a relevance to our own times. In 1946, Douglas Woodruff wrote, "The ten years that have passed since Chesterton died on June 14th, 1936, have not seen any falling off in the demand for his books, such as commonly happens in the first years, even where a writer is, in fact, secure. The candle burns low for a time before it lights up. But Chesterton, as we move further away from the early decades of the century, emerges more and more as a man ahead of his time, increasingly preoccupied with the real questions which men would have to answer, and writing about them for contemporaries who in general underrated him because they have only now begun, most painfully, and under the pressure of very unpleasant events, to understand what, and how much, he meant. His relevance will be more and more seen, and his fame will grow".11 He added later, "Chesterton understood the future in the same way that he so often, without any extensive historical reading,

divined the past and set out its essentials. And his works are in demand today because, forty years afterwards, they are about actual and burning realities". ¹² Three decades after Chesterton's death, this estimate of him is as true as when it was written. His essays are still a stimulating fare to the reader, because they celebrate man's primary urges and seek to broaden his vision by pointing out the relevance of his past to his present and future.

More than any other essayist of the present century Chesterton tried to make the periodical essay the mirror of his times. He restored to it, one might say, almost the same prestige and function which belonged to it during the days of Addison and Steele. More than any other contemporary essayist he used the short piece as a vehicle of a distinct point of view. Keeping himself, by and large, in touch with the mood of his age, Chesterton used the essay to promote sensibility, thoughtfulness and catholicity of mind. He used it for what may be called its highest purpose, namely, "the contemplation of life from the vantage point of the highest truths".13 By setting his ideas "in a context of human awareness",14 in his essays he set the tone and pace for the English essay of the later decades which, shorn of "the whimsy and superfluous verbiage of the pre-war week-end essay", 15 is nearer to the Addison-Chesterton spirit rather than the Elia-Stevenson tradition. Chesterton anticipated the modern essay-writer who is "both more concerned and more committed than his predecessor". 16 Consequently, Hubert Waring had ample justification when he called him "a prince of essayists."17

As an essayist Chesterton is unique, for he has no literary descendants as he has no literary ancestors. He combines prolificity with excellence which is a very creditable thing, since these qualities generally do not go; together. Besides these, he has the capacity to relate the topical to the universal and to see all things under the aspect of eternity. The sprightliness of his manner, the weightiness of his matter, the freshness of his perspective, the wealth of his ideas, the width of his interests, the earnestness of his purpose and the facility and aptness of his expression mark him off from the contemporary essayists. As an ingenious manipulator of the essay form, Chesterton occupies a high place in the hierarchy of the twentieth century essayists.

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ABOUT SUPERIORITY OF INDIAN WEAPONS

India's brilliant victory in the 14-day war was backed by the reliable support of arms and equipment produced in the country. The gallant men of the Armed Forces have come to respect Indian equipment. Defence production establishments have built up a technologically strong base with research support from our scientists. The establishments are now well set to meet the requirements of sophisticated and dependable weapons to match the best in the world.

Bangalore-built Gnat has already become a household name in the country. The tiny Gnat was the first to draw blood. Four Gnats roared into the sky on November 22 to challenge four Pakistani Sabres which had intruded into Indian air space over Boyra, and succeeded in shooting down three of them in a rapid dog-fight. When Pakistan launched the full-scale war, the Gnats were itching for air battles with the mighty Mirages and F-104s. The much-vaunted Pakistani planes often turned tail at the sight of a Gnat.

The India-built MiGs and Vijayanta tanks were battle-tested for the first time in this war. The MiGs destroyed a number of Pakistani aircraft and "the Vijayantas with their 105 mm guns took a heavy toll of enemy's Patton and T-59 tanks.

The success of Gnats, MiGs and Vijayantas has vindicated Government's policy of self-reliance in defence equipment.

Thirty Ordnance and Departmental Factories and Public Sector Undertakings under the Ministry of Defence are busily turning out modern weapons for the Nation's defence. Besides the Gnat, the MiG and the Vijayanta, India is producing a large number of arms and equipment—guns and mortars for the Army, frigates equipped with missiles and helicopters for the Navy and Jet fighters (HF-24), transport aircraft (HS-748) Alouette helicopters for the Air Force. The indigenous content of these has gone up considerably and in the not too distant future, the country should be completely self-reliant in this vital sector. India has already achieved a broad measure of self-reliance in conventional arms and ammunition and complete self-sufficiency in small arms and allied ammunition.

A totally new advance strike aircraft, incorporating the latest technology, will be manufactured in the country for operational role with the Air Force in 1980s. The design bureau of the HAL's Bangalore Division is engaged/ in conducting preliminary studies connected with this project.

The work on the Grey Iron Foundry at Jabalpur is progressing and with its commissioning all castings required for military vehicles will be manufactured within the country. The Alloy and Special Steels Project has been sanctioned to meet the require-

ments of a variety of special steels for the manufacture of modern armaments.

A new field gun with a long range to replace the existing guns of World War II wintage has been developed indigenously and has successfully completed technical trials. The production of this gun is expected to commence in about five years. The Ordnance Factories are developing a new Pistol both for Army and civilian use and its production is likely to commence in about three years. The indigenous production of floats for Kruppman Eridges was established in 1971.

With the commencement of the assembly of anti-tank missiles at the Bharat Dynamics Ltd., Hyderabad, the country entered a new field of sophistication. Manufacture of these missiles from raw materials will be taken up shortly.

Production in ordnance and departmental factories has gone up from Rs. 41 crores in 1961-62 to Rs. 120 crores in 1970-71. Apart from augmenting the manufacturing capacity of established armaments, ordnance factories have taken up production of large number of new weapons and equipment.

The first 39 ton Vijayanta tank rolled out of the Heavy Vehicles Factory in December 1965. Since then the indigenous content has gone up to 60 per cent and is expected to increase to 85 per cent in the next two years. The factory has also taken up production of a moured recovery vehicles, designed and developed entirely by Indian talent. In yet another role, the Vijayanta chassis has been fitted with self-propelled gun for which a prototype has been built and successfully tried out. Proposals are under way to build a lighter series of vehicles like the armoured personnel carrier which will be used in the seventies and eighties.

A major explosives project has been completed and a new project for the manufacture of propellants and ballistites is making progress. The old capacity for nitro-glycerine and nitro-cellulose is being modernised by more efficient and safer processes and plants. A new plant for the manufacture of nitric acid and modern TNT plant are being set up.

A new factory for the manufacture of Shaktiman trucks and Nissan one-tonner and patrol jeep has been set up at Jabalpur. The factory though not fully commissioned has already gone into production; it has taken over production of these vehicles from other ordnance factories.

The eight public sector undertakings under the Ministry of Defence manufacture sophisticated equipment including aircraft, frigates and radars for the Defence Forces. During 1970-71, these undertakings accounted for a total production of Rs. 154 crores and during the current year the production is expected to go up to Rs. 190 crores.

The Hindustan Aeronautics Limited is now producing HF-24 (Marut), a ground attack fighter; MiG-21, a supersonic interceptor; Gnat, a jet fighter aircraft; HJT-16 (Kiran), a jet trainer; Alouette helicopter; and HS-748 a transport aircraft. Arrangements for the manufacture of an improved version of MiG-21 have been completed and its production is expected to begin in 1973.

A separate factory for the manufacture of light aircraft and helicopters is being set up. An agreement has been signed with SNIAS of France for the manufacture of SA-315 helicopters under licence. Another agreement signed with the French firm provides for design collaboration for the development of a helicopter of Indian design as a successor to SA-315. Work is now going on at the Kanpur Division of HAL on the conversion of HS-748 into military freighter.

The production of aircraft accessories and instruments like brake and hydraulic equipment, flight instruments, airconditioning,

pressurisation and fuel system equipment and ejection seats is expected to begin towards the end of 1972 at the new factory under construction at Lucknow.

Bharat Electronics Limited which began its production in 1956 with only two items of equipment now manufactures equipment like transmitters, receivers, trans-receivers and radars for Defence Forces. BEL's second factory is being set up at Ghaziabad (UP) for the manufacture of special types of radar and associated equipments.

Mazagon Dock in Bombay and Garden

Reach Workshops in Calcutta are engaged in constructing frigates, dredgers tugs and other equipment for the Navy. The first Leander Class Frigate, INS NILGIRI, built at the Mazagon Dock, has gone out for sea trials. The frigate is the most modern of its kind and will be equipped with missiles and helicopters for anti-aircraft and anti-submarine roles. The second frigate is being fitted out and the third is under construction, Three more frigates are also on order. Production of Marine diesel engines is now in hand at the Garden Reach Workshops' newly established factory at Ranchi.

HEROES OF THE 14 DAY WAR

On a cold windy night on the inhospitable heights of Kargil, our Jawans stormed Pakistani pickets in the recent 14-day war. Like Ibexes, they dominated the dizzy heights after driving away the Pakistanis. Leading the men was Major Chowang Rinchen, a winner of Maha Vir Chakra during the J & K operations in 1948-49. His courage has brought him the award a second time.

In another battle in Kargil, a battalion of the Punjab Regiment was held up while attacking enemy positions. Sub. Mohinder Singh charged at the enemy, destroyed a bunker and inflicted many casualities in close combat. His personal example ensured the success of the attack and won him the muchcoveted Maha Vir Chakra.

Poonch Battle

In Poonch, the Pakistani troops attacked our posts in massive strength at the commencement of the war. They were pitted against

our forces led by Brigadier Anant Vishwanath Natu. The Brigadier organised his defence. so skilfully that when the enemy attacked by great weight of artillery fire, not a single post was lost in spite of repeated attacks over a period of four days. One of the battalions in Brigadier Natu's brigade belonged to the famous Sikh Regiment. Under the leadership of their Commanding Officer, Lt.-Col. Kashmiri Lal Ratan, the troops held their ground and frustrated attempts by the enemy to capture our posts. Lt.-Col. Kashimiri La. Ratan moved from company to company in total disregard of his personal safety.

A factor that helped in demoralising the Pakistanis in Poonch was the daring attacks on them by our aircraft. Wing Commander-Vidya Bhushan Vashisht, the Commanding Officer of an operational squadron, led his heavy bombers at very low levels and attacked the enemy. The difficulties and dangers of

this operation were evident from the volume of ground fire in the area and the hazards of flying his large aircraft and leading his formation at low level through mountainous terrain.

Brigadier Natu, Battalion Commander, Lt.-Col. Kashmiri Lal Ratan and Wing Commander Vashisht all won Maha Vir Chakras.

Chhamb Battle

In the battle of Chhamb, it was the combined effort of the Army and the Air Force which frustrated repeated Pakistani attacks. Sorties by fighters and fighter bombers of the IAF demoralised the enemy.

When a massive enemy attack was launched, a battalion of the Sikh Regiment commanded by Lt.-Col. Prem Kumar Khanna was in the forefront. It was subjected to continuous and ceaseless attacks in overwhelming strength by infantry and armour. With cool and calm courage, he restored the situation in the area. One of his Company Commanders, Major Jaivir Singh, repeatedly exposed himself to enemy fire and repulsed a series of attacks with many losses to the enemy. When his position was attacked twice the next day, he held his ground showing indomitable personal courage and grit. one of these attacks when the enemy succeeded in penetrating his defences, Major Singh personally led a counter-attack and cleared the incursion after a hand to hand fight. Lance Naik Nar Bahadur Chettri destroyed five enemy tanks in the Chhamb battle.

Among the Air Force heroes of the Chhamb battle were Wing Commander Man Mohan Bir Singh Talwar, Squadron Leader Madhavendra Banerji and Squadon Leader Ravindernath Bhardwaj. Wing Commander Talwar had carried out day-light missions in the Ehhamb area and silenced four enemy gun

positions near the Manawar Tawi River. Squadron Leader Banerji led no fewer than 14 missions in S-22 aircraft within the first week of the war most of them in support of the Army in the Chhamb battles. Squadron Leader R. N. Bhardwaj led a close support mission to Chhamb area on December 10. During the first attack, his aircraft as well as that of his number two were hit by ground fire. As they pulled out of the attacks they were engaged by enemy Sabres. He guided the number two out of danger and joined the fray to shoot down a Sabre. Later, he returned to attack Pakistani tanks and troops and caused extensive damage before nursing his aircraft back to the base.

All the heroes of the Chhamb battle have been awarded Maha Vir Chakras.

Attack Stalled

In the Punjab, the Pakistanis had planned a major attack across the Dera Baba Nanak bridge. This was frustrated by a daring preemptive attack by our troops in the area. Our brigade was led by Brigadier Krishnaswami Gowri Shankar. Undeterred by enemy's heavy tank, MMG and artillery fire, he remained in the forefront, showing audacity, boldness and originality in planning the attack. His skill and presence inspired troops and ensured the success of the attack. His reward: Maha Vir Chakra. Air support in the battle was provided, among others, by Wing Commander A. A. D'Costa.

Laungenwala Battle

A Pakistani thrust which turned into a rout is more popularly known as the battle of Laungenwala. The hero of the battle, besides the Air Force pilots who turned Laungenwala into a graveyard of Pakistani tanks, was Major Kuldip Singh Chandpuri. He held his ground at Laungenwala against successive enemy tank attacks by his personal courage, inspiring example and offensive spirit until reinforcements arrived. He inflicted heavy

casualties and forced the enemy to retreat, leaving behind 12 tanks. Also in his bag is Maha Vir Chakra.

A Soldier Prince

The prince among soldiers to win the Maha Vir Chakra is Lt.-Col. Sawai Bhawani Singh of Jaipur. As Commanding Officer of the 10 Para Commando battalion, he personally led his men deep into Pakistan territory and successfully raided enemy posts at Chachro and Virawah. He spent four sleepless days and nights fighting.

Eastern Theatre

In the eastern theatre, our troops made swift progress in all sectors causing confusion in enemy ranks. In the Jessore Sector, Brigadier J. S. Gharaya led his brigade with extraordinary courage. The brigade withstood four attacks. The enemy suffered heavy losses and subsequently withdrew in disorder. Even though severely wounded, Brig. Gharaya refused to be evacuated till he had seen the attack through, since the success of this attack was vital to our further advance in Bangla Desh.

Another hero of the Jessore battle was Major Daljit Singh Narag, who was commanding a squadron of tanks. When attacked by enemy infantry and armour, he skilfully manoeuvred his squadron and standing on the turret of his tank directed fire effectively despite heavy enemy fire. Major Narag, unfortunately, did not live to see the success of his squadron. Hit by MMG fire, he was killed during the battle. Another brave JCO who died during the battle was Sub. Malkiat Singh. When his battalion was attacked by enemy infantry and armour, he moved from trench to trench encouraging his men. When the enemy came within 50 yards, he crawled forward to engage the enemy and killed two machine gunners before he was hit by an enemy tank and killed. Other heroes of the Jessore battle were: Lt.-Col. Surinder Kapur and Lt.-Col Chittor Venugopal.

At Atgram, a young Gorkha Jawan, Rfn. Dil Bahadur Chettri, sliced the throats of eight Pakistanis with the cold steel of his khukri. In Kushtia, another Gorkha Jawan. Rin. Pati Ram Gurung, made the supreme sacrifice while silencing an enemy machine-gun position: At Murapara, Lance Naik Ram Ugrah Pandey of a Guards battalion paved the way for the advance of his battalion by silencing two enemy bunkers with hand grenades. While destroying a third bunker with a rocket launcher, he was mertally wounded. At Laksham, Major Anup Singa Gahlaut, commanding a Company of the Dogra Regiment, broke the back of the enemy with his cool courage. The brave officer died after the battle due to wounds suffered in hand-to-hand fighting.

Heroes of the Seas

Captain Mahendra Nath Mulla, Captain of the frigate INS KHUKRI has carved a niche in the Naval history. The frigate was hit by torpedoes and sank. Captain Mula refused to leave the ship; he gave his life-saving gear to a sailor. Having directed as many of his men to leave the ship, Captain Mulla went back to the bridge to see what further rescue operations he could perform. In doing so, he was last seen going down with his ship.

Daring Attack

The success of the Navy's daring attack on Karachi was largely due to the leadership of Commander K. P. Gopal Rao. Commander Rao led his task group into the enemy's den and sank two destroyers and one minesweeper. Later, the task group successfully bombarded the port of Karachi setting fire to oil and other installations in the harbour. One of his Squadron Commanders in this operation was Cdr. Babru Bahan Yadav.

In the Bay of Bengal, ships of the Indian Navy completely crippled Pakistani ports and installations. The Commanding Officer of the Indian Naval Air Squadron was Lt.-Com. S. K. Gupta. He himself flew the Sea Hawk to Khulna in the face of a fierce barrage of anti-aircraft fire. Though his aircraft was hit, he continued the assaults and brought back the damaged Sea Hawk to the flight deck of INS VIKRANT safely.

A close quarter battle fought by Naval ships during the operations featured INS PANVEL commanded by Lt.-Cdr. J. P. A. Noronha. The ship was part of a task force which attacked Mongla and Khulna. Though it was subjected to incessant air attacks and shelled by shore defences, Lt.-Cdr. Noronha fought the enemy in close quarters for a prolonged period, silencing enemy's shore defences and causing very extensive damage to shore installations. The task force was commanded by Cdr. M. N. R. Samant.

The Air Observation Pilots of the Regiment of Artillery, with their small unarmed planes daringly directed streams of fire from our guns into enemy concentrations in all the sectors. One of them, awarded the Maha Vir Chakra, was Capt. Pradip Kumar Gour who made the supreme sacrifice.

Air Force

Besides providing valuable ground support to the Army, the Indian Air Force planes flew deep into enemy territory on reconnaissance and strike missions, attacking air bases, communication lines, installations and trains carrying material to the front. Among the brave pilots are Wing Comdr. Ramesh Sakhram Benegal, Wing Comdr. H. S. Manget, Wing Comdr. C. V. Parker, Wing Comdr. Padmanabha Gautam and Wing Commander Swaroop Krishna Kaul. Many of them flew into heavily defended targets, returning with holes in their aircraft. They literally blazed a trail of glory.



COMMUNALISM AND OURSELVES

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

Communalism, like provincialism, is the thwarted expression of the striving of the people to fulfil their genuine aspirations. So long as the aspirations remain unfulfilled the perversions of the popular outlook cannot be checked. This fact is often overlooked in discussions of the communal problem in the overt eagerness on the part of many to appear as "secular". Yet the persistence of both communalism and provincialism, despite hundreds of thousands of words written and spoken against them, is a reminder of the utter inadequacy of mere platitudes to deal with the evil effectively. It is not the suggestion that all strife would disappear if the basic demands of the people were fulfilled. But there is no doubt that if there were enough jobs for all educated persons to keep themselves gainfully occupied there would have been no provincialism or communalism. The Hindus, the Muslims, the Christians, would not cease to be Hindus, Muslims or Christians but the edge of communalism in their outlook would be gone when there would be no unemployment and discrimination (for which there would no longer be the objective basis of scarcity of jobs).

An empty brain has been described as the devil's workshop. When the number of empty brains runs into lakhs and millions potentiality for mischief becomes terrifying! Historically we find that in undivided Bengal, which bears the most gaping communalism, wounds the political difference between the Hindus and Muslims. which led to the most tragic development of the century-to the partition of Bengal-arose over the distribution of governmental jobs between the educated Hindus and educated Muslims. All efforts to build up a joint political movement of the Hindus and the Muslims in undivided Bengal foundered upon the disagreement over the apportionment of government jobs between the Hindus and the Muslims in Bengal. last supreme bid to build up such a joint movement had been made by Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das in the midtwenties but it came to naught with his sudden Communists sought death soon thereafter. Language enthusiasts partition and got it. wanted linguistic States and had them. But communalism still persists in this country so much so that an anti-communal convention now is called for! So far as provincialism is concerned, even now heads are often counted by many as to how many persons of a particular State or a language are employed by a particular government department, or public sector organization, when opportunities for employment in non-governmental organizations have expanded considerably more than what they were fifty years ago.

Bangla Desh and Communalism

Despite the historic event of Partition, which was brought about to "scotch" communalism very much in the same manner in which the British and the Americans had fought the First World War "to end all wars", communalism has persisted in India. There has been a great failure of the politicians and the intellectuals alike in this country to grapple with the spectre of communalism which has been causing a real havoc. In India since the Hindus predominate and govern the affairs, this failure has been primarily of the Hindus and their principal political organization, the

Indian National Congress. It was only in Pakistan, in its eastern wing to be precise, that a fundamental reappraisal of the theory and practice of communalism was sought to be made. And this was not made by isolated individuals but by the Muslims occupying high and responsible positions in the political, econonomic and social fields. The Muslims who had been so insistent only a few years earlier for separation from the Hindus became the most vocal champions of non-communalism and protagonists of Hindu-Muslim joint action. It ought to be noted that Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, whose Awami League had swept the polls in Pakistan earlier this year, was himself a great champion of the separatism of the Muslim League at the time of the partition of India and Bengal in 1947. Indeed many of the latter day champions of secularism in Pakistan were die-hard Muslim League communalists only a few years earlier. Pakistan they did not take long to turn their back upon communalism.

In this reappraisal the most heart-searching and self-critical questions were raised by the Muslim intellectuals involving the approach of the Muslims to pre-Islamic and post-Islamic traditions in India. After Partition the Muslims of East Pakistan had to decide whether they would accept that part of the heritage of the Bengali literature and history which was not Islamic in the narrow sense (who say that the Islamic philosophy of brotherhood of man has not influenced the non-Muslim thought pattern?). Most of the Muslim intellectuals came to the conclusion that the Muslims of East Pakistan must take ever the Islamic and non-Islamic heritage Bengalis as their own. In other words the Muslim intellectuals for the first time made a conscious assertion that thev were inheritors of the Vedas as much as of the Ouran. In fact they were staking a claim to a bigger heritage than any Hindu in the IndiaPakistan subcontinent had ever dared to do! Comparing the partition of Bengal into constituents of two different states with the partition of Germany, Mr. Badruddin Omar wrote that as the East Germans had not discarded the West German writers and culture as being "West" German or precommunist, the East Bengalis also ought not to discard the rich pre-Islamic, pre-Pakistan and non-Islamic Bengali tradition. In a biting denunciation of the compartmental thinking of some Muslims who wanted to reject all that was explicitly non-Islamic, Mr. Omar said that perhaps the Bengali Muslims were the only people in the world who although being in the majority, had felt ashamed of calling themselves Bengalis and in assimilating the tradition of Bengal. "This was among the principal reasons why the Bengali Muslims had failed to establish their identity and this was why they had been unable to make any distinctive contribution to the development of literature and culture and to the enrichment of the public life in Bengal", Mr. Badruddin Omar wrote. Vehemently criticizing the tendency among the Muslim writers to disown non-Muslim cultural leaders like Isvarchandra Vidyasagar, Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Bankimchandra Chatterji and Rabindranath Tagore as being non-Islamic, Mr. Omar called these Muslim critics "mad" men. Yet only a few years earlier the vast bulk of the Muslim intellectual opinion in Bengal had been against recognizing these great Bengali writers as worthy of reverence by the Muslims! It was in contrast with the earlier Muslim view that a proper assessment of the vast change that had taken place in the dominant Muslim opinion in East Pakistan could be made.

This Muslim reassessment was by no means confined to the field of literature. It was equally operative in the political field. A

section of the very same Muslim leadership which had refused to see any positive aspect of the earlier political movements in undivided Bengal led by the Hindus, proudly proclaimed in public that the democratic movement in East Pakistan was nothing but a continuation of the movement led by such non-Muslim Bengalis as Aurobindo, Chittaranjan Das, Jatindramohan Sengupta and others. In the Awami League conventions gates were erected in honour of these non-Muslim leaders whom the educated Muslims of undivided Bengal had refused to honour only a few years earlier! The Muslims of East Pakistan were thus firmly set upon a course of secular politics whose culmination was to be seen in the proclamation of a people's Republic of Bangla Desh on 10 April, 1971.

Persistent Communalism in India

There was no such reassessment by the Indian Muslims. In India communalism remained the principal plank of Muslim politics. Indeed, as Mr. A. Q. Ansari, the eminent Muslim leader of Bihar pointed out, the non-communal Urdu newspapers edited by the Muslims had no appeal to the Muslim masses. Even many Muslim leaders who were not formally in any communal organization were openly sympathetic to the exponents of the communal stand. (See Theodore P. Wright Jr: "Muslim Representation in India" in Donald E. Smith (ed): South Asian Politics and Religion. Princeton University Press 1965, P. 119. "In private some Congress Muslims will acknowledge that the Muslim League is 100 per cent correct.....")

What was the reason for this divergent conduct of the Muslims of Pakistan and India? To my mind the answer has to be sought in the same source: Frustration of their aspirations. In Pakistan the failure of communalism to provide relief to the people opened their eyes to the utter inadequacy of

communalism as a philosophy of life. Many of those who had adumbrated communalism in the belief that salvation lay that way were forced to reconsider their stand and forsake communal politics as being unserviceable and adopt a non-communal and secular stand. In India, on the other hand, the failure of the non-communal politicians either to provide economic improvement or, in many cases, physical security from communal slaughter left the bulk of the Muslims unconvinced of the superiority of non-communal politics. They had no assurance in secularism. On the other hand building up a communal solidarity appeared to many to be the only means of protecting their identity. non-communal Muslims, feeling insecurity is best illustrated in the writing of Mr. Zia-ul Hasan Faruqi, Principal of Jamia College, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi. His basic stand regarding the need for the Muslims to take a rational view of life, "shorn of all romanticism" of past Muslim societies, is secular. At the same time he points out that the Indian "Muslims have reason to suspect that the majority community is not honest in its profession of secular ideals and the State itself is lax in safeguarding their cultural rights as guaranteed in the Constitu-(Zia-ulHasan Faruqi: "Indian Muslims and the Ideology of the Secular State" in Donald E. Smith (ed): South Asian Politics and Religion. P. 144.) To dispel any doubt about the very sensible approach of Principal Faruqi I wish to reproduce the concluding paragraph of his essay: "The above discussion has emphasized two main points concerning the Muslims and Hindus of India. First, the Muslims need to understand that secularism as adopted in India is not atheistic in nature and does not imply any negation or rejection of religion. It is a secularism based on democratic traditions and

liberal thought and is not only tolerant toward religion but grants to all full freedom of religious faith and practice. They should also realize that in a country like India it is only this brand of secularism which provide safeguards for their cultural and religious freedom and can give strength to their status as a religious minority. It is, therefore, in their own interest to support the secular ideal envisaged in the Constitution with sincerity and ardor. Second, in addition to any change in the Muslim attitude, it is the attitude of the majority community upon which, to a great extent, the success of seculazism in India depends. 'Thus Muslims and non-Muslims are urgently required to cooperate in promoting that national integration waich is essential to the building of a modern India," Principal Faruqi writes. (Ibid P 149)

Hindus and Secularism

For me, both as a Hindu and citizen of India, the most important point is what Principal Faruqi says about the majority community in India. If the Muslims need to reprientate their ideology of communalism, as they undoubtedly do in my view, it is equally imperative for the majority community in India to evolve an outlook of secularism which would be credible to the Muslims-the other principal party involved in the politics of secularism. Many Muslims in this country are not quite enthusiastic about Bangla Desh, but the vast majority of the Hindus are. The cuestion that every conscious Hindu must ask himself is: Can he bring himself to the same level of self-criticism where the considerable number of Bengali Muslims have reached? If the Muslims are to integrate themselves into the national heritage including the pre-Muslim Indian heritage, can the Hindus themselves into the national integrate heritage by disregarding the pre-British, postHindu, Muslim heritage of India? The Hindu today is as much in need of clearing his mind as the Muslim is. Nay, since the Hindus are in a majority the duty for a Hindu to be rational is all the more insistent. I cannot do better than to end this note with the same argument with which I started it. It is this. It is impossible to do away with communalism without expanding job opportunities sufficiently so as to eliminate unemployment as a major economic factor. A hungry man cannot agree to suffer hunger in the name of secularism, especially when he finds others are not sharing his suffering. The message of secularism can find way to the hungry man's head only through his belly. To the extent that communalism has tended to grow in dimension in the country over the past two decades and a half the failure of the ruling party, the Indian National Congress has to be admitted as a fact. This failure in part lay in the Congress Party's disowning the non-communal Muslim leaders and openly cajoling the communal Muslim leaders, installing many of them to positions of power, thus preventing the masses held by communalism from seeing that communal politics was not paying. On the other hand it was the non-communal Muslim leaders who were made to appear ridiculous by being cast aside in favour of communal elements. This has been the most costly blunder on the part of the majority community in India that it did nothing to encourage non-communal politics among the Muslims in India. With the added failure in the economic front the problem has now become more complex and difficult to disentangle. The only possibility of breakthrough of the communal maze lies in speeding economic development for which primarily the responsibility again lies with the Congress Party which is in power.

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA'S CONCEPTION OF UNIVERSAL RELIGION

PIYUS KANTI DAS.

Swami Vivekanda regarded a d v a i t a vedantism as a universal religion. It is necessary to explain the main features of advaitism before we consider the sense in which Vivekananda took advaita vedantism to be a universal religion.

Advaita Vedanta is a school of Hindu Philosophy. It is strictly monistic. It posits one impersonal, indeterminate Absolute which it calls Brahman. According to it, the world is an illusion. The individual self and Brahman are identical in essence. The realization of the identity of the individual self with impersonal Brahman is the ultimate goal of the spiritual aspiration of an advaita vedantin.

The variety of religions, according to Swami Vivekananda, is natural. He, however, spoke of unity in variety. He said: "A background of unity will come by the fusion of all the existing religions into one grand philosophy. In the mythologies or the ceremonials there never will be unity, because we differ more in the concrete than in the abstract. Even while admitting the same principle, man will differ as to the greatness of each of his ideal teacher." The grand philosophy Vivekananda spoke about is the philosophy of advaita vedanta.

Vivekananda regarded each religion as true in so far as it is an effort to grasp and realise the Infinite.³ Different religions are, to him, different approaches to the knowledge of God.⁴

Like his Master, Swami Vivekananda believed that religion is a matter of realization of the spiritual reality. Vivekananda, being an advaita vedantin, meant by spiritual reality indeterminate, impersonal Brahman. A necessary step towards the realization of the spiritual reality is the belief that Brahman is the only reality; all else is illusion. For him, the realization of the spiritual reality means the realization of oneness of the self with Brahman.

Swami Vivekananda liked a fusion or amalgamation of religions. It may be mentioned here that the religions Vivekananda spoke of are religions which believe in Personal God. But, in his view, God or Brahman is indeterminate and impersonal. The fusion of religions or the truth of religions which believe in a Personal God has value only in the phenomenal world. The phenomenal world, according to Vivekananda's advaita metaphysics, is not real. God conceived as the creator of the phenomenal world, is also not real. The highest reality which is indeterminate and impersonal cannot be equated to the determinate Personal God of religion. So, the religion of advaita vedanta is fundamentally different from all other religions of the world. In what sense, then, did Vivekananda describe the principle of advaita vedanta as the basis of the unity of all other religions? The

rinciple of advaita vedanta, he said, is the rinciple of the realization of religion.⁵ A religious man is one who has realized religion in life.6 What then is meant by realization of religion? Vivekananda's answer found in the following words: "For you to become religious means that you will start without any religion, work your way up and realize things, see things for yourself, and when you have done that, then, and then alone you have religion."7 By working the way up and realizing things he seems to mean reasoning about the truths of religion and seeing the Divine oneself. This principle may be the basis of the unity of religions, because this is the common element in all of them. In this sense, it may be held, Vivekananda made the assertion that all prophets, seers and saints are but its illustrations and manifestations.8 But this does not make advaita vedantism a universal religion. Let us see in what sense, then, Vivekananda considered advaita vedantism a universal religion.

Unity, according to Vivekananda, is the goal of religion. After reaching the unity religion can make no further progress. V===kananda said: "Chemistry ceases improve when one element is found from which all others are deducible. Physics ceases to progress when one force is found of which all others are manifestations. So, religion cezzes to progress when unity is reached, which is the case with Hinduism."9 progress of religion comes to an end when the conception of the unity of existence is reached. Such a conception of unity is reached in the philosophy of advaita vedanta which in the above passage has been equated with Hinduism.

Swami Vivekananda expressed the view that Vedanta tolerates all religions. 16. "Our religion", he said includes different religious practices, such as symbolism and image-

worship.¹¹ We have already mentioned that Vivekananda in this context equated the religion of advaita vedanta with Hinduism. > Now, how can the religion of advaita vedanta which believes in the realization of oneness indeterminate, impersonal Brahman tolerate or include religions which believe in Personal God? The answer to this question will be found in the explanation of Vivekananda's view that different religions are true in so far as they are different approaches to the knowledge of God. The highest approach is found in advaita-vedantic religion.

The religions which believe in Personal God are true only from a lower standpoint. The lower standpoint is the empirical standpoint of the ignorant. Things viewed as true from this standpoint are found illusory from the higher standpoint of the wise men. The world and its supposed creator Personal God are true only on the empirical level of knowledge. But the truth is that indeterminate, impersonal Brahman is the only reality. It is this conception of unity reaching which the progress of religion comes to an end. Hinduism, or advaita vedanta, as mentioned before, gives conception of unity which is the highest goal of religious knowledge. The religions which believe in Personal God are not true from the standpoint of ultimate reality. But Vivekananda maintained that Hinduism tolerates includes all religions. As has been mentioned, Vivekananda regarded different religions as different approaches to the knowledge of God. Transcendentally viewed, the conclusions reached through these approaches are not true. But they are true as far as they go, that is, true from the standpoint of a lower level of knowledge. The knowledge of the higher level, however, tolerates the lower approaches. This is because these approaches are necessary steps towards the

attainment of true knowledge. About dualistic religion Vivekananda said that it is a necessary step in the evolution of mind. He said that the Vedas show the various steps leading to the highest goal. So long, Vivekananda opined. a man's mind will remain on the empirical level he will see the world and require a Personal God. Advaitism, he said, is the natural outcome in the evolution of mind. The mind reaches the last stage of 'Tattvamasi' passing through the stages of dualism and qualified monism. So, the religion of advaita vedanta can accommodate all other religions.

According to most Western, theologians, a universal religion is one which has a universal appeal and can claim universal acceptance. A national religion is connected with the life. aspiration and sentiment of a nation and a tribal religion with those of a tribe. But a universal religion is such a religion which transcends the limits of tribal or national boundaries. The God it postulates is a God not conceived as the God of a tribe or nation. A universal religion postulates its God as the God of whole mankind. His nature and functions are so conceived that no group of people can claim an exclusive possession of Him. The God of Islam and Christianity are so conceived and Islam and Christianity claim to be universal religions. The religion of advaita vedanta can claim to be a universal religion for the same reason. But Vivekananda's claim that vedantism is a universal religion is based on a different ground.

It may be disputed whether any of the above religions described as universal has really offered a universally acceptable conception of God. But even if the conceptions of God as found in Islam and Christianity are taken to be universally acceptable, it does

not make the above religions universal; for conception of God alone does not make a religion. So long no universally acceptable code of rites and rituals can be framed there can be no universal religion. Every religion has a peculiar code of rites and rituals developed out of the customs and nature of the people of the place in which the religion concerned was first preached and where it developed. Naturally, other people following religions cannot accept its code. Taking this aspect of religion into consideration, we may reasonably come to the conclusion that a universal religion in the above-mentioned sense is an impossibility. As has been mentioned, Vivekananda did not base his claim, that advaita vedantism is a universal religion, on the above ground. His claim is based on the ground that advaita vedantism can accommodate all religions in its scheme of the realization of the identity of self and Brahman. For, these religious approaches are necessary steps towards the realization of the identity of self and Brahman or the realization of the unity of existence.

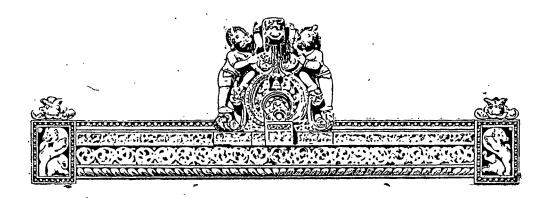
Advaita vedanta's claim to be regarded as a universal religion on the above grounds apparently seems to be reasonable. But an important question arises at this stage. Is Advaita Vedanta a religion or a mere system of philosophy? It appears reasonable to conclude that Advaita Vedanta is not a religion, for, the Brahman of Advaita Vedanta cannot in any way be equated to the God of religion and also because there is no scope of worship in the Advaitic scheme of the world.14 While the God of religion is a determinate, personal Being, the Brahman of Vedanta is an indeterminate and impersonal Being unresponsive to worshipper's prayer. The worship of God is based essentially on a belief in the distinction between the worship-

ping self and God worshipped. But Advaita Vedantism believes in the identity between the individual self and Brahman. God of Again, religion is worshipped as the creator and controller of the world. But, according to Advaita metaphysics, the world is not real and so the question of the existence of a creator and controller of the world does not arise. The self being non-different from Brahman and the world not being real, there is no scope for the worship of the creator in Advaita Vedantic scheme. We naturally come to the conclusion that however great Advaita Vedantism may be as a system of philosophy, it can by no means be regarded as a religion.

1. Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda,

Advaita Ashrama, Calcutta, Vol.IV, p.376. (This and subsequent references to the same work are to the 1963-Edition.)

- 2. Ibid.
- 3. Ibid. vol. I, p. 332.
- 4. Ibid. vol. II, pp. 365-366.
- 5. Ibid. vol. VI. p. 13.
- 6. Ibid. p. 14.
- 7. Ibid. p. 13.
- 8. Ibid. p. 17.
- 9. Ibid. p. 105.
- 10. Ibid. vol. I, p. 390.
- 11. Ibid. vol. III, p. 132.
- 12. Ibid. p. 281.
- 13. Ibid. pp. 438-439.
- 14. Author's Raja Rammohun Roy and Brahmoism, Calcutta, 1969, p. 58.



CEILINGS ON LAND HOLDINGS-EMPTY SLOGANS

N. KAMARAJU PANTULU

Is the reform a reality or a myth? Imposition of ceilings on the individual ownership of land is the most important plank in all the land reform measures undertaken in India. need for fixing ceilings on land holdings in India was recognised on a nationwide scale with the adoption of a resolution on the socialistic pattern of society in the Avadi session and the approval of a resolution on Agrarian Reforms in the Nagpur session of the All India Congress Committee. Added to this, the principle of placing limits on the maximum holdings of land by an individual has been commended in the First Five Year Plan, with the Congress Government at the Centre, pronouncing its desire of following a policy of establishing an egalitarian society and removing all the disparities in the distribution of income, wealth and power, among different sections of the population. The concept of ceilings on land holdings in India gained momentum, particularly in the light of the existence of glaring inequalities, in the land holdings by the different strata of society and the exclusive dependence of more than 70 per cent of our population on agriculture as their mainstay for earning their livelyhood. Zamindari abolition and tenancy reforms did not by themselves solve the problem of land hunger in our country. A majority of the tillers of the soil in India have no land of their own. Even if they had any, the holdings were so small and the yield so inadequate

that they could scarcely have two meals a day. Out of sheer necessity they had to take land from others on lease, paying extra rent as tenants. At the other end curiously there are land lords with hundreds and thousands of acres of land exploiting these poor landless tenants. Thus the problem of ceilings on land holdings in India arose, mainly as a result of the glaring inequalities in the ownership of land by different sections of the people and the problem of land hunger. Realising the gravity of the situation, and weighing the pros and coins of social justice with the economic principles, the All India Congress Committee at its Nagpur session held in January 1959 resolved that ceilings should be placed or existing as well as future holdings, and legislation to this effect should be completed by the end of 1959. At the Nagpur Session of the Indian National Congress which passed the far reaching resolution on agrarian reforms the view was being propounded with great eclat that if drastic measures like land ceilings and cooperative farming were not resorted to in a hurry with a view to increasing food production, the country was in danger of It seems now undoubtedly the collapse. country is somewhere there. The anticipated crisis has arisen at least after a decade. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister, who was the real force in moving the resolution on the Agrarian Reforms said, "the assumption underlying all our land reforms is

that once we make sure that the cultivator is given what he says is his birthright by virtue of being born in a village, we can leave the rest to him," The philosophy behind the agrarian reforms legislation, particularly the ceilings legislation, as explained by the Dhebar Sub-Committee, is that it is only the effort and enthusiasm of the peasant cultivator that can transform the rural scene and he must not be denied his right, to security and full enjoyment of the fruits of his labour. The Sub-committee has therefore called for a determined effort to be made to secure effective implementation of the measures for redistribution of the rights in land including the abolition of intermediaries enforcement of ceilings. In pursuance of the resolution on Agrarian Reforms at Nagpur session, a spate of legislation followed in various states, though the pace of implementation is far from satisfactory and the spirit of the legislation has not been followed in a majority of the cases and as a consequence the very purpose of the legislation has been deseated. The top congress leaders ministers in central and state governments. had started discussing the problems of agrarian reforms, and passed resolutions at seminars and conferences. The land policies, since 1959, became invested with ideological slogans like social justice and land to the landless, tiller of the soil, owner of the land, etc.

The objectives laid down in the land ceilings legislation enacted in different states, have been indeed, very lofty, high sounding, and theoretically very sound. Almost all the possible worthy canons of social justice, and ethical considerations have been enunciated in the land ceilings Acts. To cite a few instances—the Mysore Tenancy and Agricultural Land Laws Committee Report of 1957, enumerated the objectives of the land ceilings in the following words—1. Meeting the widespread

desire to possess land. 2. Reducing the glaring inequalities in the ownership and use of land. 3. Reducing inequalities in agricultural incomes. 4. Enlarging the sphere of employment. The same objectives have been more or less echoed by the framers of the land ceilings legislation in various other states. In fact, they have added some more laudable objectives: 5. To build up economy with high levels of efficiency, and productivity. 6. To afford opportunities to landless sections of the rural population, to gain social status and to feel a sense of opportunity equally with other sections of the community. 7. To develop a cooperative rural economy where there are no large inequalities and which thrives best in homogeneous groups. The planning commission had also its share in the enunciation of laudable objectives of the land ceilings legislation. The Planning Commission observed in the Second Five Year Plan that in the conditions of India, large disparities in the distribution of wealth and income were consistent with the economic progress in any sector and that for building up a progressive rural economy it was essential that disparities in the ownership of land should be greatly The Planning Commission had reduced. further expressed its fear that the existing pattern of distribution in excess of ceilings may yield limited results only. The observations of Mr. K. Santhanam, Chairman of Second Finance Commission, over the issue of glaring inequalities deserve mention here: "There is no divine right to possess unlimited land with a consequent right of exploiting those who depend upon its cultivation." The statistics published by the Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee in its Report, also confirm the prevalence of wide disparities in the ownership of landed property. About 19 per cent of the people, whose main occupation is

agriculture, do not have any land and 48 per cent hold land which is less than 5 acres in size. About 33 per cent of the cultivators belonging to upper strata obviously hold more than 85.5 per cent of the total cultivated land under their possession. 4.5 per cent cultivators belonging to the privileged sector, own nearly 34.4 per cent of the total cultivated area. The committee further observed that while the number and proportion of uneconomic holdings is extremely large, the area occupied by them is quite small.

The need for fixing the ceilings on land holdings is the need to increase agricultural production in the country and to achieve a graduated progress of the rural economy, which will contribute substantially to the overall growth of the national income and By redistribution of surplus land wealth. over and above the ceilings, to the landless agricultural labourers and tenants, there will be an intensified effort put forth on land by the contented labourers, and they will strive to increase the per capita yields which will boost up the overall growth in the agricultural production, and the rural employment as well. The need for fixing ceilings on land holdings is not exclusively based on economic consideration, but on the sociological factors also, viz,improving the status and position of the landless agricultural labourers and tenant cultivators in the village community and the social atmosphere in the rural areas as a result of conferring on the poor people, ownership of some land and increasing their income. As the actual tiller of the soil is deprived of his rightful share in the produce on the land, in the existing agrarian pattern of land ownership and there is no ethical justification for the absentee land lards to enjoy the fruits of the toil of the innocent, ignorant, and poor landless cultivators, the fixation of ceilings on land holdings is justified morally, as it will effect a

transfer of the surplus land from the big land lords (who are in a majority of cases absentee landlords) and not contributing any efforts to augment the agricultural production in the country) to the needy and the real toilers and tillers of the soil. The tillers of the soil are the backbone of a nation. Hence they should be vested with a reasonable means of livelihood and enabled to maintain a decent and minimum standard of living. As more than 70 percent of our population live in villages and depend on agriculture for their livelihood, the political power should also be vested in the hands of the rural masses. By fixing ceilings on land holdings in India and as a result of the transfer of surplus land from the big landlords to the vast multitudes of landless agricultural labourers and the actual tenant cultivators, it is believed, the vested interests of the big landlords, feudal lords, Zamindars, Jagirdars, etc., will automatically vanish and the pendulum of political power will swing towards the rural population and that, too, the common masses engaged in the agricultural operations. It is further believed that the diseconomies of the large scale cultivation will automatically disappear and the economies of small scale cultivation can be reaped on an extensive scale. Agrarian reforms are to be approached in a pragmatic and human spirit. The problem of land hunger is no more an economic problem, but essentially a human problem.

The planning commission which reveiwed the progress achieved in the implementation of the legislation on land ceilings in different states in its "Mid-Term Appraisal of the Third Five Year Plan" pointed out that in several states, provisions concerning the ceilings have yet to be enforced. The unusual delay in the enforcement of the legislative provisions had provided an opportunity for adopting devices for evasion in many states. The Ministers

themselves, in several States have admitted that the land has been already divided, nominally of course, among relatives and that the Government could not do anything either to undo the division or arrest the process, in view of the inordinate delay in drafting, passing and enforcing the legislation. The achievement gained so far fall much short of the desired goal.

It is evident that the top congress leaders and Ministers in Central and State Governments felt contented with enunciating the lo ty ideals and principles of land ceilings and they did not set about the task of implementing the provisions of the legislation wholeheartedly and with unstinted cooperation. They did not set about the task of finding out where the defect lies. The planners themselves have admitted for years that the objectives of reforms have been largely defeated because of the loopholes in the laws and indifferent enforcement. It is no secret that of the 3C million acres or more of the tenanted land very little is available for redistribution as most of the landlords divided up their land, long before the imposition of the ceilings. The major defect of the land reform laws is. that they are too complicated. To be effective land ceiling legislation must be simple. "A simple law which is efficiently implemented is better than a theorotically perfect law which inevitably leaves loopholes in actual implementation" as Mr. Ghorpade, member of the Regional Planning Committee of Mysore argued. A just solution to the challenge posed by the defective land ceilings legislation is not beyond human ingenuity. The real question is whether the State Governments are sufficiently in earnest in doing what ought to have been done long ago as one critic observed.

Administrative problems are a ormidable obstacle of course, to the implementation of the land ceilings legislation. But they are

not insurmountable difficulties to overcome—if there is the will to overcome them, as one foreign expert on the agricultural problems of India pointed out aptly.

In India, the most glaring manifestation of the faulty content in the legislative enactments is the seemingly reasonable but ill-defined right of the landlord to resume tenanted landfor what is euphemistically called "personal cultivation." This has led to mass evictions of tenants, to voluntary surrenders of land by tenants in order to salvage some relationship to the land even if it be as a hired hand, to the augmentation of the ranks of the agricultural. workers, and inevitably to the failure of the whole land ceilings legislation. The ceiling provision did not fare well at all with becoming candour. The planning commission admitted the same in the Third Five Year Plan in the following words: "On the whole it would be correct to say that in recent years transfer of land have tended to defeat the aims of the legislation for ceilings and to reduce its impact on the rural economy,". The legislation did not contain any teeth to preclude such transfers. The recent amendments, designed at annulling such transfers have had so far very little effect on the evasions committed already.

The vast size of the country, the administrative decentralisation, the multiplicity and diversity of the land ceilings legislation enacted in different parts of the country, the paucity of good land records, the lack of peasant initiative and his inability to comprehend the complex laws, the attitude of indifference, almost apathy, carelessness, irresponsibility, etc., of the senior officials of the State Governments, the almost negative attitude displayed by politicians and legislators of different States, the anti-reform sentiment of the vested interests and powerful political cliques, the absence of a sense of participation by the tenants in the

implementation of the land reform programme, the loopholes in the ceilings legisla-- tion which permit resumption of land from non-occupancy tenants on grounds of personal cultivation, the absence of simplicity in the land ceilings legislation coupled with the illiteracy of the tenants on a large scale who could not take advantage of the rights conferred under the Acts etc., (to mention a few only), are cited as the important causes responsible for the failure of the land ceilings legislation. If there is a strong leadership, many of these problems can be overcome. However as Mr. Wolf Ladejenskey, Permanent Adviser to the Ford Foundation on economic and agricultural affairs, pointed out clearly, the key to successful reform lies in the controlling political forces of the country willing to support the reform, and their readiness to use all instruments of governmental power to attain their goals. It is obvious from the very start that the State Governments have been implementing the land reform programmes half heartedly. It is a pity that even among the reformers and politicians there are many who are half hearted in their advocacy of the agrarian reforms. The ostrich policy followed in respect of the agrarian reforms makes nonsense of all talk of social justice and levelling up of social inequalities in the country.

The planning commission itself confessed that the total impact of the land reform measures has been much less than was hoped due to the multifarious loopholes, snags, lapses, etc., in the administrative machinery and in the legislation itself to a certain extent, and also the behaviour of the officials as well as non-officials who are responsible for the implementation of the land ceilings legislation. A very common observation made by several experts, Indian as well as foreign, is that the spirit of the legislation is not followed properly and

only the letter observed and as a result the very purpose of the ceiling legislation has been frustrated. The malafide transfers of land by the owners, in anticipation of the legislation, to their family members has also defeated the purpose of the ceilings legislation to a very large extent. Legislation for ceilings tends to be defeated because of the inadequate measures for preventing transfers of land. As Dr. Wolf Ladjensky pointed out, the legislative provisions did not contain the teeth to preclude such transfers It seems that the ceilings legislation was too much publicized, rather too early and the enforcement of the legislation delayed too long, permitting too many landlords to effectively escape from it. The process of splitting up the holding started long before the introduction of the reform bill in the State Legislatures. In view of the high level of ceilings, divisions, gifts, and sales that have been effected since the introduction of the agrarian reform bills, considerable area of land could not be made available for redistribution.

While fixing the ceilings many of the State Governments have exempted the following:-1. Tea, coffee and rubber plantations. 2. Orchards of reasonable size. 3. Specialized farms engaged in cattle breeding, dairying and wool raising. 4. Sugarcane farms operated by the sugar factories. 5. Some farms which invested heavily on permanent structural improvements where the splitting of the existing farms may lead to inefficiency and decline in productivity. The following factors, ostensibly were taken into consideration in deciding upon the exemptions from the purview of the ceilings legislation as recommended by the planning commission in the 'Second Five Year Plan' viz. (1) The integrated nature of the operations especially where industrial and agricultural works are undertaken as a composite enterprise. (2) Specialized character of the operations. (3) From the aspect of the agricultural production, the need to ensure that efficiently managed farms which fulfil certain conditions are not broken up. In addition to the above, general exemptions some State Governments have made some more exemptions. For instance, the Land Reform Act of 1955 of West Bengal exempted the following from the ceilings of 25 acres, viz. (1) In the case of intermediaries the excess of land over and above the ceiling can be held for public, religious, or charitable purposes. (2) In the case of cooperative farming societies the total area of land per member must not exceed the limit of 25 acres. (3) The ceiling shall not be applicable to the ryots living in those parts of the Darjeeling district as may be specified by the Government. The Madras. Land Reforms (Fixation of Ceilings on Land) Act 1960 exempted the following from the purview of the legislation, viz. hill areas, land owned by the Government (union), State or local university, educational institutions and trust lands, lands under plantation crops as on 1st April 1960, under orchards, topes, or arecanut gardens, Gramdan and Bhoodan lands, lands used for livestock breeding and dairy farming, etc. It is obvious from the few specimens afore mentioned that there are too many exemptions and relaxations from the The exemptions legislation. several types of land are motivated by personal considerations, influence of the group of vested interests owning those lands and political pressure and not based purely on economic considerations, as proclaimed by the framersof the land ceiling legislation and the planning commission. Some of the exemptions, for instance, the exemption of leased out land from the ceilings as in Andhra Pradesh, are most unjustified and run contrary to the veryidea of a more equalized distribution of land. It is basically defective and defeats the very

spirit of the legislation. It is very difficult to understand the logic of choices. The obvious effect of these exemptions would be to favour certain regions and privileged classes and encourage transfers of land from the unspecified uses to the specified uses. Another underlying the exemptions, as hypocri*v pointed out by Sri Rajagopalachary, founder leader of the Swatantra Party, is "The idea of exempting well managed farms from the adumbrated ceilings law is a confession and a snare. The nation is a bundle of contradictions and based on well demonstrated fallacy of too many cooks. The exemptions programme of well managed estates will be a fine opening for collecting funds for the ruling party for political nepotism. It is needless to dilate on the dangers of discretionary expropriation, the discretion being entirely or ultimately in the hands of the executive." Rajaji though opposes agrarian reforms tooth and nail on ideological considerations and dialectical convictions, had very nicely exposed all the hypocritical and selfish motives of the ruling coterie.

The high level of ceilings coupled with the multifarious exemptions defeated the very objectives of equalising the distribution of land ownership. Very little area of cultivable land was made available for redistributional purposes with the result that the very objective of removing disparities in the ownership of land and appeasing the land hunger of the multitudes of landless agricultural labourers and tenant cultivators could not be achieved in any substantial degree.

The land ceilings legislation and the lofty objectives enunciated therein remained mere slogans, if not a myth, among several other reasons, due to the following deficiencies or lacunae especially.

1. The authorities have not enlisted the support and sanction of village communities in

favour of effective enforcement of the legal provisions. A large number of ryots who are in control of the gram panchayats are opposed to the idea of land ceilings legislation. It is but natural that the vested interests, whose possession of wealth would be adversely affected, should oppose the legislation. But the Government should have enlisted the support of atleast the beneficiaries. Ironically this is also not done on a satisfactory level. The beneficiaries of land redistribution are in majority of cases economically backward, illiterate and unorganised. The Government failed in its task lmiserably, in organising all the beneficiaries and acquiint them in an adequate manner of their responsibilities, duties, etc. in cooperating with the Government in the implementation of the land ceilings legislation. Instead, it squarely laid the blame at the door of the peasant, for the non-enforcement of the ceilings legislation.

- 2. It is also observed that ceilings on land holdings, albeit rigid in appearance, are too liberal in content, to yield any substantial surplus land for redistribution to the landless.
- 3. Lack of proper land records showing the extent of the actual ownership, tenant—landlord relationship of different lands is another stumbling block. The cadestral surveys are not up to date, presumsbly due to the inadequacy of well trained and efficient revenue staff. A large number of leases are found to be still oral agreements, and tenants are not able to prove their title deeds.
- 4. The laws have not been framed carefully, and enforced rigorously. The loopholes in the present tenancy laws and the defects in their implementation are a serious drag on the entire rural economy. The legislation has been drafted in a very loose fashion with the resulting unnecessary complications and increased litigation and delays ultimately in

the process of implementation of the ceilings on land holdings legislation.

- 5. The legislation has been pursued in a most unsystematic and uncoordinated manner. The futile distinction drawn between the existing tenants and the tenants admitted after the commencement of the Act, was misused in several cases by the landlords, who took advantage and converted their existing tenants into future tenants and replaced them with new tenants. Landlords tried their best to prevent tenants from continuing in possession for the specific period.
- 6. As Dr. A. M. Khusro pointed our aptly, the spirit of the land reform legislation is nullified due to the clash between legislation and the basic and economic forces which stood as a stumbling block in the fulfilment of the true spirit of the law. This is responsible to a very considerable extent for the failure in correcting the structural imbalances between land and labour.

adumbrated legislation of The much ceilings on land holdings as everybody know. has proved at last to be an empty slogan, ar highly powerful anc eve. wash and a ingenious electioneering technique and a vote catching device in the rural areas, employed by the congreas party to divert the support of the common masses from the progressive minded opposition parties, with a socialistic ideological base. Those against whom the reforms are directed will not divest themselve of their property and of political and economic power simply because the Government wroteout a decree as stated by Dr. Wolf Ladjensky. If the illiterate, innocent and poor peasants dying of hunger and starvation are to get what is promised in the much publisiced land ceilings legislation, peaceful and democratically managed reforms do not seem to be suitable methods. Government

ccercion, whether practical or clearly threarened appears to be virtually unavoidable if the fruits of the land ceiling legislation, which forms the important plank of all the agrarian reforms proposed in India, are to be enjoyed by the multitudes of landless peasantry throughout the country. "Pressure will have be applied by the dominating political group, willing to bring in to play all the institutional resources of the country and willing be it needed, to act with unceremonious vigour." This is the only road to progress as advised by Dr. Wolf Ladjensky, a well known anthority on the agricultural problems of Asia and Permanent Adviser to the Ford Foundation on economic and agricultural affairs. 14. M. L. Dantwala, an authority on the Indian agricultural economic problems, has also confirmed more or less the same opinion in the following words in his Essay on Land Reforms in India included in the 'Problems of Economic Growth." "Without political pressure and terror it appears to me, really impossible to implement the land reforms." Mr. William Arthur Lewis, an authority on the growth economics and of international fame, has also expressed the same opinion in a ctaference on the problems of growth held in

Tokyo as far back as 1955. The fact is that the legislatures at central and state levels do not represent the interests of the peasantry. If they did, the reform might have taken on a different character altogether, as one writer observed. Whatever the handicaps, shortcomings, and sentiments and attitudes of the ruling party, as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said while explaining the need for placing ceilings on landholdings, "if it is not done, there is a danger of the Zamindari system coming back to life one day." The realisation of the Agrarian reforms, particularly the successful enforcement of the ceilings legislation is a precondition for the economic, social, political and technological changes without which democracy in our country has no bright It is of inestimable significance, therefore, that in an underdeveloped country like India an effective, successful and early implementation of the land reforms, specially legislation pertaining to the ceilings on land holdings, aiming at the removal of the glaring inequalities in the distribution of the ownership of land and the establishment of an egalitarian society based on sound principles of social justice, should be undertaken immediately.



MARXISM AND INDIA

Major S. N. MUKHERJEE (Retd.)

Communism in India can claim almost contemporary status with the Communist movement of China. Aided by outside sources, Marxist thoughts seeped into our country in the early twenties and these found expression in various peasant and trade union movements of that period. But the political circles in India, pre-occupied with the freedom movement, took no particular notice of the Indian Communists beyond exhibiting an attitude of sympathetic toleration. The British ruling authorities in India, however, felt perturbed, and in 1929 rounded up about a dozen Indian Communists together with three of British Comrades who happened to be in India at the time, grabbed a few more non-Communist local revolutionaries. and prosecuted the lot on a charge of treason. The Court was held in Meerut and the case became famous as the 'Meerut Conspiracy Case'. It went on for a long period of four years for which the accused themselves were largely responsible since, by taking advantage of the privileged position of an accused in the British legal system, they converted the Court into a political platform for propagating Marxist philosophy and thereby slowed down proceedings. In the end they got off with jail sentences of two years and less, and many were set free. Next time the Communist Party of India created some commotion was during the war when they fell into much disrepute by opposing, in the interest of Russia, the Congress decision to non-cooperate with British War efforts.

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However, the Communist fortune turned with the coming of independence and subsequent bunglings of the Congress government resulting in serious failures in the economic sphere which, as we realise now, fixed the fate of at least two generations. On attaining independence the Congress felt like a child with a new toy. The novelty of the situation almost overpowered them, and they failed to co-ordinate their behaviour correctly with their duties and responsibilities. The Congress government developed a style in its day to day administration that contradicted its preachings, and Mr. Nehru himself failed conspicuously in his approach to the terrifying task of rehabilitating a desperately poor, dismembered, and vast country. In Socialist India under the Congress the largest palace in the world continued to be the abode of one man-our President. For the armies fashionable and fat-salaried bureaucrats to carry on their crusade against want and poverty of the starving millions that is India, sumptuous administrative buildings raised overnight in the Capital, as also elsewhere all over the country, at the expense of those millions. Large Public Sector Undertakings of doubtful immediate value were established post haste with vast sums of borrowed money, and the countryside was soon dotted with huge anachronisms of mighty dams and gigantic power plants. New educational and scientific institutions were set up and housed in imposing mansions fitted with costly gadgets for comfort and display. On the other hand the more earthy and urgent problems like those of food and agriculture failed to receive the required attention, the ministry of education which had a stupendous task of a vital nature, became merely a clearing house for sending cultural missions to foreign lands, and the prosaic and complicated

business of population control was allowed to be conducted with leisurely schemes of impractical nature and flimsy gimmicks. In short the Indian government went after ostentatious and lop-sided priorities, and that set the trend in the entire administration at the higher levels. Big money which flowed in as loan or gift from outside started circulating, and in the prevailing lax monetory atmosphere induced by the spending spree, rackets of every kind, graft, and spivvery, so familiar during the war that had just ended, became the order of the day once again. The Congress aimed high but failed to look below where all the realities lay. He took things for granted and behaved as if prosperity for India waited just round the corner, to be whistled up the moment we so desired. Moreover, Mr. Nehru, the 'Discoverer' of India. forgot for once that beyond the pomp and bustle that surrounded him in those heady. days of post independence India, there lay another world, of teeming millions, poor and apathetic after centuries of subjugation, ignorant in the technical sense but highly sophisticated in culture, and basically conservative on account of their deep-rooted old traditions and, therefore, likely to be sceptical of any new-fangled ideas thrust upon them. One of the poorest people on earth, they were duly-impressed by official figures of money in billions, cusecs in millions, and thousands of engineers, and hundreds of megawatts. But they felt no enthusiasm. To them these were strange talk. In making and executing economic plans the ruler failed to establish the necessary rapport with the ruled, which is so vital for success of any wholesale schemes at national levels. Mr. Nehru called his gigantic projects 'temples' of modern India. But these were 'temples' without a god.

What happened thereafter was, of course, nevitable. Plans of economic emancipation

badly misfired—and miseries mounted. And in the resulting chaos the Communists saw their chance. Mr. Nehru, the one time champion of the Communists abroad, certainly made thing easier for the Communists at home.

The Communist Party of India now entered politics proper. In the general elections of 1952 and 1957 they secured about 5% and 10% votes respectively, but after that there has been no appreciable change in their total strength in the Parliament as a result of subsequent elections upto and including the one held in 1971. In the early sixties the Party split into two groups, and the dissidents assumed the name of CPI (Marxist). The latter sub-divided again in 1969 creating a third Communist party in the country which called themselves CPI (Marxist-Leninist). This last named party is a kind of throw-back on the old lines which has taken to terrorist activities and enjoys no mass support outside their own limited ranks. Shortly before officially parting from CPI (M) this extremist group started a violent peasant movement in certain areas of North Bengal which soon fizzled out, as did a similar campaign in the Telengana district of Hyderabad in the early fifties by the undivided Communist party of those days. All these three Communist parties are now at loggerheads with each

The Communists captured power at the State level for the first time in the elections of 1957 in one State only—Kerala, after dislodging the Congress. Kerala is one of the poorest States in India and boasts the highest percentage in literacy. Undigested learning mingled with acute poverty creates ideal hunting grounds for the Communists, but yet their success in Kerala must be attributed mainly to the growing anti-Congress feelings at the time. However, the Congress has recovered its ground substantially in that State

hrough the latest elections. In West Bengal he Congress government was ousted for the irst time in the elections of 1967 by an ssortment of leftist parties which combined ogether for the purpose along with a small reakaway group from the Congress itself. The CPI (M) happened to be the major partner in this combination. The reasons for Congress failure were again the same—deep rustration of the people caused by the nadequacies of the Congress government, and particularly its failure to properly solve the grave social and economic problems caused by partition of the State and consequent influx of huge numbers of refugees from the other side. The large community of industrial labour in the State also provided useful additional material for the Communists to exploit. But there was another big factor also, that finally brought the Communists to power as a partner in the coalition government of West Bengal in 1967, Since the last war it has been the tactics of local Communists in many countries to infiltrate into the government by any means, fair or foul, and then with the aid of increased authority thus acquired manipulate the situation further, again by similar means, and eject all competitors and seize absolute power. Communist policies in India also obviously followed the same lines. But the self-deluding non-Communist political leaders of West Bengal failed to learn from recent history, and instead of obstructing the Communists they helped them to power by inviting them into the aforesaid coalition ministry of 1967. Results of the ill-conceived plan followed in no time: The various parties of the unwieldy (more than dozen partieswere involved) and unnatural coalition had, against there one point of agreement to expel; Congress; innumberable points of divergence over other matters, and they soon. fell out, other complications followed, and the: government collapsed, only to come back

again in almost identical shape, size, and circumstances through an interim election in 1969. This government also disintegrated for similar reasons as the first, after being in office for roughly a year. But the Communists made full use of their time in office to further their party interests, and could capture a few additional seats in the legislature through the State elections of 1971. But in the same elections the Congress gain was far more spectacular. In the rest of the country the strength of the Communists is insignificant, and their influences on the public life either nil or only marginal. It will be seen from the above survey that with all their efforts. legitimate or otherwise, the Communists could gain a following from the late fifties onwards in only two of the smallest States in India. And this development did not signify triumph of Marxist philosophy: it was only an index of Congress failure in these two states.

We have now arrived at another crucial point of India's political history. Results of the last general elections have, somewhat unexpectedly, divested Indian politics of its painful uncertainties of only the other day and given it a tidier shape. Fortunately for us the forces of democracy, at least the best of it that is going in the country now, have gained a large victory, and it is up to us now to sustain it and nature it to better efficiencies. But the Communists are a persistent lot and they will remain, as yet, the biggest threat to all orderly progress and our democratic ways of life. The Communist issue in our country, therefore, merits a detailed examination.

Communist revolutions elsewhere had occured in countries under autocratic or semi-autiocratic rule where the people for generations had almost been reduced to the status of serfs- for the benefit of a privileged few, and such revolutions had been inevitably attended with large-scale violence and slaughter. Now,

if someone can visualise similar events taking place in present day India, then he must be a born lunatic. Nothing tallies. The time, the people and their background, the nature of the society, the present stage of political and social development in India, its system of government, and so on-endlessly. Furthermore, India had never known Dictatorship. We did have our share of tyrants in the past who used to descend upon the people occasionally like a pestilence, but they never ordered the daily lives of those people. From time immemorial the Indian society had lived by principles that were fundamentally democratic irrespective of the quality and character of the power that ruled. What are the Indian Marxists after then? They cannot regale us with the tales of the Marxist dreamland of the 'stateless' State since they cannot logically and rationally trink of taking even the essential first step towards that end-of establishing a proletariat, or for that matter and kind of dictatorship in India for reasons stated. Why then is all this fuss and gibberish about Marxism in India? If the basic dictates of Marxists or Communists, and what authority have they to call their activities Marxist movement? In the circumstances why don't they call themselves, more properly, some kind of socialists instead of misleading the masses with a fales label? Our self-styled Marxists have, by their own actions, proved that Marxism is not feasible in India. They have laid aside the whole idea of Marxism and have hung on only to its name which sells so easily in a poor country.

In the advanced countries labour as a class is a dwindling factor now, because of the vast technological advances and automation that have taken place since the days of Karl Marx and which will continue to grow. The labour is no longer a menial of the system or the oppressed eommunity of the nineteenth century. With the industrial machine getting more intricate and sophisticated the

man behind it has acquired a stronger status and made himself a power to reckon with, and the character of the producer-labour relations is also changing to the latter's advantage with the emergence of the 'Technocrat', the third force of the modern industrial world. We in the industrially backward countries are also striving and hopig to catch up with those conditions some day. Therefore, how is Marxism relevant any longer in these changed and changing contexts? It sis quite conceivable Karl Marx wouldn't have thought up his theories had be lived to-day instead of a century ago. He would have missed the irritant which excited him into propounding his doctrines sweetened by irrational promises. It is true we have millions of desperately poor people in India. But they are not the 'Marxist proletariat'. They are a part of the continuous spectrum of the Indian society, and their future is linked with that of the rest. Human happiness is not a divisible commodity, and to set man against man to achieve it is the idea of a cynic and a defeatist, and is a counsel of fear and desperation.

The Proletarial Dictatorship in the communist countries had become a political bunkum long ago. The Communist Parties claim themselves to be the mentor, guide, and brains of the proletariat. But dedication for the cause ceased to be the sole criterion of eligibility in the Party which soon filled with careerists and ambitious men, and geople who could best serve the political interests of their masters. It was also not very long before the initial passion for the Marxist philosophy evaporated. What remained, and continues to this day, is an autocratic system enlivened only by an endless cacophony on Marxist-Leninist gospels to support the constant shifting of the ideological stance by persons in power. The best that can be said about the system is that is has produced a nation of near automatons

who have done somewhat well, comparatively speaking, in the material sphere, aided by their local peculiarities and at the cost of many fundamental ethical and human values. And finally, it can also be said that no one in those countries today, except perhaps some imaginative school boys, is disturbed by visions of the Marxist State where everyone, after doing his daily quota of self-alloted tasks, would spend the rest of his time in blissful unhurried contemplation of the Marxist utopia.

But these are all uncomfortable questions and unpalatable truths for the Marxists of all brands in India. They are loud about their immediate methods and policies for to-morrow and, preparation in for the next procession, would electrify their bemused audiences with excerpts from the Marxist manual, bits of Leninist lessons delivered long ago to a different set of people in totally different eonditions, selections from Mao's master piece, and the catchiest phrases of Che and Castro; but you will never catch them spelling out in precise details the actual system of government and the society they are out to establish, and exactly how. They them selves must be confused and harried by uncertainties. All the symptoms point to that. The Marxists in other countries oppressed those who questioned the Marxist philosophy. But a century after Karl Marx, and half a century after the foundations of his kingdom were laid in Russia, the Indian Communists, staunch Marxists all, are busily engaged today in battles of annihilation against each other. This state of affairs is partly a reflection of the chaos and intense bitter feelings raging in the sphere of International Communism to-day. 'All over the world, communism has sown more dissensions amongst its followers to the point of violence than can be ascribed to, any other time and its ideological content has now been largely replaced by political ambitions. The Marxist ship has foundered on the rocks of realities—that ideas cannot be fostered by brute force, and the spiritual thirst of man cannot be quenched by dogmas—and the voyagers are now diverting themselves with the bits and pieces retrieved out of the wreckage.

is no end to knowledge Therc experience that a man can gather in this world, of things and ideas. One lives and learns. The more a man learns the more he realises how little he knows. But the Communist is convinced that he has exhausted all the learning of the world by lapping up the contents of his Marxist text book, and, with the logic of his one track mind, goes on constantly criticising, misrespreenting, non-existent and ascribing motives every democratic institution and democratic sentiment. On our part we do not question the motives of the Marxist revolution. Their leaders were obviously honest men who were impelled by some highest sentiments in their actions. But it will be expecting too much that we should accept the childish claim that their system is democratic when their Constitution and their government allows no other political parties in the country except that of the Communists, and it debars all freedom of expression except in praise of Communism. And we totally disagree with the Marxist assessments of the nature of human problems. and consequently with their remedies as well which are based exclusively on material factors and in contradiction of all fundamental established values. Further, we do not accept the Marxist notion that the 'end' justifies the means since every 'end' is merely a means to a further 'end'. Finally, we condemn wholeheartedly the methods of organised violence on the mind and the person of the human being-any kind of human being, in any circumstances.

In the present context a few words in conclusion about that pretentious phrase 'Scientific Socialism' would not be out of place. It obviously means a system based entirely on a materialistic analysis unhindered by any considerations of ethics, morality, and human sentiment. Therefore, it can also be treated as synonymous with Marxist socialism. The use of the word 'scientific' in this case is significant and indicates a trend of the mind which accepts science as the supreme arbiter in all human affairs, and desires all doubts and questioning to cease once a thing has been shown to conform to scientific principles. The u ter inadequacy of this approach is simply and easily proved. For example, we feel, and we know that to murder is bad. But this realisation does not, and cannot arise out of ary scientific reasoning. Therefore there must be areas of human affairs lying quite outside the domain of science. Consequently science cannot be the main-stay of life. The following words of a great Savant would be found highly illuminating-"Convictions which are necessary and determinant for our conduct and judgements, cannot be found solely along this solid scientific way......It is equally clear that the knowledge of what 'is' does not open the door directly to what 'should be'. One can have the clearest and most complete knowledge of what 'is', and yet not be able to deduct from that what should be the goal of our human aspirations. Objective knowledge provides us with powerful instruments for the achievement of certain ends, but the ultimate goal itself and the longing to reach it must Many worcome from another source." shippers of the scientific cult would be surprised to know that these words were spoken, not by an oriental philosopher, but by a western man, the greatest scientist and rationalist of all time -Albert Einstein.

The cry of a hungry child or the sight of a

destitute stirs our compassion, and, often, makes us impatient. But a Communist is not moved by individual suffering. His thoughts do not go beyond the conception of the socalled 'classes' and the nature of their interrelations in the light of his own interpretations. To the Communist a human being has no other identity or significance except the outer label of his class as defined by him. To him an individual is a creature that has to be gagged and fettered and added to the inventory as one more item of State property. For uplift of humanity the Communist, for all practical purposes, wants to liquidate the individual, who must cease to claim his human status and must wait. But the Communist with his political bigotry must get through, always. Vast numbers are still waiting, even in today's Russia, for nothing better than their paltry share of the Communist bonanza. To quote Edward Crankshaw, the British expert on Russia-"Even in villages on the outskirts of Moscow and other great cities life is fairly primitive except on a few model firms. Even the ten-day tourist visiting the Moscow markets must be aware, as he regards the bowed and wrinkled peasant women, the tottering old men, bringing in their produce of the private plots for free sale at free prices, that not many miles from the Dynamo Stadium and the lights of Gorki street there must still exist another world not far removed from the world of Chekov and Turgenev." We, therefore, need not despair and let ourselves be goaded to desperate actions through pointless hurry. Time is endless and humanity is still young, and it is obviously better to go an inch along the right path than cover miles in quick time in the wrong direction. The effort in the second instance would be a total loss. In fact it would be a double loss, since in that case one will have to turn back all the way to find the point of beginning for the fresh journey towards the new goal, which humanity in every walk of life has aspired after since the earliest days of known history.

BICENTENARY OF RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY

ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

There are some scholars of good standing who have chosen to raise objections as to the date of birth of the great Raja at a time when all arrangements have been made for celebrating the bicentenary of his birth on the 22nd of May 1972. There are numerous historians, scholars belonging to the Brahmo Samaj, publicists, officials, priests of religion and others who believe that Raja Rammohun Roy was born on the 22nd May, 1772. The fact of the matter is that a couple of years this way or that make no difference to the importance of the celebrations. Raja Rammohun Rov's greatness as a pioneer of modernism in India, as the first Asian to think coherently of world freedom and unity, as a revivalist of Hindu monotheism, as an expounder of Vedanta, as a powerful social reformer who challenged age old customs like Suttee, offering children to the river goddess, polygamy etc. etc.; and as a great linguist who had intensive knowledge of Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Latin, Greek, Pali, Bengalee, Hindi, English, French, Spanish, Italian and Tibetan; does not in any manner depend on his arrival on this earth two years before or after his accepted date of birth. Rammohun Roy travelled all over north India before he attained the age of eighteen and he traversed the dangerous and lonely heights of the Himalayas to reach Lhasa with a view to study Mahayana Buddhism when he was barely adolescent. This journey to Tibet alone would make him famous as an explorer; as an English admirer of the Raja had said. The fact that he wrote a booklet in Persian and Arabic supporting monotheism when he was just about twelve years old, makes him a rare

prodigy; and his translations of the major Upanishadas into English and Bengali assure him a place among the great scholars of the world. Jeremy Bentham was amazed at the excellence of the Raja's style of English and Robert Owen thought he would have been an equal of Erasmus had he been born a European. Raja Rammohun Roy was such a great lover of liberty and freedom that he threw a great party to celebrate the liberation of the Spanish colonies of South America. He also rushed up at such break neck speed to see the French Tri-colour flag flying from the masts of some French ships when he was travelling by sea to England, that he fell down and broke his leg. So, if he were born in 1774 instead of in 1772 it would add no fresh lustre to his memory nor make it less luminous.

The scholars who have taken upon themselves the noble task of saving the nation from making a terrible mistake relating to the date of birth of Raja Rammohun Roy would have been welcomed as date maniacs had they restricted their efforts to date finding only. But unfortunately they also put in little malicious touches here and there in their speeches and paragraphs to prove that Raja Rammohun Roy was not such a great scholar or social reformer as his admirers thought. If malice is allowed free play then it might be said that so and so are not such great historians or critics of social history as they are supposed to be. But we donot like to be malicious even with the malicious. Noblesse oblige is our motto; and let all pretenders survive in mock glory in this world of pretensions. Yet let it be clearly understood that the world of merit is quite apart frcm the world of false claims. Raja Rammohun Roy was far above all these pseudos and we must not allow useless assertions to even remotely cloud our vision of the great man who was the founder of modern India in every field of life, so to speak. In introducing modern education in India with the idea of allowing science to have full scope in stimulating social progress; along with reviving the study of our philosophical classics as an anti-dote to blind faith in rituals or fanatical attachment to materialistic jargon, Raja Rammohun Roy created an intellectual balance which was amazing for that period of history. He synthesised religious thoughts of the Christians, the Muslims and the Hindu sects in a manner which made it possible for people to think constructively about unity in diversity in the field of religious belief. The movement that the Raja initiated in the sphere of religious thought accommodated all monotheistic ideas as found in different religious texts.

The standard biography of Raja Rammohun Roy is the one that was begun by Miss Sophia Dobson Collet and was finished after her death by the Rev. F. Herbert Stead and published by Mr. Harold Collet in 1900 from London. The Life and Letters of Roja Rammohun Roy, as the book was named, was based on the immense mass of material collected very carefully by Miss Collet. In chapter, 1 of the book the first line gives Rammohun's date of birth as "1772, May 22". It may be assumed that Miss Collet made very careful enquiries before she fixed the Raja's birthday. The idea that Raja Rammohun Roy was born in 1774 on the 22nd of May had its origin in the mistake made by the inscriber on the Raja's tombstone at Bristol. But "the Rev. C. H. A. Dall in a letter to the Sunday Mirror of Jan. 18,1880 reported that Rammohun's younger

son Ramaprasad Roy said in 1858 before a circle of friends and clients in Calcutta,—'My father was born at Radhanagar near Krishnagar in the month of May 1772, or according to the Bengali era, in the month of Jyaistha 1179.' Babu Lalitmohun Chatterji, another descendant of Rommohun, that, 'Rammohun Roy was born in the year 1772, on the 22nd day of May.' L. M. Chatterji gave this information to Rabindranath Tagore. The question of fixing Raja Rammohun Roy's birthday is answered by the above and there need be no further unnecessary arguments over it, for the reason that it was of no great consequence. Rather, such argument creates confusion in the public mind and prevents them from celebrating the bicentenary in a whole-hearted manner. The celebration committee have bicentenary decided to carry on the programme from the 22nd of May 1972 till the 22nd May 1974 with a view to appease everyone.

Raja Rammohun Roy's campaign against the practice of Suttee began about fifteen years before this burning alive of widows was prohibited by law by Lord William Bentinck. Raja Rammohun Roy published an Abstract of the Arguments regarding the Burning of Widows. Considered as a Religious Rite in 1830 which stated clearly and concisely all "the points which had been scattered through many essays and tracts. These he grouped under three heads. According to the Sacred Books of the Hindus concremation was (1) not obligatory but at most optional; (2) not the most commendable but the least virtuous act a widow could perform; and (3) must be a voluntary ascending of the pile and entering into the flames—a mode never practised in the conventional Suttee. The tract concludes with devout 'Thanks to Heaven, Whose protecting arm has rescued our weaker sex, from cruel murder' and 'our character as a people' from international opprobrium."

(Collet: Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy III edition, 1962 p. 266)

The above shows how strongly the Raja felt about the hideous custom. In the four years 1815—1818 the recorded number of widows who were thus burned to death was 2365. Out of these 1528 were from the Calcutta division.

Raja Rammohun Roy was a great Shostric scholar who devoted himself to the restoration of the Vedic and Vedantic ideals to Hindus. But he was a great advocate of Western education through the medium of English, as he felt philosophy and mysticism alone could not help to build up a mental outlook which will enable Indians, as a nation, to hold their head high among the nations of the world. Raja Rammohun Roy wanted that India should progressively adopt a scientific outlook and set up all social, political and economic institutions that the Western nations had evolved. He nevertheless, wanted Indians to retain their cultural contacts with the intellectual achievements of the Rishis and desired to develop a spiritual vision that will keep Indians clearly off the dangerous quicksands of gross materialism. We find the following in the Report of the Education Commission appointed by Lord Ripon in 1882: "It took twelve years of controversy, the advocacy of Macaulay, and the decisive action of a new Governor General, before the Committee could as a body aquiesce in the policy urged by him (Rammohun)."

(Collet: L. & L. of Raja Rammohun Roy)

Raja Rammohun Roy had expressed great concern for the well being of the people of India in his various writings in the journals he published. Education, medical aid, civic rights, public institutions like cremation grounds etc. etc.; all attracted his attention.

been. given by Some examples have Mr. Yogananda Das in his book "Rammohun and the Brahmo Movement" (in Bengali), Free education for the children of the poor, trial by Jury in the Mufassil, construction of more cremation grounds, hospitals for women and children, training up Indian doctors by watering of roads, wasteful Europeans, expenditure by rich people, charity to the poor etc. etc. The people of the Brahmo Samaj, inspired by Raja Rammohun Roy took up extensive public benefit work, some of which have been mentioned by Mr. Yogananda Das. Famine relief, nursing the helpless sick persons, teaching deaf and dumb children, opening blind schools, orphanges etc. and the upliftment of the depressed classes are fields of work which the Brahmo Samaj entered actively and with enthusiasm. We shall close this discussion now by quoting some lines from a letter written by Raja Rammohun Roy which Mr. Sandford Arnot published in the Athenaeum of Oct. 5, 1833 after the Raja's death. In that letter which he addressed to Mr. Gordon of Calcutta the Raja gave details of his own personal life:

"When about the age of sixteen, I composed a manuscript calling in question the validity of the idolatrous system of the Hindoos. This together with my known sentiments on that subject, having produced a coolness between me and my immediate kindred, I proceeded on my travels, and passed through different countries, chiefly within, but some beyond the bounds of Hindoostan, with a feeling of great aversion to the establishment of the British power in India. When I had reached the age of twenty my father recalled me, and restored me to his favour; after which I first saw and began to associate with Europeans and soon after made myself tolerably acquainted with their laws and form of Government. Finding them generally more

intelligent, more steady and moderate in their conduct, I gave up my prejudice against them and hecame inclined in their favour, feeling persuaded that their rule though a foreign yoke, would lead more speedily and surely to the amelioration of the native inhabitants; and I enjoyed the confidence of several of them even in their public capacity. continued controversies with the Brahmins on the subject of their idolatry and superstition, and my interference with their custom of barning widows, and other pernicious practices, revived and increased their animosity against me, and through their irfluence with my family, my father was again obliged to withdraw his countenance openly, though his limited pecuniary support was still continued to me."

"The ground which I took in all my controversies was not that of opposition to Brahminism, but to a perversion of it, and I endeavoured to show that the idolatry of the Brahmins was contrary to the practice of their ancestors, and the principles of the ancient books and authorities, which they profess to revere and obey. Notwithstanding the violence

of the opposition and resistance to my opinions, several highly respectable persons both among my own relations and others, began to adopt the same sentiments."

"I now felt a strong wish to visit Europe, and obtain by personal observation a more thorough insight into its manners, customs, religion and political institutions. I refrained, however, from carrying this intention into effect until the friends who coincided in my sentiments should be increased in number and strength. My expectations having been at length realised, in November, 1830, embarked for England, as the discussion of the East India Company's charter was expected to come on, by which the treatment of the natives of India, and its future government, would be determined for many years to come, and an appeal to the King in Council against the abolition of the practice of burning widows, was to be heard before the Privy Council; and his Majesty the Emperor of Delhi had likewise commissioned me to bring before the authorities in England certain encroachments on his rights by the East India Company. I accordingly arrived in England ia April 1831."

N. B.: Sri S. K. De, Principal Raja Rammohun Roy Mahavidyalaya has given the following dates of the Raja's life in a booklet published by him. Birthday, 22nd May, 1772. Entering Pathsala in 1777 at Radhanagar. Goes to Patna to study Arabic 1782. Writes against idolatry 1784. Travels in North India and Tibet in 1787—1789—1790.

PRESIDENT'S POWER TO PROMULGATE ORDINANCE IN INDIA

MAHINDER SINGH DAHIYA

The power of the President to promulgate Ordinance, a hang over from the British regime under the Government of India Act 1935, is considered as one of the vexed and perennial problems in the Indian political system for the simple reason that the executive is inclined to resort to this mechanism very often, not for the welfare and betterment of the people but for its own convenience. Under the British regime, this power was to be used mainly to suppress the national sentiments. Being so, it met with a scathing the criticism in Constituent Assembly.1 Dr. Ambedkar, the main architect of the Constitution and Chairman of the Drafting Committee, tried to the best of his ability to allay the fears expressed by some members and compared this provision with the provisions contained in the British Emergency Act 1920 under which the King can issue proclamation. Under such circumstances, the executive can issue regulations relating to any matter when the Parliament is not in session. But this comparison is not convincing.² In response to the criticism levelled by Pt. Kunzru, Dr. Ambedkar said:

It seems to me that my friend Pt. Kunzru, has not borne in mind that there are in the Government of India Act, 1935, two different provisions. One set of provisions is contained in Section 42 of the Government of India Act and the other is contained in section 43. The provisions contained in Section 43 conferred upon the Governor-General the power to promulgate Ordinances which he felt necessary to discharge the functions that were imposed upon him by the constitution and which

he was required to discharge in his discretion and individual judgement......The other point is this; that the Ordinances could be promulgated by him under Section 43 even when the legislature was in session.....It would be seen that the present article 102 does not contain any of the provisions which were contained in Section 43 of the Government of India Act. The President, therefore, does not possess an independent power possessed by the Governor-General under Section 43.....All that we are doing is to continue the powers given under Section 42 to the Governor-General, to the President under the provisions of article 102. They relate to such period when the legislature is in recess, not in session.3

Article 103 of the Drast Constitution is article 123 of the present Constitution which runs as follows:

- (1) If at any time, except when both Houses of Parliament are in session, the President is satisfied that the circumstances exist which render it necessary for him to take immediate action, he may promulgate such ordinances as the Circumstances appear to him to require.
- (2) An Ordinance promulgated under this Article shall have the same force and effect as an Act of Parliament, but every such ordinance—
 - (a) shall be laid before the Houses of Parliament and shall cease to operate at the expiration of six weeks from the re-assembly of Parliament, or, if before the expiration of that period resolutions disapproving it are passed

by both Houses, upon the passing of the second of those resolutions; and

- (b) may be withdrawn at any time by the President.
- (3) If and so far as an Ordinance under this Article makes any provision which Parliament would not under this Constitution be competent to enact, it shall be void.

As a matter of fact, this provision may be esscribed as anti-thetical to the real concept of democracy by any definition. According to Orlando, the Ordinance is the expression of the will of the executive power as law is the expression of the will of the legislative power.^{3A}

Now, the question to be examined is whether the word 'President' in Article 123 means advised by the Council of Ministers. headed by the Prime Minister similar to that. of the 10 Downing Street or the man dwelling in the White House? So far as the latter part of the question is concerned, that can be disposed off shortly for the simple reason that the political systems prevailing in India and United States are poles apart. As far as the advised by the Council of 'President' Ministers is concerned, the various luminaries have expressed different opinions. S. Mohan Kumarmanglam argues that the Ordinancemaking power of the President is a legislative power outside the ambit of Article 74(1) and "satisfaction" literally means that the President is personally satisfied. 4 But D. D. Basu thinks otherwise and says that this power must be exercised with the aid and advice of his ministers.5

Although the contention of Mr. Kumar-manglam which is immediately contrary to that of Orlando, seems to be right to some extent in the sense that this power occurs in a separate Chapter yet, the plea that this is a legislative power is not convincing. It cannot be considered as an original legislation

for the simple reason that it is subject to the approval of some other body—the Parliament. It can be regarded as a subordinate legislation. Making distinction between supreme legislation and subordinate legislation, Salmond, an eminent jurist, observed:

Legislation is either supreme or subordinate. The former is that which proceeds from the Supreme or Sovereign power in the State which is not therefore capable of being repealed, annelled or controlled by any other legislative authority. Subordinate legislation is that which proceeds from any authority other than the Sovereign power and is dependent for its continued existence and validity on some superior or supreme authority.

Moreover, Article 123(2) clearly indicates by the that an ordinance promulgated President shall have the same force and effect as an Act of Parliament. The phrase "same force and effect" does not mean the "same value" which is attached to an Act of Parliament. Therefore, it appears right to observe that the Ordinance-making cannot be said to be a legislative power. It falls somewhere between the terminal point of parliamentary sovereignty and Executive dictatorship. Professor K. V. Rao says that this power occurs in a separate Chapter by itself, and so, if this contention is allowed, the President can alone issue them. But this is not a serious argument as this is not a question of "legal quibbles, but one of practical politics."6A.

Keeping in view the practice so far adopted both in the States and the Centre, the principles and Conventions of Parliamentary democracy and cabinet government, the spirit of the Constitution, the intention of framers and the judicial interpretation, it appears that the actual powers belong to the Council of Ministers and the President is simply its mouthpiece. When Draft article

102 which is Article 123 of the Present Constitution⁷ was being discussed in the Consembly, Sardar Hukam Singh wanted to be clearly stated that this power would be used on the advice of the Council of Ministers, Dr. Ambedkar said: "I am very grateful to you for reminding me about this. The point is that that amendment is unnecessary because the President could not act and will not act except on the advice of the Ministers."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first President of India and President of the Constituent Assembly, who initiated9 the controversy about the powers of the President had himself declared at the concluding session of the Consembly that the position of the Indian President is somewhat analogous to that of the King in Great Britain. 10 The question of powers of the King is a closed chapter and the controversy has been settled in favour of the advice tendered by the Prime Minister. Thumping through the pages of modern Constitutional History of England, it becomes quite evident that the real powers are vested in the Council of Ministers headed by the Prime Minister. Moreover, there is a common saying that "The King can do no wrong." Besides, King Edward VIII in 1936, had to sign the Bill for his own abdication.

Above all, in Rai Sahib Ram Jawaya Kapoor vs. the State of Punjab, the Supreme Court has decided that the parliamentary executive in our country like that of England has made the President only a constitutional Head, the real power are to be exercised by the Council of Ministers.¹¹

Although the Courts have declared in some of the cases that the speeches of the members in the Consembly have no relevance to the interpretation of the constitution, 12 yet in U. N. R. Rao vs. Indira Gandhi, it thanked the Attorney-General for having supplied compilations containing extracts

from the debates in the Constituent Assembly, 13

When in Punjab, the Akali led coalition headed by Mr. Prakash Singh Badal advised the Governor to issue an Ordinance for the appointment of the legislators to the membership of the Board and Corporations, the Governor, Dr. D. C. Pavate, sent the Ordi nance back to the Council of Ministers and asked as to what was urgency and necessity of such a move?¹⁴, The experts of the Centra. Government are believed to have expressed the view that the Governor was bound by the advice of the Council of Ministers and consequently he had to subscribe to this view. 5 The gist of the problem is that had the Acting President Mr. V. V. Giri not issued the Ordinance pertaining to the Bank Nationalization on the advice of the Ministry headed by Mrs. Gandhi even before 72 hours of the session of Parliament, the resignation of the Ministry at the very moment, its reference o the electorates and her electoral return with a thundering and thumping majority would have settled the issue within no time. It is commonly observed by the commentators that the parliamentary democracy is not made of words only but the Conventions of the Constitution also. So it appears right to say that the President would act according to the advice of the Ministry.

Conditions for Issuing Ordinance

According to article 123, both the Houses of Parliament should not be in session. If any ordinance is issued before the prorogation of the Parliament, it shall be void. If But there are cases wherein this power was used when one of the two Houses was in session. The Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance was promulgated in 1957 when the House of People was in session. The preamble of the Ordinance says: "Whereas a Bill to provide for maintenance of certain essential

services and the normal life of the community has been passed by the House of People and the Council of States is not in session and the President is satisfied that circumstances exist which render it necessary for him to take immediate action to give effect to the Bill." Even the Allahabad High Court has decided that an Ordinance can be issued when one of the Houses has been prorogued.18 Moreover, the framers of the Constitution also purported sp.19 It is also interesting to note that an Ordinance can be given retrospective effect even from the date on which both the Houses were in session.20 Even the President can prorogue the session for the very purpose of premulgating an Ordinance.21 The Governor of Punjab Dr. D. C. Pavate did so and when it was challenged in the Court, while reversing the decision of the Punjab and Haryana High Court, the Supreme Court decided .22

Article 174(2) which enables the Governor to prorogue the Legislature does not indicate any restriction on this power. When the Legislature is in session and in the midst of its legislative work, the motives of the Governor may conceivably be questioned on the ground of alleged want of good faith and abuse of Constitutional powers. The power is untrammelled by the Constitution and when an emergency arises the action is perfectly understandable. There is thus no abuse of power by him, nor can his motives be described as malafide.

It is not necessary that the order for the prorogation must reach each and every member. The Secretary of the Legislative Council or Assembly is the most appropriate person to be informed of the order of prorogation.²³ This is applicable in the case of the President that is why the position of the Governor in the State is similar to that of the President,

The President must be satisfied that the circumstances so warrant. This is the subjective satisfaction of the President and the Courts cannot go into the question of its validity.24 In Ratan Ray Vs. The State of Bihar, Justice Sinha and Sarjoo Prasad took the view that the clause does not require that the Ordinance to be promulgated by the Governor has to state in so many words that the Governor was "satisfied" as to a certain state of affairs as mentioned in Clause (1). On the other hand, Meredith C. J. held that for a valid Ordinance two conditions are necessary under Clause (1) of Article 213: (1) That the Governor is satisfied that circumstances exist which require immediate action, and (2) that in his opinion the circumstances require such an Ordinance, the Ordinance shall be void as not satisfying the conditions laid down in Article 213(1) of the Constitution. Whenever a legislation uses the word "satisfied" it must mean reasonably satisfied. It is, therefore, obvious that if it is found on the very surface of an Ordinance that it is an irrational and an unreasonable piece of legislation a Court of law would be entitled to hold that the legislation is invalid.25 But the President can issue an ordinance to circumvent the decision of the Courts.26 He can do so with retrospective effect also.27 During the debate in Parliament, Mr. H. N. Mukherjee criticised and condemned the government for having resorted to such mechanism of circumventing the judicial decisions. He referred the case of Jnan Prasanna Vs. The Province of West Bengal particularly, wherein the judges also condemned the move.28 In U. P. the coalition government headed by Mr. Charan Singh promulgated an Ordinance to save a Jan Sangh M. L. A. from being disqualified through a judgement of Mr. Justice G. D. Sahgal at the Lucknow Bench of High Court. The Ordinance was issued on October 20, 1967, but on finding that it had flaws and did

not cover the objections raised in the High-Court judgement, the State Government sent another Ordinance to Government Press for publication.²⁹ Mr. C. B. Gupta, the then leader of the opposition in the Assembly called it as the immoral and partisan action.30 Even the Hindustan Times, while commenting on Ordinance said that there was "hardly anv excuse" with the Chief Minister, Charan Singh, the Chief Mr. Minister to defence reminded³⁶ Mr. Gupta that Ordinances retrospectively seven amending the law on legislators' disqualifications had come during the Congress regime between 1950 and 1957 and that they certain individuals in view and had the effect of benefiting or designed to benefit them and them alone.32 In this connection, it must be noted that the resignation of the Charan Singh Ministry was demanded on the ground that the Vidhan Sabha refused to grant permission to the Minister for Agriculture, Mr. Jai Ram Verma, to introduce the "Removal of the State Legislators Disqualification Bill"—144 voting against Government and 123 for it.33 Dr K. V. Rao34 cites other instances of such a nature-Ordinance to declare Annual Charge to be part of Capital Charge which was declared by the Supreme Court as unconstitutional on May 26, 1950, and Ordinance nullifying the judgement of the Supreme Court regarding the Income Tax Tribunal in 1954. Both the Ordinances had retrospective effect. In U. P. this power was used to validate Zila Parishad appointments (1963) and in Rajasthan to validate the appointment of Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the Rajasthan University (1964) both declared invalidated previously by the courts. In 1962, the Union Government by an Ordinance virtually made a judgement of the Supreme Court on a clause of the Land Acquisition Act of 1894, inoperative.

Above all, in January 1956, barely four weeks before the re-assembly of the Parliament, the President promulgated an Ordinance nationalizing Life Insurance Business with immediate effect. The urgency "immediate action" and legislation of such farreaching character could apparently wait for a few weeks. Commanding an overwhelming majority in the Parliament as the present government does and in the absence of a powerful lobby of Life Insurance Companies, the cabinet had nothing to fear from the Parliament.³⁵ The Ordinance pertaining to the nationalization of fourteen major banks was promulgated by the President only before 3 days of the beginning of the session of Parliament.36

Extent for Issuing Ordinance

Article 123(1) says that if and so far as an Ordinance under this article makes any provision which Parliament would not under this Constitution be competent to enact, it shall be void. As it is clear from a careful reading of article 123 that the Ordinance-making power of the President is co-extensive with the Parliament's power of making law. legislative powers of the Parliament have been defined by Articles 245 and 249 read with the Seventh Schedule. It leads to the conclusion that the Parliament can make laws on the subjects contained in the Union List, Concurrent List and in some Contingency in the State List; for instance during the period of emergency and during the operation of Article 356 in a State. But there are exceptions to it. The President cannot promulgate an Ordinance pertaining to Articles 2, 3, proviso to Article 83(2) and Article 100(3). These matters are required by the Constitution to be regulated by Parliament by law; hence they fall outside the ambit of Article 123. Similarly the Governor of a State cannot promulgate an Ordinance pertaining to Article 210. This is required to be dealt with by the legislature of the State by law and not otherwise.

Duration of the Ordinance

Every ordinance promulgated by, the President is to be laid before both the Houses of Parliament for approval. This provision is directory and not mandatory.37 The only consequence of the non-compliance of this requirement is that the Ordinance shall cease to operate within six weeks from the reassembly of Parliament. It means that the maximum life of an Ordinance is six weeks plus six months. This is so because the Parliament must be summoned not later than six months after its prorogation.38 The refusal to leave to introduce the bill replacing the Ordinance does not amount to its expiry.39 The Ordinance will lapse after six weeks from the re-assembly of Parliament in such a situation also. If, in case, the term of the Ordinance has expired before Parliament meets, is it still obligatory to place the Ordinance before Parliament? Precedents exist when such Ordinances were placed before Parliament which met subsequent to the expiry of the duration of the Ordinance. For example, in 1954 the President promulgated an Ordinance imposing a Pilgrim Tax on the pilerims visiting Kumbha Mela held that year. Both the duration of the fair as well as the Ordinance exaired before the next meeting of Parliament. This Ordinance was nevertheless placed on the table of the House not with a view to seeking its approval but in order to apprise it of the promulgation of Ordinance.40

In this connection it is also interesting to note that an Ordinance can be reissued. It means that there is no time limit.⁴¹ It can lead to the usurpation of the powers of the legislature by the executive in case it is inclined to use this power with retrospective effect particularly with regard to the

Ordinances already disapproved by the legislature.

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Taxation by Ordinance

It may, however, be asked as to how far is. it possible on the part of the President to spend money through Ordinances? Articles. 265, 266 and 267 make it clear that no money. can be spent or collected except by authority of law. As the matters which can be dealt with by law may be regulated by Ordinance; hence one is bound to draw inferences that the money can be spent or collected through the mechanism of Ordinance also. The Governor of Punjab, Dr. D. C. Pavate, passed two Appropriation through the Ordinance and in State of Punjab Vs. Satyapal Dang and others, Dr. Baldev Prakash and others, the Supreme declared them constitutional.42 The other instances 43 are the Ordinances to Income Tax Act (1950), to levy tax in Bengal (1952). In 1954, the taxes levied on the pilgrims to Ganga Sagar Mela. In Lok Sabha, Dr. A. Krishna Swami, while criticising this move of the Government said:44

Did the Government suddenly make the discovery some time during the cold month of January that Kumbha was to take placeon the 3rd February, 1954 and hence be a fruitful source of revenue to them? Was this discovery so sudden, so emergent that it could not have been made when we were in session in November?.....By the time we have met the Kumbha is over. The Government has no need to bring even a The test of emergency, ratifying bill. Mr. Speaker, in the case of fiscal Ordinances should be much greater than in the case of other Ordinances. Above all. in the case of fiscal measures it is the Parliament and the House of People that is Sovereign authority to vote and raise tax

and to direct how the money shall be spent.

Mr. Mohan Lal says: 45'

In no democracy, does the executive branch of the Government possess power of raising and spending money without the express and prior approval of the legislature. The authority of the legislature, the responsibility of the executive, all hinge upon the power of the purse that must belong to Parliament alone. raising and spending of money shape and mould the economic structure of society, and where money is raised or spent by an Ordinance, though Parliament Assembly may disapprove such notion of the President, it cannot demand the refund of the taxes or revenues raised, recall the money spent.

Now the question arises: Is it possible on the part of the President to pass the budget through the Ordinance? The answer seems to lie in the positive. As a matter of fact there is no difference between the money bill and the budget. The most we can say is that the budget can be considered as a 'special kind of money bill. Beyond this there is no difference between the two. On February 24, 1961, in Orissa, the Governor passed the budget of more than four crores for the years 1960-61 and the President's Rule was imposed on February 25, 1961.46 In the Lok Sabha, Shri Lal Bahadur Sastri said:47

When the Ordinance was promulgated by the Governor, there was consultation amongst our Officials as well as with the Law Ministry. The Governor took this action in consultation with the Chief Secretary and the Law Department of the State Government. He felt that some action was necessary in order to incur expenditure on the administration. But as I said, when the Ordinance was passed and

it came to our notice, the Home Secretary immediately consulted the Prime Minister, and later on the matter was referred to the Law Ministry. The Law Ministry's opinion is that the ordinance promulgated by the Governor is not valid under the Constitution. We immediately informed the Governor about this. Therefore, no action is taken since then under the Ordinance.

Though the opinion of the Union Law Ministry seems to be sound yet the problem is that such a kind of eventuality may arise at the Centre and it appears that there is no remedy except to use this device to spend money to avoid developmental retardness in the administration.

The Ordinance making Power and the Amendment of the Constitution

Another problem to be tackled is what extent the President can issue ordinance with regard to the amendment of the Constitution? Can he do so under the Constitution? According to Mr. H. M. Jain, one of the political commentators, "the Supreme Court judgment in the Golaknath case erased the distinction between Parliament's legislative and constitutive powers. It held that the amendment of the Constitution is only an exercise of the legislative power. Art. 368 merely laying down the procedure for doing so. After this judgment it should be possible to amend the Constitution by an Ordinance."48 This is not a sound argument. It is generally accepted that there are three modes of amending the Constitution-by simple majority, by two-thirds majority and by two-thirds majority plus fifty per cent States. The last can be disposed of shortly because it does not fall within the legislative powers of the Parliament as defined by Article 245 and 249 read with the Seventh Schedule because in this mode, the States are co-partners. As far

as the amendment by simple majority is concerned, it covers Articles 2, 3, proviso to 83(2) and Article 100(3). In all these Articles, it has been clearly stated that these are to be regulated by Parliament by law; hence the question of amending these Articles by an Ordinance does not arise. Besides, in a technical sense, it cannot be considered as an amendment. If it is accepted of a mode of amendment, then there will arise a fourth mode49 in the sense that under Article 210 it is stated: "Unless the Legislature of the State by law otherwise provides, this Article shall, after the expiration of a period of fifteen years from the Commencement of this Constitution, have effect as if the words or in English' were omitted therefrom." As far as the amendment by two-thirds majority is concerned, it may be said that there is a clearcut difference between the procedure of giving assent to an amendment and a simple Bill. Article 368 which is concerned with giving assent to an amendment is a complete code by itself. Its sense is positive. Article 111 under which a simple Bill is given assent is infested with the negative sense. The arguments between the Supreme Court and Mr. Niren De, the present Attorney-General, are being produced below in support of the contention:50

Mr. Justice Shah-He may return the Bill.

Mr. De—No, it is not open to do so. Article 111 does not apply to Article 368, which is a complete code by itself.

Chief Justice—If the President has no option but to assent, do you mean it is an empty formality?

Mr. De—Yes, he is guided by the ministerial advice.

Keeping in view the said facts, one is bound to draw inferences that the President canot amend the Constitution through an ordinance.

Conclusion

After having made the post-mortem of Article 123, it appears very sound to observe that it can be misused to some extent and both the Central and State Government did so. Being so, sometimes the legislators had to demand the attention of the President or the Governor, as the case may be, to such a kind of abuse of power. A deputation of the Haryana Jan Sangh consisting of Mr. M. S. Malik, Mr. Mangal Sen and Mr. Shiv Ram Verma called on the Governor, Mr. B. N. Chakravarty and demanded the summoning of the session on the ground that the government was misusing the power by imposing taxes through Ordinances.⁵¹ Mr. A. P. Jain tells a very interesting case. He says:52

I know of a case in the hey-days of Governorship in early fifties when a top politician of all-India status occupying the position of the Governor of a major State was made to sign an Ordinance by the Chief Minister after its publication in State Gazette on the previous night. The refusal would have created a major political scandal and one would sympathise with the Governor for having suppressed the conscience. I have little doubt that the fault lies less with men but more with situations.

The framers of the Constitution adopted this provision for special contingencies but it is being used as a daily-diet which is a cancerous factor for the maintennace of our infant parliamentary democracy. It is misused when the Government is in a slender majority and afraid of facing the legislature. This practice should be avoided because it is the negation of parliamentary democracy as conceived by the founding fathers, interpreted by the jurists and defined by the scholars in political science.

^{1.} Pt. Hriday Nath Kunzru compared this power with that of the Governor-General

under the Government of India Act, 1935 and said that "such a procedure was understandable in the circumstances in which that Act was passed.....We have now а reasonable ministry. There is no reason therefore. why the process laid down the Government of India Act 1935, should be sought to be copied in the new Constitution....." Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. VIII, pp. 206-7. (Hereafter it would be referred as, C.A.D.).

M. V. Patasker described the ordinance-making power as obnoxious to democracy and Professor Siban Lal Saxena wanted to eliminate this provision. Vide C.A.D., Vol. IV, pp. 882-3.

Mr. B. Poker Sahib was afraid of the eventuality that this power may be used to deprive the citizens of their elementary right. C.A.D., Vol. VIII, p. 203.

Here, it is important to say that Mr. Poker was rightly afraid of it because the governments both in the Centre and the States have used this power in such a way. The Preventive Detention Act may be cited as an instance.

2. C.A.D., Vol. VIII, p. 214.

It is also important to mention that Mr. H. N. Mukherjee pointed out during a debate in February 1954 in the Lok Sabha, "such powers in England are entirely statutory and the regulations are to be made subject to the regulations and conditions imposed by the Statute of 1920 and they are liable to be set aside by the Court, if they are ultra vires. Article 123 does not lay down in what conditions and for what purposes the Ordinance-making power is to be used, and our Courts have no power to question the jurisdiction either as to the occasion or the purpose, or the subject-

matter of an ordinance, even if the ordinance is not made in good faith." Cited in H. M. Jain, The Union Executive Chaitanya Publishing Home, Allahabad, 1969, p. 77.

- 3. C.A.D., Vol. VIII, p. 213.
- 3A. Cited in D. K. Sen, A Comparative Study of the Indian Constitution (Longmans), Vol. 1, First published, 1960, p. 205.
 - 4. Henry W. Holmes Jr., "Powers of the President: Myth or Reality", Journal of the Indian Law Institute, Vol. 12, No. 3, July eptember, 1970, p. 397.
 - D. D. Basu, Commentary on the Constitution of India, S. C. Sarkar & Sons Pvt. Ltd., I. C., College Square, Calcutta, 5th Edn., 1967, Vol. III, p. 337.
 - 6. For detailed study see R. N. Mishra, The President of the Indian Republic, Vora & Co., Publishers, Pvt Ltd., 3 Round Building, Bombay, First Ed., 1965, p. 103.
- 6A. K. V. Rao, Parliamentary Democracy of India (Calcutta), First Ed., 1961, p. 56.
- 7. C.A.D., Vol. VIII, p. 209. See also the speech of Tajamal Hussein, who supported the move. C.A.D., Vol. VIII, p. 212.
- 8. Ibid., p 215. For detailed study see the dialogue between Dr. Ambedkar and the President of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Rajendra Prasad who, later on became the President of India, Ibid., pp. 215-16.
- O. In 1951, Dr. Prasad, the President of India started controversy over the Hindu Code Bill. He is believed to have declared that he would use his individual judgement in giving assent to the Bill. The then Prime Minister of India, Pt. Nehru referred the matter to the Attorney-General, Mr. M. C. Setalvad who is said to have stated that the President was misunderstood about his constitutional position. He is bound

by the advice of the Council of Ministers. • 17. See for detailed study Austine, The Indian Constitution—Coner-stone of a Nation (Oxford, 1966) Pp. 140-41.

On November 29, 1960 Dr. again' initiated the controversy declaring that the President was not bound by the advice of the Council of Ministers. He was laying the foundation stone of the Indian Law Institution, New Delhi. The Hindustan Times. New Delhi, November 30, 1960. Here, it is also worth mentioning that Pt. Nehru emphatically reiterated in Parliament in 1961 that the relation between President and the Conncil of Ministers is exactly what subsists between the Oueen of Britain and her Prime 22.

N. Gopinath Nair, "Fresh

of

the Union

10. See M. L. J. Kagzi, The Constitution of India (Metropolitan Book Company, Delhi), Sencond Ed., 1967, pp. 89-90.

Powers

President',, Patriot, New Delhi, June

Minister.

on

Debate

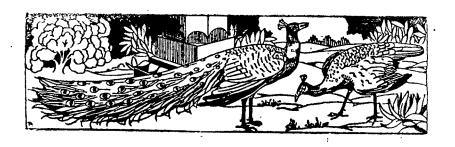
2, 1969.

- 11. A.I.R., 1955, Supreme Court 549 (556).
- 12. Bengal Immunity Company Limited vs. The State of Bihar, A.I-R., 1955, 661.
- 13. Vide Journal of Society for Study of State Governments, Vol. IV, January-March 1971, No. 1, p. 68.
- 14. The Tribune, Chandigarh, July 8, 1970, p. 1.
- 15. The controversy arose When Mr. Gurnam Singh, the leader of the parallel Akali Dal strongly protested to the Governor against this step of the government on the ground that it was being done simply to create posts for the legislators who could not be given place in the Council of Ministers.
- 16. Bidya Vs. Province of Bihar, A.I.R. 1950, Patna, 19.

- ^o 17. Vide D. D. Basu, Commentary on Constitution of India, Vol. 3, 4th 1 1963, pp. 57-58.
- 18. Vishwanath Vs. State of U.P., A.I. 1956, Allahabad 557 (560).
- See the dialogue between Dr. Ambed and Mr. H. V. Kamath. C.A.D., Vol.V. p. 214.
- Jnan Prasanna Vs Province of W Bengal, 1948, 53 Calcutta Weekly No 27 (72) F.B.
- In re Veerabhadraya, A.I.R., 19
 Madras 243 (256), Prem Narain Tanc
 Vs. The State of U.P., 1960, Allahal
 205 (207), A.I.R., 1950, C. 59 and A.I.
 1945, P.C. 48 and A.I.R., 1931, P.C. I
 Relied on.
- State of Punjab Vs. Satyapal Dang a others, Dr. Baldev Prakash and othe A.I.R., 1969, Supreme Court 903 (911)
- Sarjoo Prasad Pandey Vs. State of U. A.I.R., 1970, Allahabad 571 (574).
- 24. Lakhinarayan Vs. Province of Bih A.I.R., 1950, F.C. 59 (61), Prem Nara Tandon Vs. State of Uttar Prade A.I.R., 1960, Allahabad 205 (20 Sarjoo Prasad Pandey Vs. State of U. A.I.R., 1970, Allahabad 561 (575).
- 25. C. L. Anand, The Constitution of Ind Law Book Co., Sardar Patel Man Allahabad, 2nd Ed., 1966, p. 33 Article 213 is a carbon copy of Artic 123 which is concerned with the Predent's power to promulgate an Ordinance
- Prem Narain Tandon Vs. State of U.I. A.I.R., 1960, Allahabad 205 (207), Tl State of Orissa Vs. B. K. Bose, A.I.F. 1962, S.C. 945 (952-53).
- Jnan Prasanna Vs. Province of We Bengal, 1948, 53 Calcutta Weekly Not 27 (72), F. B.
- 28. H. N. Mukherjee, Parliamentary Debate Vol. I, part II, 1954, cols. 102-3.

- 29. National Herald, Lucknow, November 6, 1967.
- 30. The Statesman, New Delhi, November 7, 1967.
- 31. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, November 11, 1967.
- 32. The Statesman, New Delhi, November 9, 1967.
- The Times of India, New Delhi, December 1967; see also M. S. Verma, Coalition Government, Oxford & I.B.H. Publishing Co., Calcutta, Bombay, New Delhi, 1971, p. 63.
- 34. K. V. Rao, Parliamentary Democracy of India, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1966, pp. 55-57.
- 35. Mohan Lal, "The President and Parliament", The Indian Parliament, edited by A. B. Lal, Chaitanya Publishing House, Allahabad, 1955, p. 225.
- 36. After having been approved by the Parliament and assented to by the Acting President, Chief Justice Haidyatulla, it was challenged in the Supreme Court and consequently it was declared as unconstitutional.
- 37. Krishnan Vs. R.T.A., A.I.R. 1956, Andhra 129 (137), Cited in D. D. Basu, op. cit., p. 60.
- 38. Article 85 (1).
- 39. The U. P. Ordinance for Removal of State Legislators' Disqualification may be cited as an instance.

- 40. R. N. Mishra, op. cit., p. 102.
- 41. This ruling was given by the Court in Anukul Chandra Vs. Dainik Nayak, A.I.R., 1933, Cal. 278, cited in K. V. Rao, op. cit., p. 56.
- 42. A.I.R., 1969, Supreme Court 903 (211).
- 43. K. V. Rao, op. cit., p. 57.
- 44. Parliamentary Debates, Vol. I, Part I, 1954, col. 93.
- Mohan Lal, op. cit., pp. 224-25. See also the views of N. C. Chatterjee, Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 1, part II, 1954, col. 106-
- 46. Lok Sabha Debates, Vol. LI, 1961, col. 2929 The Governor is said to have taken this step in view of the sudden resignation of the Council of Ministers during the Budget Session.
- 47. Vide Lal Bahadur Sastri, Lok Sabha Debates, Vol. LI, 1961, col. 2931. It was only the opinion of the Law Ministry and not the decision of any court.
- 48. H. M. Jain, op. cit., pp. 82-83.
- 49. Dr. K. C. Markandan also thinks along these lines.
- 50. Cited in H. M. Jain, op. cit., p. 68.
- 51. The Hindustan Times (City Ed.), New Delhi, July 6, 1969.
- 52. See the Report of the National Convention on Union-State Relations sponsored by Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies, Indian Institute of Public Administration and Indian Law Institute, 1970, p. 333.



SMRITI AND BISMRITI

SIBNATH BANERIEE

Riga-Sept. 1924

All arrangements for leaving Moscow were complete. Taking leave from friends was also complete. It had to be done twice as the first late fixed for starting had to be shifted by a week or so, for reasons not known to me. It seemed to me that the second leave taking was a little less warm than the previous one.

At the Rly. Station, Jaffar Hossain, Dr. Noor Mahammad, and a few Indian friends, were present. They embraced me warmly and even kissed me farewell in the Russian fashion. No representative Communist International or of Eastern University or any Russion friend was present. was perhaps due to the fact that I was a non-Communist and showing any intimacy with me might be frowned upon by the authorities here.

I had a first class ticket for Riga, the nearest Port in the Baltic Sea, just out of U.S.S.R., in those days. I had with me only about £10 pounds. £8/-were given to me by the Moulana before leaving Moscow. He had asked all of us, the members of the Party, who had left Kabul with him and who were still in Moscow, to deposit with him whatever money, each one had with him. He then divided equally the sum collected and gave each one equal share. I had deposited £3/- I had and got in return £8 as my share. Dr. Noor Md. deposited about £50 and he was the greatest loser, for he also got £8/-. This was Communism of Moulana Obeidulla in practice. After Moulana left I spent about £3/- mostly on food and Trams and Buses. I was given £5/for translating into Bengali, the A.B.C. of Communism by Bukharin and £2/-given to me for the journey. This was under M. N. Roy's arrangement. If I had joined the Communist party, I could get £2000/- from him instead of just £2/-. Was I a fool? I think, in retrospect, I was not.

The train steamed off, and my friends and myself went on waiving our kerchiefs, as long as we could see ourselves. In put an end to our two year long intimate comradeship, at least temporarily. Long afterwards I met Dr. Noor Md. in Karachi bui not Jaffar Hossain.

I was in European dress. In Kabul I had Afghan dress, Dr. Noor Md. helped me to get one suit, re-cut from one of his. I sat down in my seat in a state of physical and also mental exhaustion. I did not even notice who else travelled with me in the same compartment, far less talk with them. Stalin was on the saddle, but Stalin-era or undisputed Stalin rule was yet to come. It did ten years afterwards. But talking freely was risky and instead of going to Riga I might find myself is Soviet prison. So I kept quiet. At the frontier, there was the usual checking by Police, of Passport & travel documents and all my belongings, by customs authorities. This was my first experience of this process. For I had gone to Kabul, without a passport and without being searched. Since then I had got through such process more than 50 times. The first one at the Russian frontier. It was interesting indeed. We had to get down from the train and stand All searches & examinations of documents & belongings were done out side the train, once by the Russian & then by the Riga Police. Then we were allowed to get into the train which started after some time. From the Frontier to Riga Station was about an hour's run. I was now out of U.S.S.R. and safe from U.S.S.R. police.

My feeling was one of deliverance from Dictatorship, almost similar to my feelings, when I crossed the border of British ruled India & stepped into independent Afghanistan. The feeling was however not so intense in stepping into the Democratic world from the Dictatorship of the Communist Party.

Riga

Riga, Capital of Esthonia, was then the rendesvous of World Press to glean or concoct news from the U. S. S. R. and feed the world, hungry for the news of the U. S. S. R. Correspondents of most of the important News Agencies and News Papers were there. I avoided meeting them and air my views. I could have made some money also, giving first hand news & my views, directly coming from Moscow. But I avoided lime light, with a keen desire to facilitate my coming back to India. It was a cautious policy, perhaps a little over-cautious.

I took a room in a small & inexpensive Hotel with bed and breakfast for about half a £ per day. It was for the first time in two years that I was living on my own. After leaving Kabul in 1922 I was & had to make all arrangement myself, first as a guest of the Moulana & then of Soviet Russia. As a member of the group of the Moulana, I had a privileged position. I felt a thrill as well as the responsibility of living independently. I went for a stroll & while on the streets and boulevards, I noticed men and women, well dressed often in European style, smartly walking on the streets, in pairs or singly. It drew my attention and even myself, who is so careless about dress could not fail to see the contrast. In Russia people used to dress shabbily, often deliberately. Wearing a tie

was almost an exception. I somehow liked this informality in dress in Russia. In Riga the dress smacked of bourgeois culture.

I walked slowly and looked askance, to see whether I was being followed by Russian spies. For I knew that Riga was full of Russian spies following all those who came out of Russia and also those going to Russia. I could not however detect any signs of being spied upon. While on the streets I had somehow fondly hoped to see some of my friends who had left Russia and were waiting at Riga to go to the U.S.A. I specially longed to sea Liza, a cousin of Roza, wife of Late Abani Mukherjee. I had met her in Roza's house and she taught me Russian & German; in exchange I used to teach her English. She was a Jewish blond girl from Germany and had come to Russia after the Revolution expecting great chances for her in Russia, but managed only to get a job as a shop assistant. She was disappointed and went out to Riga to try to go to America. She took me into confidence and I learnt much about Russia through her. I did not know her address and naturally could not find her.

I went to a restaurant for my meal. As I knew Russian fairly well and I had no diffi-This country, was a part of culty. Russian Czarist Empire, but after the defeat in 1914-18 World War it became independent nation and again after World War of 1939-45 it was incorporated within the U. S. S. R. After enjoying one night of freedom in the Capitalist world, I left for Austria via. Germany. I was in a buoyant spirit. I did not repent leaving the U.S.S.R., on the contrary, I complimented myself that I could check the temptation of living an easy life in Russia and get subtantial monetary help from Russia by joining the Communist Party.

Polish Corridor-Danzig

.....In the peace Treaty, Poland was

Ewarded a corridor to the Baltic Sea. Trains were allowed to pass through the corridor to Danzig, a free port but the Rly. bogies passing through the corridor would be locked before entering the corridor and would be mlocked only after crossing the corridor. They are not unlocked even for answering a call of na ure. On my vigorous protest I was allowed to go to the lavatory for a few minutes but not allowed to get down at the Station. After the World War II (1939-45) not only the territory up to the corridor but much beyond have gone to Soviet Union and so there is no Polish corridor any more.

Soviet

From Riga I bought a third class ticket to Berlin Via Koningsburg. At Koningsburg, I entered into the first German town. My dream of going to Germany was fulfilled. All our slogans on the way from Kabul to Moscow were off to Bloody Berlin or "Westward Ho". We had stopped at Moscow, but I started on the road westward again. During my stay in Moscow, as a temporary measure, after boking at the world from the Marxist angle, my admiration for Germany was very much reduced though their achievements in Science still thrilled me. The fact that I was not given a visa to go to Germany, by the Social Democratic Government there was a rude shock to me. I was given transit visa only for z couple of days. During the days of my admiration for Germany, I had planned to get technical education in Germany, I had planned to get technical education in Germany and then return to India as a Socialist Technologist and also study the methods of a Social Democratic Government and contrast it with the Soviet system and proletarian Dictatorship.

At the German Border there was again the repetition of customs check and Pass Port check as in Russian Riga border but less thorough. Eye brows were raised by the officials, whenever they found that I was coming from Russia.

Germany

In Germany proper, the signs of prosperity both in dress and appearance of the people as well as the general appearance of the Rly. Stations, agricultural fields, houses in villages and in the countryside were quite apparent compared to what I had seen so far in Russia and Riga.

At Last Reached Berlin

So this was Germany and Berlin. My dreamland for technical learning from the days of 1914-18 World War when almost every month or week, some more destructive weapons would be used compared to the existing weapons, invented by Germany itself. Trans Channel Siege Guns Ebombarding England from France. Submarines, Zepplins etc. attacked British shipping and towns. But my objective to stay in Germany and acquire technical knowledge was gone and I wished to have a quick look at Germany and its technical advances and go back to India and organise the workers and pesanats to fight for independence and then for socialism. I had advanced one stage from the fight for independence, when I left India in early 1922, to fight for socialism also when I left Moscow in 1924. Still the charm and attraction for Berlin continued but in a much reduced form, from adoration to simple admiration.

Berlin

Reaching Berlin, I went to a small and inexpensive Hotel, by enquiring from the Ry. men at the station. It was the usual Bed and Breakfast type. I had learnt a little German, while in Moscow and found I could get along. My first task was to meet Dr. Bhupen Dutta, brother of Swami Vivekananda. There was a galaxy of other Indian Revolutionaries in Berlin, who had made several revolutionary

attempts to smuggle arms into India. One was through the Bay of Bengal. Two German ships with 20,000 and 10,000 rifles and adequate ammunition came near Balasore, but they did not attempt to land the arms as there was no reply to their signals and they dumped the arms in the sea and escaped along with M. N. Roy who was coming with the arms. The other notable attempt Raja Mahendra Protap, Moulanas Barkatulla and Obeidulla, to make an organised Revolutionary rising, with the help of the Khalif Sultan of Turkey, through Iran and Afghanistan.

After the surrender of the Kaiser and the signing of the peace of Versaille and the abortive attempts at revolution in India, the Indian Revolutionaries were still in Berlin except M. N. Roy who had joined the communists in Moscow. Some of the Ex Generals of the German Army were very helpful and sympathetic to the Indian Revolutionaries and Birendra Nath Chatterjee, brother Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was held in great esteem by them still. He was so to say, the un-Official Indian Ambassador in Berlin and he did render very great service to them in various ways.

Birendra Nath Chatterjee (also known as Biren Chatto) and Agnes Smedly. I had only three days for transit through Germany and one day had already passed. On the second day I went to Chatto's place in the afternoon. I met Chatto and his wife, Agnes Smedly, an American journalist of great name and fame. I was not anti-Russian at all and was not anti-communist. I really wanted to work with Russia in our fight against British Imperialism and International Capitalism, but I did not like some of their methods.

Agnes Smedly was very happy to meet me, a man straight from Soviet Russia. She put me through a searching cross examination. As I did not condemn Russian communism out and out and defended Russia, where I thought Russia was right, Agnes became furious and refused to believe my evidence as true and ultimately declared me to be a communist agent. I protested vigorously and the position of Biren Chatto became embarrassing. She soon left the conversation and also the room in a temper. Chatto explained that she had been treated very harshly by the communists and she was very bitter against them.

After she left, Chatto and myself talked for hours. Though my transit visa was for only two days more, he arranged for my stay for one month non-officially. Not only this, he arranged my stay with a German landlady, where another Indian student had been staying and who had gone to the seaside on the Baltic for a change. To stay in an hotel or even with a land lady, so many formalities of registration etc. were needed but thanks to Chatto, I had not to go through anything, I just shifted from the hotel to her place and lived there (I think Hobit was her name). It was wonderful. The weekly charge for bed and breakfast was also very cheap, as is usual with land ladies. I told Chatto, that if the trick was found out, both the land lady and myself might be in trouble, but Chatto assured that nothing would happen and nothing did happen.

That night Chatto and myself talked long about the revolutionary attempts of Indian revolutionaries, the world war and how Germany was defeated, what was his attitude to Russian Communist Revolution, what help we could get from Germany and Russia, what I should do in India etc. etc. It was nearly midnight, and then we realised that it was very difficult for me to reach the hotel where I was staying. On top of it both of us had no dinner. Agnes had retired long ago and was

fast asleep, Chatto went to the kitchen without making any sound and produced some bread, butter and marmalade and we ate that together with some coffee which Chatto made for us.

I slept on the Idivan in the drawing room and he stealthily and noiselessly went to his hed, so that his wife would not wake up. Next morning I left the house before Chatto or Agnes got up.

Many years later I learnt that they had seperated.

Indian Revolutionary Committee.

I used to go in the evening to the office of the Indian Revolutionary Committee where I met many Indian Revolutionaries and talked them and compared notes of our experiences. Dr. Dutta with whom I was in ccrrespondence while in Moscow stated that he was also trying to go to India and had applied already to Mac Donald, the first Labour Prime Minister of Great Britain. actually reached India before I did. Many other revolutionaries were also planning to come back to India as there was very little to do in Europe then, unless one joined the Communist Party. They were ardent Nationalists and very few of them joined M. N. Roy and the Communist Party.

Dr. Subodh Mitra

One evening I went to see one Indian student, but learnt from a sweet girl of 12 or 13 hat he was out. But she was very intelligent and guessed I was Indian and asked whether I would like to meet Herr Mitter, I guessed Mitter must be a Bengalee and I requested her to call Mitter. In a minute or two Mitter came and both of us were dumbly looking at each other and the next moment we were in deep embrace with each other. Both surprised beyond measure and and we started asking question to each other. We studied in Hooghly Branch School in 1912

and passed the Matriculation together in 1914. We were very intimate. He was a devout disciple of Swami Vivekananda. We parted company afterwards as he went to the Medical Line and I continued to study general science. but our relations were very friendly. He quickly dressed up and we went out, strolled in Berlin streets and told each other how we spent the past ten years. He had come to study Gynocology, with a scholarship. He was thrilled to hear my romantic story of Kabul, Bukhara and Moscow. He invited me and we had a substantial meal together in a restaurant. He / came to a Ry. Suburban Station and our trains went in opposite directions. It was symbolic to a degree.

Land Lady.

My land lady was a middle aged widow about the same age as my mother was then, 45 years. She had three sons and three daughters all married and well placed. None of them lived with her. She had a house where she kept about 7 or 8 paying guests and she made a living by serving them. She had about 200,000 Reichsmark but due to unprecedented inflation, one could not even buy two cups tea with these Marks.

I told her that such a situation was unthinkable, that if any man or woman had sons who were earning decent salary or income that the mother would be compelled to earn her living by keeping paying guests. She was full of praise for the Indian social system. But systems are changing in India and finding such instances are becoming more uncommon, rather in the nature of exception even in India.

Shoe Polish by Land Lady

I did not know that one of the tasks which the land lady, performs is to polish your shoes. So I kept my shoes inside the room at night and next morning she, asked me why I did not keep the shoes out side the room, so that she could polish them. The hotel boys do it but I felt a little shy to allow a respectable German lady to do it for me. When I spoke to her of my embarrassment, she was amused and told me that as she was doing it for all other paying guests, I should have no hesitation to get this service also. Supplying bed and break fast included polishing the shoes also. From next day, I also fell in line.

Sight Seeing in Berlin.

Apart from going regularly to the office of the Indian Revolutionary Committee in the evening and meeting the Revolutionaries whose names even I can not recall now, I made acquintance of many Indian students and was rather surprised by their non-political attitude. I made it a point to see the palace of the Kaiser, which the Republic, after the fall of the Kaiser and the hereditary monarchy, had turned into a Museum. The Kaiser himself was in exile and was chopping wood to keep himself physically fit in the Netherlands. The Tiergarten was favourite resort, alone or with friends, when the vast expanse of the Tiergarten (Animal garden or the Zoo) with innumerable benches for visitors to sit on or read or court or dream or simply doze, attracted me and I spent hours and hours in observing the German people, mostly middle class, and in planning and dreaming of the task ahead of me in achieving independence and socialism in India. 1 soon

become quite familiar with the streets and the river, which is really a small canal. I did not use the underground Tube Ry. much, though it was faster and cheaper. I preferred the Buses or Trams, so that I could see the town and streets and suburbs better. The castle of the Kaiser, the big Brandenburg gate etc. became familiar to me in a short time.

The German People

The German people, whom I chanced to be introduced to or met casually in the streets. were very courteous to Indians and sympathetic to our struggle for independence but their aggresive nature become apparent when they spoke of the French, or British or Americans. They would assert their superiorty to them though they were presently in a bad position, their big empire torn to pieces and crushed down by the economic depression and the huge compensation they had to pay. They used to say, we shall rise again and dominate the world. "Germany above all countries" was their National song. They believed that their intellect as well as their capacity for labour were super human. Though very polite to Indians, one could read from their contemplible expressions for the French and British, how they must have been thinking of us Indians, inspite of their keen interest in Indian struggle and their keen desire to be sympathetic to India.



Current Affairs

Indo-Polish Economic Collaboration

Polish Facts on File has published the following:

Of Poland's commercial dealings with developing nations, trade with India occupies first place, accounting for approximately oneseventh of the Polish merchandise sold to Poland's principal export these countries. items are machinery and installations, industrial plants, ships, measuring instruments and chemical products, two large coking-coal mines, which Poland is presently building, a ccal-washing plant as well as a thermalelectric power station in Barauni with two 50-megawatt turbogenerators. Polish flags in Sudamdih and Monidih have become symbols of traditional Polish-Indian co-operation in the extraction of the "black treasure". In accord with a 1962 agreement, Poland is scheduled to build in India nine coal-mines which will increase India's coal production by 20-25 million tons.

In Maharashtra, at Paras, Bhusaval and in Madras, Polish specialists are associated with the installation of Polish-Built boilers for power stations located there. At Nagpur a power station with a 250-megawatt capacity is being constructed. At Ennore a concrete plant is being built with Polish assistance. A similar plant is scheduled to be built in West Eengal. Polish specialists are, at present, also building cast steel & iron foundries at Bombay and Terikore. "Rajdoot" motor-cycle and 'Ursus' tractors, assembled at a plant in Faridabad, were Poland's initial "industrial ambassadors" to India. For over two years now, Polish industry has been closely coope-

rating with Indian public sector undertaking, Heavy Engineering Corporation in Ranchi, in the production of drilling rigs for irrigation wells.

What can be said about the other half of these exchanges? What goods are aboard Indian ships destined for Poland?

Originally these were the "traditional" agricultural goods and foodstuffs including tea. coffee, linseed cakes, pepper, raw and semiprocessed skins. In addition, Poland used to buy Indian ore, mica and cotton waste. As the Indian economy developed, however, new manufactured export items were added such as textiles, held in high esteem by Polish women, and heavier goods: metal and jute products, tools, tyres, inner tubes, railway wagons, steel pipes, machine tools. The offerings of Indian industry become more varied and are of better quality with each passing year. Poland, for its part, continues, to realize the principle of "assistance through trade", and is constantly increasing the range of its Indian imports. Several months ago, the Indian daily, "Economic Times" emphasized that few countries other than the socialist nations,....."would be willing to purchase new Indian products and provide urgently needed machines and equipment, 'without demanding exchange currency in return."

The above statement furnishes an explanation for dynamic development of Polish-Indian trade. Between 1955 and 1966 it grew 29-fold rising to 400 million rupees in 1967 from a level of 76 million.

Apart from the necessity of further increasing bilateral trade, Poland and India are actively discovering new ways of developing economic cooperation which would be in the best interests of both countries, and in line with contemporary trends in the field of international trade. Presently under consideration is the possibility of assembling railway wagons in Poland, 70 per cent of which would consist of Indian components. These would subsequently be exported to the countries of the Third World. Also in progress are talks on the possibility of importing from India Leyland chassis on which self propelled cranes would be mounted in Poland. Poland is already producing high-compression engines on a Leyland license, and several types of cranes are now fitted with such engines.

Polish economic circles are awating with a great deal of interest the final agreement on a textile-machine transaction. Poland plans to extend its own supply of such machines by importing from India and similarly, intends to export Polish-built machines of the type not produced in India. The satisfactory conclusion of such an agreement would pave the way for future cooperation in this area.

There are many more opportunities for Polish-Indian industrial cooperation. The 1966 agreement foresaw three major, promising areas of cooperation: the foundry and machine industries, the ship and fishing-vessel building industries (including fish processing), and the chemical industry (including chemical fertilizers.)

Nixon as Champion of Portuguese Colonialism

After Pakistan the US President is now backing Portugal's inhuman and oppressive imperialism is Africa. Basil Davidson writing in the New Statesman says:

"I've been taking a look at a small and shy treaty which the US has just concluded with Portugal about the US base in the Azores. And what comes out is not exactly reassuring. What emerge are a set of circumstances, and

a state of mind, which cannot but remind one of the Dulles era. Washington is once more in the business of waving its big stick, or, what comes to much the same in the context, its money bags. It is doing this, otherwise gratuitously, in support of a colonial status quo which it apparently identifies, all experience notwithstanding, with a guarantee against the spread of communism. Its action, in other words, betrays a positively Dulles-like initiative.

"Ten years ago the imperial government of Dr. Salazar embarked on policies of large scale armed repression in its colonies of Angola, Guinea (Bissan) and Mozambique. Three colonial wars ensued, the second beginning in 1963 in Guinea, the third in Mozambique in 1964. As the nationalist movements in these colonies have gathered strength and experience, so the cost to Portugal of carrying on these wars has continually risen. Even by official figures which conceal much indirect war expenditure. annual military security costs have steadily climbed from 4,794 million escudos in 1961 to 11,290 millions in 1969 (and higher since by all accounts), the latter figure representing about 40 per cent of all public esependiture. With nine-tenths of all its (Nato-armed) fighting forces in Africa-stretched to the limit by a four year conscription period-Lisbon now has armies there which, on a per capita comparison, would be equivalent of a British expeditionary force of 800,000 men.

"All this has had its necessary misery for the Portuguese people, about three-quarters of a million of whom escaped from it, during the 1960s, by smuggling themselves into the Common Market. Social services have had to be cut to the bone, non-military public expenditure of all kinds drastically reduced; and inflation is now rising at a steep rate. Expectably enough, the last year or so has at

last brought signs that the regime is finding the strain beyond its power to bear or contain. Even within the regime, men at the top have been arguing that Portugal should let the colonies go, especially at a time when the regime is seeking membership of a Common Market unlikely to accept Angola, Guinea or Mozambique as 'overseas provinces' or 'overseas states' of Portugal.

"This being so, there has flickered up the not unreasonable hope of an early and negotiated end to these infinitely painful wars. And this, in turn, has encouraged all those who see that majority rule in these colonics must greatly improve the prospects of African development throughout the southern half of the continent; helping for example, to isolate and overcome white racism, and reducing the dangers which menace Zambia and Tanzania from the south. With a helpful push from the Western world, above all from the US, the wars might now terminate with another good instalment of African advancement. Yet this is the very moment when Mr. Nixon chooses to come to Lisbon's aid on an unprecedentedly massive scale."

America had been holding the Azores base sirge 1943 (when its lease expired) on an ad hoc basis without any official payment of rent. America has now chosen to renew the lease on the basis of various payments to Portugal which total up to \$436 million! This is equal to "one year's total Portuguese military/security expenditure." One American professor has described this new lease arrangement in the following manner: "In addition to tailing Portugal out of war-born financial distress—apparently without even an effort to extract promises of political reform and self-government for Africans (as distinct from white settlers)—the American government

has gone far towards eliminating the financial pressures which have been building up in Portugal against continuation of the colonial wars."

The whole transaction is typical of Nixon's communist-phobia. The way the American President attempts to solve the problem which exists only in his mind, is now proved to be infructuous. But the US President does not change his approach to this alleged problem. The writer concludes with the following remark:

"Mr. Nixon's America has long been the friend of Salazar and his heirs. It now becomes their ally in the enterprise of Portuguese imperialism. Sad for everyone, saddest of all, perhaps, for them."

Pakistan's "War" of Murder and Rape

Pakistan carried on a campaign of cold blooded murder and rape in East Bengal for nearly one year before it got involved in a real fight with an army and surrendered in a couple of weeks. Martin Woollacott writing in **The Guardian** says:

"The world knew well enough that the Pakistan army was conducting a campaign of repression in Bengal marked by great brutality and viciousness. But it is only now that they have gone that the full extent of what they did can begin to be measured." He then describes what happened in the execution ground of Gullimari in Khulna where numerous civilians had been dragged and killed by bullets, bayonets and blows right down to the day when the Pakistan army surrendered. "Other such execution grounds have been discovered elsewhere in Bangla Desh.....several times a week, trucks came to Gullimari, usually at night: and (that) the occupants of the trucks were then killed, sometimes by shooting, usually by other means."

Indian and Foreign Periodicals

A Great Dutch Astronomer

The Netherlands has published on account of the life and work of Jan Hendrik Oort, who was awarded the Vetlesen prize in 1966. We are reproducing this acount.

A polleague of Professor Jan Oort is said to have remarked "If you speak to him on the telphone, you have to listen very carefully because he speaks so softly. If the subject of the conversation is astronomy, listen twice as carefully and you'll hear one of the greatest experts of our time thinking aloud." It is also said of Oort in professional circles that he is so clever that he doesn't even know how many honorary degrees have been conferred on him; this is probably the only joke concerning the man which is in circulation.

Oort was twentysix years old when he obtained his doctorate, and he had already spent two years as a research assistant at the Yale university observatory in Newhaven, Connecticut. In 1926, the year in which he graduated, he was appointed to an external teaching post at Leyden university. At thirty, he became a lecturer, and five years later, was Assistant Director of the observatory in Leyden. At the end of the last war he assumed the combined post of Professsor and Director of that establishment.

In Holland, Oort was the driving force behind the development of a new science, radio astronomy. Luck and a love of walking among the dunes combined to make him the honest finder of the first piece of equipment used for observing signals from outer space: an abandoned dish aerial fromerly part of a German radar station.

In 1956, Queen Juliana conferred an

honour on Jan Hendrik Oort. The presentation was made in the small village of Dwingelo, in the East of Holland, the spot chosen for what was then the largest radio telescope in Europe. The observatory there was largely a result of his initiative and effort.

What else does humanity owe to this man? It would be quite impossible to list all his achievements in a career spanning more than forty years. If we must choose one outstanding contribution, that must surely be Oort's work in unveiling the mysteries of the structure of the Milky Way.

Just as, four hundred years earlier, Copernicus put forward the theory that the sun, and not the earth, was the centre of our planetary system, and that the planets rotate around the sun in different orbits and at different speeds, so did Oort proceed to show that the Milky Way-of which the sun is but one of the hundred thousand million components-rotates around its centre; and that the stars situated at a great distance from the centre travet at a slower speed than those closer to it. The Oort Constants is the name given to a certain combination of forces which govern the rotation of the Milky Way. Similarly, his work has made it possible to chart the spiral structure of the galaxy and to study it in detail. It is now possible, for example, to calculate that the sun and the planets in the solar system describe a vast orbit around the centre of the Milky Wayan orbit which takes two hundred million years to complete.

For his discoveries in this field, and his contribution to radio astronomy, Prof. Oort

was awarded the 1966 Vetlesen prize, an American award, which is regaded by astronomers as equal to Nobel prizes in other sectors of learning. Oort does not typify the Todern scientist, bustling with efficiency and gualities of leadership; equally, he does not conform to the outmoded vision of absentmindedness, long hair, stained clothing and Langling shoelaces. His study at the Leyden abservatory is a model of neatness. Its occupant is always attentive, but his quiet, sometimes hesitating voice suggests a lack of se f-confidence: he is not, however, a man given to gesticulation. In his lectures, he frequently gives the impression that something he has said flashed into his mind like a spark a second beforehand. Tall in stature, his bearing is suggestive of the ascetic.

Jan Oort is a man of moderate habits. Ee was born in 1900 the son of a doctor. Unlike so many astronomers, he was not gr.pped by the wonders of the heavens as a bay. He was already a student of mathematim and physics at Groningen university when he was moved by his contact with another great Dutch astronomer, Prof. Kapteyn, to Liply himself to studying the stars. He has frequently been approached with offers of a professorship on the other side of the Atlantic. But he has always declined. He is loyal to Elland, and to Leyden in particular. But ris scientific reputation is not bound by any national frontiers. The American journal Look once published a list of the hundred meatest contemporary contributors to politics, science and art. There was only one Dutchman on that list, and his name was Ean Hendrik Oort.

Ierusalem

News from Israel publishes a short sketch of Jerusalem which we reproduce below.

Jerusalem has a population of 300,000 about three-fourths of whom are Jews, 61,600

Moslems and 11,500 Christians. For the past two hundred years, Jews have been the largest community. The "rights of the inhabitants", whether Jews, Arabs or Moslems, include the right to administer their own city, to develop it, and to repair the havoc of war. Jerusalem has the right to normal existence as a living city, its life and institutions must be allowed to grow in the interests of all its inhabitants, and it cannot be artificially frozen at the point which it had reached over four years ago.

Since 1967, all Jerusalem's citizens have had their due voice in the administration of the city. In the last municipal election under the Jordanian occupation in 1963, here were only 5,000 eligible voters in a total Arab population of some 60,000. Only males over 21, property owners and rate-payers could vote, no political parties were permitted. Irrespective of the results of the voting, the mayor was appointed by the Jordanian Government in Amman. On the other hand, in the 1969 election for the municipal council, universal suffrage for those over 18 years of age was introduced in the sector formerly under Jordanian occupation. The number of Arab citizens who actually cast their vote for the administration of the united city in that election was greater than the total of those eligible to vote in 1963, during the Jordanian occupation.

All the citizens of Jerusalem, both in the western and eastern parts of the city, have the right to normal municipal services. All the city's inhabitants now receive such services, which were non-existent or inadequate during the 19 years of illegal Jordanian military occupation.

Since 1967, compulsory education laws have been strictly applied. A system of kindergartens, which did not exist under the Jordanian conquest, has been extended to the eastern part of the city. Vocational training

has been expanded, including the opening of a night-school for working boys. The network of free medical services for school-children, new mothers and babies, has spread to this section af Jerusalem. In a special programme carried out in 1967, all children in East Jerusalem were given thorough medical checkups, including skin, tuberculosis and eye tests, as well as vaccinations against diphtheria, tetanus and second shots against small-pox. Trachoma and malnutrition have now all but been eliminated. A new 300-bed hospital on Mount Scopus, to serve the northern and eastern parts of the city, will soon be opened.

The eastern section has been connected to the Jerusalem water-mains, providing round the clock water supply for the first time in history. A Central sewage system has been introduced. The Municipality of Jerusalem has provided playgrounds, parks, youth clubs, where there libraries and were none before. An Arabic language theatre has begun performances. A developed social welfare system has been applied for the first time to this part of the city. The citizens living in Eastern Jerusalem have the services of a Government Labour Exchange, 40 per cent of the section's workers have joined and are protected by the Israel Labour Federation. There is no unemployment in Jerusalem, low cost public housing and generous mortgage opportunities are being provided by Municipality to Arab residents.

Nothing therefore could be more inaccurate than to assert that the rights of the inhabitants of Jerusalem have been adversely affected by anything done or planned by Israel. Their rights to peaceful life and development, and to a voice in Jerusalem's affairs, have been fully respected and indeed advanced only since June 1967.

About Power Generation in Bulgaria

The following is reproduced from News From Bulgaria:

In 1970 the production of electric power per head of the population hit the 2,300 kWh mark; as regards this index Bulgaria is far ahead of her neighbouring countries—Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia—as well as certain European countries, as for instance, Italy.

Water sources are not numerous in Bulgaria —which made it necessary to put in maximum efforts aimed at their most rational utilization, so that now we actually use 33 per cent of the economically profitable potential of the country's rivers. The deposits of solid fuels are limited; almost three-quarters of all solid fuel deposits are now caloric lignite deposits in the Maritsa-Iztok Coal Basin. In it an industrial-power complex of the same name has been built, comprising two electric power stations (capacity—1.1 million kW) and a briquette factory (capacity—1.8 million tons of briquettes annually).

The shortage of local power sources is compensated by the import of liquid fuel and coal from the Soviet Union. The Rousse, Devnya and Varna thermo-electric power stations use caloric Soviet coal as fuel. The Varna Thermo-Electric Power Station (capacity—630,000 kW) is the country's biggest station of this type.

High development rates in power production will characterise the Sixth Five-Year Plan. During this period the country's electric power producing capacities will generate some 6.5 million kW of electric power; its consumption will hit the 33,500 million kW mark in 1975. It is estimated that the total volume of power consumption (all types of power and fuel) will amount to 41 million conditional tons a year.

Three hydro-electric power stations with a total capacity of 640,000 kW will be put into operation during this period.

The completion of the construction of the first Bulgarian atomic power station at Kozlodoui, near the Danube, will be a salient event under the Sixth Five-Year Plan. It will have two reactors of the aqueous homogenous type, each one of them driving two 220,000 kW turbines—i.e. the total capacity of the atomic power station will be 880,000 kW.

In the period of 1975-80 it is planned that electricity generated by atomic power stations would make up 50 per cent of the total increase in electric power production. For this purpose the extension of the Kozlodoui atomic power station, to give it an additional capacity of 880,000 kW will be started, as well as the construction of a second atomic power station with a capacity of two million kW.

A New Treatment for Cancer

News From Israel gives us the following information:

Concanavalin-A, commonly known as Con-A, is a drug which was actually discovered 40 years ago. It is only for the past two years, however, that this drug has been experimented with as a possible cure for cancer.

Prof. Leo Sachs, who is the head of the Department of Genetics at the Weizmann Institute of Science at Rehovot, calls this drug not a breakthrough, but a direction to the thinking about cancer treatment.

At the Weizmann Institute plans are presently under way to use "Con-A" on human tissues grown in test tubes. The drug, when used in the proper quantities and injected directly into the tumour, inhibits the growth in 70% of the cases. To date it has only been used on the subcutaneous "simple" types of growth.

The Montagnards of South Vietnam

The Montagnards are inhabitants of South Vietnam; but they are really different from the Vietnamese. The New Statesman has

published an account of how these people are being oppressed and even destroyed by the American aided South Vietnamese. We quote portions from it.

"In the long and dismal history of the Indo-China war, there have been few more shameful episodes than the betrayal of the Montagnards. These are the 800,000 or so people of Polynesian origin who live in the highlands of South Vietnam. For thousands of years the various tribes have lived by hunting and growing upland rice, most of which would be used for brewing wine to drink at animal sacrifices. They lived in wellmade long houses, raised on stilts and thatched with reeds. Their cross-bows and poisoned darts protected them from the Vietnamese who stayed in the long narrow coastal strip and the fertile Mekong Delta, from which they had chased the original Chan people. The Vietnamese call the Montagnards 'moi' or savage. The French however were fond of them and took their side against the aggressive Vietnamese.

"After independence, the Emperor Bao Dai maintained the French policy of protecting the Montagnards, although he built a hunting lodge for himself at the French resort town of Dalat. His successor Dien, however, colonised the highlands with Roman Catholic refugees from Communist North Vietnam and with adventurers from his own region of Hue. The Vietcong entered the highlands and won many recruits from the Montagnards, who also started their own movement, FULRO, demanding independence of all Vietnamese. The American advisers were welcomed at first by the Montagnards. The Special Forces, or Green Berets who were active in this highland region, were far more intelligent than might have been thought by those who saw the John Wayne film. They learned the Montagnard languages, wore friendship bracelets of gold on their right wrists, drank rice wine by the vaseful, and shared the Montagnard's prejudice against everything Vietnamese. However, the Pentagon and American Generals in Saigon resented the Green Berets, whose methods were far from West Point. They were sent home, their Montagnard auxiliaries were disbanded and the government of the highlands passed to the army of South Vietnam. This army, during the last few years, has expelled hundreds of thousands of Montagnards from their villages, herded them into camps, and handed over their land to carpet-bagging Vietnamese. This policy of mass expulsion, amounting almost to genocide, has been approved by the American advisers, who do not wish to offend the ruling clique in Saigon."

The Americans therefore had some experience of chasing out the natural owners of the land of a geographical area with the idea of achieving a political objective. Iyahiya Khan's "drive the Bengalis out" of East Bengal was therefore nothing new to the Americans. The South Vietnamese had been chasing out the Montagnards from their hearth and home and the Americans were approving of it. When Iyahiya Khan chased out ten million Bengalis from their homes and killed a million or two, the Americans thought of their policy and not of the inhumanity of the outrage.

Nepal and India

T. D. Allman has written an article in The Guardian weekly and has found reasons

to expect the growth of closer relations between India and Nepal as a result of India's victory over Pakistan in the 14 days war. We all know how wholeheartedly the Gurkhas have fought in that war and how that made Nepal's bond of friendship with Pakistan rather make believe. Nepal's other friends, viz., China and the USA, have also not been active enough to make Nepal's friendship with India unnecessary. Now with East Pakistan dissolved and the new state of Bangla Desh developing into a very close ally of India, Nepalese isolation will be likely to push the Nepalese into closer relationship with India. We should remember that Nepal has a population of eleven millions "and about eight million other Nepalese live in India." Nepal's trade with the outside world is mainly through Calcutta. The attempt to use Chittagong as a port of entry and exit was not much of a success. If Bangla Desh attempts to develop Nepalese commerce, it can never succeed if Nepal adopts an anti-Indian attitude. There is, lastly, the question of Nepal being a monarchical autocracy with an ever-growing desire in the Nepalese to set up a democratic form of government. For that the Nepalese are likely to develop closer bonds of fellowship with the freedom loving peoples of India and Bangla Desh. The eventual emergence of Nepal as another associate state of India like Sikkim and Bhutan is a possibility that cannot be ignored.



FORM IV

- 1. Place of Publication:
- 2. Periodicity of Publication:
- 3. Printer's Name:

Nationality:

Address:

4. Publisher's Name:

Nationality:

Address:

5. Editor's Name:

Nationality:

Address:

- 6. (a) Names and addresses of individuals who own the newspaper:
- and (b) those of shareholders holding more than one percent of the capital:

CALCUTTA (West Bengal)

Monthly

Sri Samindranath Sircar

Indian

77-2-1, Lenin Sarani, Cal-13

(Same as above)

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I, the publisher of the Modern Review, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.



PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA AND PRIME MINISTER OF BANGLADESH



Founded by: RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE MODERN REVIEW

APRIL



1972

Vol. CXX-X No. 4

Whole No. 784

NOTES

India-Bangladesh Treaty

India and Bangladesh signed a 25 year Treaty of freindship, cooperation and peace on the 19th of March 1972 at Dacca. Mrs. Indira Gandhi Prime Minister of India and Sk. Mujibur Rehman Prime Minister of Bangladesh signed the Treaty in behalf of their respective couna. tries. The 12 Article Treaty has been drawn up in the manner of the Indo-Soviet Treaty. Each country guarantees to the other the fullest military support and assistance in case it is attacked by any power, internal or external, in order to overthrow its government established by law by use of force and violence. When two countries are in reality associated by common interests and similar ideology; and have also participated in any joint endeavour to gain political liberty or freedom, they have good enough reason to join in a defensive alliance. The Warsaw pact, for instance binds the "Iron Curtain"

countries to assist and aid one another for the maintenance of their communistic political status and we have two instances of these states using warlike measures for the prevention of weakening the one party rule of the communists by participation of non-party men and women who commend popular support. Both Hungary and Czecho-slovakia attempted this sort of move towards democratising the one party rule of the communists and both had to face Russian Tanks which prevented any ideogical changes that might have been planned by the reformers. In the case of the Indo-Soviet Treaty there is no question of similarity of political ideology. The two countries undertake to assist one another to maintain their governments in power. The Governments are established according to laws, rules and custom as in force in each country. The Indo-Bangladesh reaty has been a great necessity for the reason that if any country suffered any great political upheaval or change it would affect stability of the government in power in the For instance Pakistan, other country too. with the help of China or the USA might try to reoccupy Bangladesh. In such a case India's assistance will help Bangladesh to repulse the attacks made by Pakistan and/or China and or the USA. If these powers attacked India inorder to achieve their objective, the Soviet Russian forces would have to come to the assistance of India in terms of the Indo-Soviet treaty of friendship, cooperation and peace. The chances are therefore that no power will attack Bangladesh or India.

Shutto Upholds Pakistan's Rights

Pakistan was created by the British on the basis of a fictitious two nation theory which described the Moslem nation of India as a homogenous body which had a Moslem culture of its own, a Moslem language (Urdu) which all Moslems of India spoke and a Moslem background of history which was the history of the Moslem nation of India. Everybody knew that all this tale of two nations was a pure figment of British imagination and that Mr. Mahammad Ali Jinnah was acting in collusion with the British imperialists for reasons associated with the growth and development of his political party the Moslem League. For the Moslems of India were as various culturally, linguistically and in point of their history as were the Hindus. When Pakistan was formed by linking up the Moslem Majority areas of the Punjab, Sindh, the North Western Frontier Province, Baluchistan and Bengal, East the people Pakistan spoke five languages, had different social habits and did not have a basically common history. There was trouble over language soon and Bengali had to be I accepted HERBERT CONCLU

as a second state language in order to appease the Bengali Moslems. Pakistan could not be administered as a democracy either for the fundamental disunity that prevailed among its 🖔 peoples. Martial law became, more or less, a permanent characteristic of the Islamic Republic and no Pekistani had any human rights as understood by the peoples of the free world. But with total absence of democratic rights pervading their land of Moslem freedom the people of Pakistan could nevertheless be induced to start holy wars in Kashmir or Cutch with a view to liberate the peoples of those areas from their alleged thraldom to oppressing Hindu overlords. In fact India gave equal political rights to all Indians irrespective of caste, colour, language or religion and the highest posts in the country were open to the Moslems in the same way as to Hindus. Moslems can be and had been Presidents or Vice-Presidents of India and so could they be and had been Ministers of Government or had held high posts in the army, navy and air force of India. Moslems had been ambassadors of India in foreign courts too. The Pakistani canards against India are therefore totally false and their talks about liberating any Moslem's anywhere in India could be best answered by telling them to "cure themselves". Their occupation of a part of Kashmir was achieved by getting sopport from the British and the Americans and should now be vacated for the reason that the people of "Azad" Kashmir are as much the slaves of the military rulers of Pakistan as are all other Pakistanis.

So when Mr. Bhutto sheds crocodile tears and says his heart bled for the Kashmiris or for the POWs of the Pekistan army who may be tried for their crimes against humanity in Bangladesh; he should be told that the base acts of which Pakistani soldiers have been guilty have no parallel in human history,

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and the less Mr. Bhutto talks about the injustice of such proposed trials the less he will expose his despicable soldiers to the civilised nations of the world.

Can Nationalisation Abolish Poverty?

If in an industry or economic institution production is noticeably restricted in order to keep prices up and for making the maximum profit by a minimum investment; in other words if the sales and employment potential of that industry or institution is not fully used for the greater exploitation of the public for private gain; then the nationalisation of such an economic establishment would provide scope for economic growth and the removal of poverty. Nationalisation as such cannot remove poverty. In some cases where nationally owned economic units are run at a loss, state ownership may be source of increasing poverty through waste of national resources.

Assuming that the managers of the state would select only the most profitable industries for nationalisation, there would be no guarantee that those industries would progressively expand and provide employment to increasing number of persons. Quite often state management destroys the profitability of industries; as we find in the case of state owned bus services in the city of Calcutta. A highly profitable business like road transport has been reduced to a condition where it cannot even run a fair proportion of its vehicles daily for the purpose for which the business was setup by the late Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister of Bengal. Wasteful and corrupt methods of handling business can destroy all advantages which produce surplus values. There is also the question of negligence in dealing with urgent problems. State ownership therefore is not necessarily a means of expansion and the greatest source of profitable and fullest utilisation of resources. In Russia nationalisation was tried out and after many industries had suffered from the effects of centralised state management the Soviet leaders arranged to revert to private management through the appointment of experts on contractual terms. As a result of this decentralisation the state began to earn profits and the "contractors" also made profits in a big way. Our Government may find it necessary to decentralise too by creation of managing bodies which will not be bureaucratically controlled. We believe a move has already been made to manage the state owned steel factories of India by a special body of experts called a corporation.

The main idea is national economic development. If this is best achieved by introducing state ownership, that should be done. If, however, state ownership interferes with proper economic development, nationalisation should not be made a fetish of. For many countries like W. Germany, Japan, Sweden and the United States of America have made wonderful progress without nationalising economic institutions. Australia, Canada, Britain and many other countries have done so too. In the circumstances, blind adherence to the principle of state ownership may not prove to be a nationally gainful policy.

Political Immorality

There are many superstitions about the true value and significance of things connected with political matters that affect the life, economy and basic rights of the peoples of India. Old superstitions die hard and the birth rate of new beliefs is by no means very low. And these beliefs are not infrequently based on unreason and the evil designs of persons who definitely act contrary to the principle of the greatest good of the greatest number. The critics of government and of successful political parties have their superstitions in the same manner as have the party leaders in power. We constantly hear about the anti-social

nature of the issue of licences and permits by governmental departments. The economic development of the country apparently procceds on lines which divert the flow of wealth into chosen hands and channels only. The people who believe in this interpretation of the undeclared economic policy of government call the existing political system Permit-Licence Rai. Licences and Permits are no Coubt issued to selected persons who can convince government of their control over resources required for running industries or establishments. Such persons commercial normally belong to certain well known classes or groups. People who are not of these classes, but belong to other, less affluent sections of the population, cannot obtain licences or permits for the reason that they lack the assets required for developing economic institutions. Or, even if they got such permits or licences they inevitably had to hand over their acquisitions to other, more prospercus parties. The accusation, therefore, that the government were somehow guilty of savouritism and other corrupt practices cannot be proved by citing particular cases of granting permits or licences to wealthy capitalists. Poorer people do not either ask for permits or licences or are not granted the same for the reason that they cannot produce convincing evidence of their ability to make their schemes and plans successful.

When we come to governmental slogans like "garibi hatao" or about establishment of a socialistic form of government or economy, we find the same sort of prevalence of assumptions which cannot be proved by factual evidence. We do not yet know the correct and fullest dimensions of our "garibi" or poverty. The removal of poverty too requires a proper blue print without which the announcement has no meaning nor any basic guarantee that the government have really and truly under-

taken to remove or reduce the poverty of the peoples of India. We feel that the Government do not even know what they are talking about.

The next question is how secrosanct should a written constitution be permitted to be. All constitution makers think and believe that the constitutions they have made are infallible and must not be subjected to amendments affecting their basic provisions. While one may accept the theory that there are facts relating to the origin and nature of a particular state which should not be changed without the sanction given by as great a majority of the members of the legislatures as the people of the country are in a position to call up to express their opinion by votes; one cannot agree that succeeding generations of the people should be forced to obey the provisions of the constitution even if a vast majority of them did not wish to do so. A constitution which is fixed for ever can be like a chain of slavery if allowed to weigh down the people's wishes and desires over decades. Social and political conditions change and so do economic circumstances. Constitutions therefore have to be progressive and no fanatical attachment to what was believed in or used as basic principles of political existence can be allowed to restrict the liberty and freedom of the nation and its right to amend a constitution. Rigid and fixed political ideas will subject the people to conditions similar to those existing in hard core communist states. The best of constitutions would be no substitute for the right of the people to settle their own affairs according to the wishes of the majority of their elected representatives. One may so arrange things that the majority required to effect constitutional changes will be fixed at two thirds or three fourths of the total number of representatives of the people. In certain fields of change, one may even provide for plebiscite or

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reelection of legislators. In matters affecting minorities the people who would suffer any loss due to the proposed changes should have the right to be specially represented before the changes could be effected. In short whatever precautions or safeguards may be considered to be effective as guarantees against sudden popular swings of opinion should be provided in full measure to prevent Parliamentary majorities from acting frivolously under the influence of any temporary emotional upsurge.

There are some beliefs relating to the fairness of elections too which have no basis in facts. Recording the names of non-existent persons as voters, impersonation, intimidation, bribery and plying tribal and unenlightened voters with liquor; are widely practised by vote collectors at election times. immoral practices are adopted everywhere by unscrupulous persons belonging to all political parties. So when defeated candidates complain loudly about unlawful methods used by their opponents, they forget what their own agents habitually do. When one comes to discuss the crimes that political party men commit in order to gain ascendancy over the followers of opposite parties; we again find that these crimes are committed by the hooligans attached to all parties. Some parties may have more hoodlums in their ranks and others fewer; but that does not enable any party leader to have a totally clear conscience.

High Level Crimes

In human society, particularly in the world of politics, the highest of persons can descend to the lowest level of criminal activities. This has been found to be true throughout history. Palace murders, disappearance of newly born Princes, decapitation of queens and killing of ministers and priests of religion have been common things in monarchical establishments.

When the peoples of various countries found Monarchies to be instruments of suppressing human rights and the highest principles of social ethics; they removed the kings by various means in which murder of persons of royal descent were also carried out quite often. When kings were removed and popular forms of government were set up, conditions did not change for the better. Violence continued unabated and the number of persons who were killed and injured for political reasons did not fall to a very low level. Communists fought communists, socialists tried to oust socialists from power, democrats felt no shame in trying to overthrow democratic governments which had come to power through elections. So that although modern forms of government satisfy some people who feel their liberty and freedom to be safe in the hands of elected or party chosen rulers; many other people think that neither the single party system nor competitive elections guarantee to the people their human rights and basic freedoms. Single parties usually practise methods of government which are tyrannical and autocratic. Where many parties function and elections determine which party would be holding the reins of the state; all kinds of illicit methods are found to be in use and nothing that the party leaders may aver or pretend to uphold can enforce fair play and justice in the world of politics. That is about human relations within the political community. In all types of government the individuals constituting the nation never try to be united, nor do they try to be selflessly attached to the interests of other people. Power hunting and the urge to exploit one another takes active shape quite often and these feelings are reflected in the party politics of the country. Immorality and a vicious disregard for other people's well being appear to be the dominating factors psychologically when one comes to

analyse the cross currents of thoughts that guide social conduct.

When we come to the conduct of persons who are not the nationals of the country but represent and control the interests of other nations, we discover very unexpected and strange deviations from the standards set for the behaviour of cultured persons of civilised communities. A recent press notice in India relating to restrictions put on a foreign diplomat who was suspected of photographing military installations from his own private plane, show up what illegal things foreign diplomats can do. There are many foreigners in India who masquerade as teachers, priests, artists, mendicants, hippies and members of other professions, who are really nothing other than informers and spies. These people not only carry on espionage themselves but they also engage many Indians to secure information: for them. These spies therefore are doubly undesirable and should be sent out of this country. But most of the foreigners doing espionage work for other countries are not known to the Indian police and they therefore continue their nefarious activities without any difficulty. Some are suspected but the police carnot accuse them of any crimes against the stare of India for lack of evidence. They also remain at large. Only a few are found out and are sent out of the country or imprisoned. They are not many.

USA and China re-arming Pakistan

While the USA speak of world peace and aniity among nations and even step down from the high pedestal of international political superiority to stretch a hand of friendship to China; their shipment of arms continue steadily to Pakistan. More and faster war planes, numerous missiles and fleets of tanks armed more heavily than ever before, progressively fill up the military aerodromes and store yards

of Pakistan. There can only be one explanation for this large scale supply of arms to Pakistan by the USA. As Pakistan has been defeated in War by India and 'as the territories formerly known as East Pakistan have already seceded and become an internationally recognised independent state; Pakistan can only use her newly gathered arms for the purpose of occupying Kashmir or some other part of India. The purpose therefore must be starting another war with India. The USA know it and approve of it too; or the arms would not be flowing into Pakistan. The Chinese have been the declared enemies of imperialism and colonialism. Pakistan has been guilty of both colonialism and imperialism as well as of all possible crimes against humanity that one can think of. Inspite of these bad marks against Pakistan's reputation as a civilised land of free men, China has chosen to befriend Pakistan and has been supplying arms to that destroyer of human rights and the basic freedoms of The reason again can be civilised men. found in China's desire to share in Pakistan's loot. Pakistan has taken by aggression parts of Kashmir and has made a gift of some bits of these territories to China. The latter country too has walked into Indian territory here and there in the North Eastern Frontier region of India and they do not show any signs of vacating their aggression. In the circumstances it is of advantage to China if Pakistan fights India. The advantage will be greater if Pakistan can snatch away more land from India. China can then both consolidate her position in the lawlessly occupied areas of India, and may also expand such territories. So the idea behind the arms aid that Pakistan is receiving from the: USA and from China, appear to have the same purpose—an attack on India by Pakistan. Such attacks had been planned by the USA and China on other occasions too. What happened in 1965 and in

1971 are well known to the world public. But the defenders of democracy and peoples liberties (USA and China) never give up hopes of success in their evil ventures.

Full Employment for Indians

We have said, time and again, that full employment for the people of a country is an essential part of a socialist type of economy. For, in an economy in which all pursons would work for a living and unearned incomes would be reduced to a minimum, the only way to participate in the national scheme of distribution of wealth and incomes could be through employment. There could of course be doles and various other social security measures; but the general public should not be made to base their life's economy on alms given to them by the state. That again one has to think seriously about employing most of the people of a country who are of employable age no matter whether one wishes to establish a socialist economy or not. A capitalist economy also requires full employment in so far as social security measures have now become a recognised part of enlightened capitalism and no capitalist state can maintain these measures properly unless the majority of the people of working age were gainfully employed. If one visualises a communist type of economy, even then vast numbers of unemployed persons would not be found easily supportable by those who have productive work to do. So that the problem of full employment retains its essential importance even in a communist state.

If most of the people of a country could be employed in producing goods and services which have a ready market within the country or which could be saleable by export, such economic arrangement should be advantageous for the country. An underdeveloped country like India in which the people have a very low standard of living and do not buy even

essential commodities in proper quantities should go in for producing essential consumergoods in increasing quantities and the people thus employed in productive work could then earn wages which they will spend largely on. the goods they themselves produce. Food clothing, medicine; housing, transport and luxuries that have assumed the importance of essential consumer goods should be studied in detail with a view to discover what quanta of increased production would find ready sale and use. These studies will show that large numbers of small scale capital projects will be involved in any plans that will be framed for increased production of essential goods and services. Digging of wells, tanks, canals, road building, tree planting etc. will naturally be found necessary in order to make any progress along the lines suggested. As far as one can judge arrangements for larger production of commonly used food articles can be made by local authorities all over India without any risks of the extra goods produced remaining unsold. The capital projects associated with this will be permanent additions to the countries economic structure and should yield an income to the nation after paying for all expenses of production. One may assume that arrangements for a 50% increase in the production of common food articles will be justified. This ought to gainfully employ quite large numbers of rural workers. Some of the capital work can be carried out by mechanised means and the increased transportation and the distribution of the products in urban areas should employ many city dwellers too. One cannot make any estimates without proper studies being made but one may assume that these widely flung schemes of increased production of food articles should cut down the general unemployment by 10%. Coming to clothes we may be able to go in for a 25% increase in production which may

lead to a reduction of 5% in unemployment. About half the number would be rural workers. People who know say that we need new houses everywhere in India and the total number of houses to be built would run to tens of millions. The building of these houses and their maintenance should employ hundreds of thousands of persons in various capacities. The trades and crafts connected with house building and maintenance should require about double the number of workers that they now engage. These extra hands should lower the number of unemployed persons in India by at least 5 to 10 per cent. Stimulation of production in the fields of education, medical treatment, transport, entertainment etc. etc. should create employment for more people. These new jobs ought to decrease the number of the jobless by at least 5 to 10 percent.

The above scheme of linking up production with distribution and consumption in order to arrange for the producers to buy up largely what they themselves produce can be tried out in selected zones before any India wide plans are set in motion.

Bhutto and Kashmir

If Kashmiris want Kashmir to be separated from India and to be joined to Pakistan by exercising their right of self determination; it is the Kashmiris who should express such a desire. Mr. Bhutto has not been appointed as the keeper of the Kashmiri conscience. His advocacy of the alleged Kashmiri cause is the product of his own imagination and not the result of any authority that he has come to hold from the Kashmiris. Even the occupation of a part of Kashmir by Pakistan is by aggression and not by invitation of the people of Kashmir. More over self-determination

does not mean subservience to a Pakistani military dictatorshiy. No part of Pakistan has enjoyed the right of self-determination during the last fourteen years. In the circumstances joining Pakistan would mean the total end of self-determination for the people of Kashmir. The Kashmiris know this and they have said so on many occasions. But Mr. Bhutto thinks Kashmir's self-determination must be declared from Peking, Washington and Islamabad and not from Srinagar.

Why Did Nixon Go To China?

When President Nixon returned from his Chinese tour and was asked whether he had concluded any secret deals with the Chinese leaders, he denied that he dad done any such thing. If that is the truth one naturally wonders why did the American President at all go to China. From his open discussions with Mr. Chu-en-Lai one would conclude that President Nixon went to China in order to announce America's withdrawal from Vietnam and Taiwan, as well as to give out, in an uncalled for manner, the Sino-US point of view relating to Kashmir. One cannot believe that the President of the United States of America would make his remarkable gesture to China in order to make some common place statements which can not be called epoch making by any stretch of the imaginanation. He need not have gone to Peking to reiterate his decision to retire from Vietnam. He could have made his pronouncement about Kashmir from the White House and about his wish to leave Taiwan in the lurch any time from anywhere. Why did he have to make such song and dance about his rapproachment with the Peoples' Republic of China? What are the real and specific dimensions of this new born friendship with China?

SARAT CHANDRA BOSE AND BANGLA DESH

DAVID M. LAUSHEY

The recent tragic rebellion in East Bengal and the subsequent Indo-Pakistani War calls to mind the unfortunate circumstances of 1946-1947 which resulted in the partition of the Bengali homeland between India and Pakistan. There were those in 1947 who cautioned against such a partition and who warned people of the possible future consequences. Among those championing the cause of Bengal unity was Sarat Chandra Bose, older brother of the famous Netaji. As soon as he realized that Congress would accept the partition of India, Sarat Bose resigned his position on the Working Committee and issued a strong protest which concluded with the following warning:

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Any division of the country or of the provinces on a religious basis will not help us in bringing about amity, not to speak of unity, which the Congress has so long stood for. An overhasty surgical cure will involve us in confusion and disaster.

Sarat Bose died in 1950. But he lived long enough to see the communal carnage following partition, the refugee problem, extreme difficulties of economic readjustment in the two halves of Bengal, and the development of hostile relations that have plagued India and Pakistan to the present day. Of course, he could not have known the precise details of the "confusion and disaster" that would result in 1971 for failing to heed his warning. Nor could he have envisioned that ultimately the partition of Bengal intimately involve relations with China, the U.S.S.R., and the U.S.A. or that the concerned attention of the entire world would be focused on the plight of millions of suffering

people in East Bengal and refugees in West Bengal. Nevertheless, he displayed remarkable foresight from the distant vantage of 1947.

Sarat Chandra Bose was born in Cuttack in 1889, was educated at Ravenshaw College; Presidency College, Ripon Law College, and finally was called to the bar from Lincoln's Inn. On his return from England, he began practice in the Calcutta High Court and in 1918 joined the Indian National Congress. Beginning his political career under the guidance of C. R. Das, he soon became an influential Congress leader, not only in Bengal but in national politics as well. He held a of significant posts: Managing number Director of Forward (organ of the Swarajya Party, subsequently renamed Liberty), Alderman of the Calcutta Corporation at the same time Netaji was Chief Executive Officer, member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, member of the Central Legislative Council, President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, and member of the Congress Working Committee while Netaji Congress president.

Bose often found himself in opposition to the mainstream of Congress politics. He began as a Swarajist, joined Malaviya's Nationalist Party in the mid-1930's in protest against the Communal Award, but the biggest split was yet to come. When Netaji was forced to resign the presidency in 1939, Sarat Bose joined with the younger brother in organizing the Forward Block within the Congress. Subsequently, both brothers were suspended from Congress for disobeying a resolution of the Working Committee which prohibited individual Congressmen from begin-

ning civil disobedience without first gettingthe approval of the respective Provincial Congress Committees. Both Sarat Bose and Netaji were demanding the immediate resumption of civil disobedience, but Congress policy, under Gandhi's firm leadership, called for cautious watchful waiting in the face of the impending international crisis on the eve of World War II. The Government placed Netaji under preventive detention in October-1940. The story of his escape, flight to Germany, and subsequent organization of the Indian National Army has become almost legendary.

Meanwhile, Sarat Bose was asked to become Home Minister in a new coalition government of Bengal headed by A. K. Fazlul Huq but was prevented from doing so by his own arrest, December 11, 1941, just four days after Pearl Harbor. The Government contended that he had been in contact with the Japanese. He was held under preventive detention for the duration of the war. This was his second arrest; the first was in the early thirties.

Upon his release after the war, Sarat Bose immediately patched up his quarrel with the Congress High Command. He was elected to the Central Assembly and became leader of the Congress Party in the legislature. In July 1946 he once again became a member of the Working Committee and briefly in September and October 1946 he was a member of the Executive Council of the Interim Government. He was perhaps at the pinnacle of his career. But unfortunately, his health was failing. Apparently his conflinement for nearly four years during the war had done him serious harm.

However, it was not his health, but the question of the unity of India that caused Bose suddenly to give up his newly-regained position of prominence in national politics. When

it became apparent to him that the Congress Working Committee would acquiesce in the partition of the country, he tendered his resignation from the Committee in December 1946. And in March 1947 he resigned from the Congress Party itself in protest against a resolution of the Working Committee asking for the division of the Punjab.

It is evident that Bose felt very strongly about the unity of India, especially Bengal. His resignation from Congress is proof of this. With independence so near, and considering that he was a relatively young man (58 at the time of his resignation), was nationally known, had held important positions in the Congress, and certainly benefitted from the prestige and fame of his brother Netaji, Sarat Bose gave up whatever ambition he might have had for high office after independence. It is true that his health was poor, and from time to time he had serious differences with the Congress High Command. Furthermore his developing socialist views were certainly more radical than the Congress left wing or even the Congress Socialist Party. Nevertheless it seems reasonably safe to conclude that he would have been rewarded with some position of prominence in the post-independence government had he not again broken with Congress over the issue of partition. He thus made a tremendous personal sacrifice for the lost cause of Bengal unity.

Between March and August 1947, Bose carried on a vain campaign in statements to the press against the partition of India and especially of his home province. He warned of the problems that would develop between Hindu minorities in East Bengal and Muslim minorities in West Bengal. He utilized the argument reductio ad absurdum when he questioned whether India would be further divided into Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Buddhist, Christian, Parsee, and other religious-based states if the

precedent were established in Bengal. He stressed that the notion of religious or theocratic states, though an old idea, had been rejected by all the modern states of the world. He emphasized that if partition were accepted, communal harmony and social progress would suffer a serious blow. He felt certain that the partitioned provinces would become easy prey for what he called the "imperialists, communalists and reactionaries." Clearly he felt that British imperialism would linger on in the newly created, partitioned and weakened states, especially when he discovered that Congress was considering remaining within the Commonwealth. He raised the familiar cry of "divide and rule."

I feel more and more convinced every day that if Bengal is rent in twain, the two Provinces of Bengal will be exploited more and more by exploiters, white and brown. The Bengali Hindu and the Bengali Muslim will become quill-drivers of those exploi-

As an alternative to partition, Bose proposed the creation of a Union of Socialist Republics. The first step toward such a Union would be the redrawing of the provincial boundaries of India and the creation of linguistically-based autonomous Socialist Republics. These sovereign Republics would then willingly co-operate to form an Indian Union. Referring specifically to Bengal, the Punjab, and the North West Frontier Provinces, he said : (

and opportunity and been given to us a leftista parties; democratic a socialism;

to work from the bottom and bring into being an Indian Union of our free choice.

Even after independence and partion had become facts, Bose persisted in his demand that the provinces of the new India at least should be reconstituted on a linguistic basis. Bengali-speaking He was concerned that minorities were included in parts of Bihar, Assam and Orissa. Specifically he argued that the Hindi-speaking majority of Bihar should be united with the United Provinces while the Bengali-speaking districts would join Bengal. Other Bengali minorities would be incorporated into an enlarged state of West Bengal and the remaining provinces of India would be redrawn on a similar basis. He did not believe that this would result in the creation of more than twelve provinces at most. Unfortunately, Bose did not live long enough to see Congress finally accept the general principle if not the details of the linguistic states he had proposed.

When it became evident that all his warnings and proposals were being ignored, Bose formed the Socialist Republican Party to give organized expression to his political views. The party was composed primarily of some disaffected members of Congress, some former terrorist party, the Bengal Volunteers. A journal, The Socialist Republican, and a daily newspaper, The Nation, were begun in Calcutta under Bose's editorship to propagate the party

From its founding on August 1, 1947 until and I have all along maintained and still main- its dissolution just after the 1951-1952 general tain that if the Indian provinces were elections, the party stood for communal reconstituted on sas linguistic basis and sharmony and religious freedom; anti-impeconverted into republics, they would before rialism, including opposition to India's by colong demand in their own interests the omembership in the Commonwealth; creation establishment of an Indian Union. The of linguistic states respecially, the inclusion of British attempt to impose an Indian Union all Bengali-speaking areas in an enlarged state from the top has failed. I wish very much of West Bengal; unity among the various

what was generally described as "the ideology of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose." Bose's view of socialism included abolition of landlordism without compensation, ownership of the land being vested in the actual tillers of the soil, state ownership of basic industries, and planned economy.

In pursuit of his goal of left unity, Bose organized a Provisional Left Coordination Cammittee in April 1949 and subsequently formed a Leftist Consolidation Council. But the high point of left unity came in the summer and autumn of 1949. A bye-election was called to fill a vacancy in the Bengal Legislative Assembly created by the death of Sarish Chandra Bose, another of the famous Bose brothers. Although his own health was bad, Sarat Bose announced in May 1949 that he would contest the election, and he soon wan the support of a large coalition of leftist parties. The coalition supporting him was so strong in fact that both Nehru and Sardar Patel made personal appeals in support of the Congress candidate. Bose himself was in Europe to recoup his health at the time of the election, but his campaign was managed for him primarily on a platform criticizing India's membership in the Commonwealth, condemning alleged corruption in the Nehru government, and condemning the repression of civil liberties. This campaign was successful, for Eose defeated the Congress candidate by a more than three to one margin.

Bose returned to India in July 1949 and lestist parties. These efforts met success in October 1949 with the formation of the United Secialist Organization of India (USOI). The United Lest Front, an earlier coalition of leftist parties organized by Swami Sahajanand

Bose became president of the new organiza-

The influence of Bose and the Socialist Republican Party was evident in the program of the USOI adopted by the conference.

The object of this Organisation shall be the establishment of a Union of Socialist. Republics in India with a view to the establishment of a classless society in which there will be no exploitation of man by man, and the principle 'from each according to his ability to each according to his needs' shall be recognized.

The program also called for "territorial redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis." Whether or not these new states would have the right of secession from the Union was not explicitly spelled out, although the program did pledge the USOI to work to "ensure full autonomy for the constituent units of the Union," This could be interpreted to mean that the states would have the right to secede.

In spite of the obvious communist influence in the program of the USOI, the Communist Party of India (CPI) did not participate. Bose himself, while sympathetic to the Russian and the Chinese communist revolutions, was opposed to the Communist Party of India. On several occasions he expressed these dual feelings. He told the press in January 1949, "I am not going into Russion politics, but it is not true that in twenty years the Russians have developed their country in a way which continued his efforts to create a larger front of ano other European anation acould have imagined?". And concerning China the said, "we have always had a great admiration..... for the Chinese Communists. My impression is that they are not all under the influence of Moscow." But regarding the CPI, he empha-Saraswati, agreed to merge with the new sized that "there is still a deep suspicion in USOI, and in all some twenty-two parties sent the Indian mind that Communists do not delegates to the initial organizing conference, a think independently and take their orders

from elsewhere." He said that "these suspicions have to be removed completely before there can be any question of admitting the CPI into the proposed United Socialist Organization." While Bose hoped that the Socialist Party (formerly the Congress Socialist Party) would join the unity movement, negotiations with Jayaprakash Narayan never resulted in agreement.

Unfortunately for Bose's hopes of left unity, the USOI began to break up almost as soon as it was created. Considerable tension developed between Bose and leaders of several of the constituent parties, particularly Saumyendranath Tagore of the Revolutionary Communist Party of India and S. S. More of the Maharashtrian Peasants and Workers Party. Bose died in February 1950, just months after founding the USOI. - Sahajanand, the peasant leader from Bihar, became the new president and remained in office until his own death in June. These deaths within a period of four months of two .. of the most prominent spokesmen for left unity were undoubtedly severe blows to the USOI. The organization did continue to function under the leadership of General Mohan Singh of the Marxist Forward Bloc until just after the first general elections of 1951-1952, but then it dissolved completely, as did the Socialist Republican Party. Thus, Bose's dreams of left unity, like his dreams for Bengal unity, came to naught.

Less than an hour before he suffered a fatal heart attack, February 20, 1950, Bose completed an editorial for his party newspaper, secession of East-Bengal is certainly proof of The Nation. He was troubled by the continued communal rioting between Hindus and Muslims in both halves of Bengal. He proposed a solution which, however politically unfeasible at that time, nevertheless proved ... that he was a staunch champion of the interests of his homeland until his dying breath:

The solution I offer for the acceptance of the people of India and Pakistan is that East Bengal as a distinct and separate State should join the Indian Union and that the people of India and Pakistan should bring pressure to bear upon their respective Governments to bring it about as soon as possible.

He did not demand the immediate reunification of Bengal. He indicated that he did not want to disturb the partition that had already taken place. Rather, he said,

Let East Bengal live and flourish as a distinct and separate State, but in the interests of the future well-being of the communities living in the two Bengals which, as I have said before, are integral to each other, which are each other's bone of bone and flesh of flesh, let East Bengal live and flourish under the fostering care of the Indian Union.

Surely he must have privately believed that, under a common national government, the two halves of Bengal would eventually be reunited. He argued that his plan would be beneficial not only to the two Bengals, "but also to the peace and prosperity of India and Pakistan."

His soluton was certainly not possible to achieve without war. No nation of modern times has willingly acquiesced in the alienation of one-half of its domain. The fact that Pakistan fought a desperate war twenty-one years later in a vain attempt to prevent the this. Perhaps too, Bose underestimated the real tensions existing between the dominant religious communities of the two halves of Bengal. Yet, the 1947 plan for partition and the union of East Bengal with West Pakistan has certainly been proved a failure. There are those in Bengal today who might-well question whether Bose's plan would have been

any worse. To achieve it. India would have and to wage war on Pakistan. But war has come between them three times anyway, and still there is no peace and no united Bengal.

The career of Sarat Chandra Bose illustrates a number of important generalizations about the role of Bengal in the Indian nationalist movement. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Bengali leaders had been in the forefront of the nationalist agitation. But as new leaders emerged from other parts of India, especially after Gandhi came on the scene, Bengal's influence in national politics waned, at least relatively. There was then, a sense of having been by passed and consequently a struggle to regain the prominence that had once been theirs, especially since the Bengalis had such important regional interests to protect. Perhaps this may explain why Bengalis were never much enthralled by the novel Gandhian approach. To follow Gandhi wholeheartedly "would" have been to admit that leadership in the nationalist struggle had passed out of Bêngali hands.

Terrorism and Marxism—both anathemas to Gandhi-were more important in Bengal than in any other province of India. And communalism, though not exclusively a Bengal problem, weighed very heavily in their provincial politics. Many Bengalis demanded a more activist and a more forceful policy in the nationalist movement, and they demanded that more attention be paid to their peculiar regional interests. The Bengalis had a greater sense of regional identity than most other provinces. They had a proud heritage, a cos

apparent to them that the interests of Bengal were to be sacrificed for expedient all-India political considerations. Sarat Bose epitomizes many of these regional characteristics. His demand for linguistically-based automous states becomes easily understandable, given this background of Bengali frustration with national Congress leadership. 25 5 15 8 25 8

It must be realized, of course, that for much of his career, Sarat Bose was not in the first rank of Bengali leadership. He began his career under the shadow of C. R. Das, and after the Deshbandhu's death in 1925 he played a subordinate role to his brother Netaji, even though Netaji was eight years his junior. It was only after Netaji was reported to have died in a plane crash in 1945 that Sarat Bose emerged on the national scene in his own right, really for the first time. But then came the issue of partition, and Sarat Bose chose to step down rather than to bear any of the responsibility for dividing his home 120 1 32 5 5 6 province.

To a large extent the shadow of Netaji lingered even after 1945, for many believed him still alive and awaited his return. And Sarat Bose drew much of his support from among those who had been Netaji's most faithful followers. The Bengal Volunteers had supported Netaji's Forward Bloc in 1939. In 1947 they joined Sarat Bose's Socialist Republican Party, as did some former members of Netaji's Indian National Army. It is not surprizing that "the ideology of Netaji" was loudly proclaimed, in the literature of the Socialist Republican Party.

Sarat Bose's career certainly illustrates, the strong aesthetic and cultural tradition, espe- lack of enchantment shared by many Bengalis cially their highly refined linguistic and with Gandhi's leadership. Bose was on literary tradition: There must have been a popposite sides from Gandhi on many an strong sense of frustration among many occasion, on the question of council entry in Bengali leaders as the independence movement withe 1920's in on the question of supporting moved closer to completion and it became Netaji's second term as Congress president, on

resumption of civil disobedience at the beginning of World War II, on the whole general question of strategy and tactics in the nationalist movement.

Bose, like so many Bengalis, did not rule out forceful means to achieve his objectives. He was not terrorist himself. but he welcomed the support of former terrorists in the Forward Bloc, the Socialist Republican Party, and the USOI. And it is significant that he had defended the accused terrorists in the famous Chittagong Armoury Raid Trial in June 1931.

In other respects, Bose was certainly far to the left of Gandhi on questions of the future economic and political reform and reorganization of India. But ironically, on the last crucial issue, that of partition, he was at one with the Mahatma. But on that question, even Gandhi's voice counted for less in nationalist politics.

It is difficult to sum up in a few words the career of a man like Sarat Chandra Bose, who led a full and active public life during a critical period in the history of his nation. He was representative of the English-educated Bengali bhadralog lawyer, the class that for 150 years played such a large role in India's public affairs. He stood for many things and championed many causes communal harmony, rigorous anti-imperialism, activism in politics, socialist economic and political reorganization, the philosophy of Netaji, linguistic states, provincial autonomy, and left unity. He was a Swarajist, Nationalist, Forward Blocist—all within Congress—and a Socialist Republican outside of Congress. But whatever else he may have stood for, he कर्म कर्म महाराज्या मुख्या हा क्षेत्र हा कारावट कार्य

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consistently championed the cause of Bangla Desh in the broadest sense of that term.

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I wish to express my grateful appreciation to Sri Kall Charan Ghosh and his son Sibabrata for kindly supplying me with much additional information on their close personal friend, Sarat Bose. I wish also to thank Sri Tridib Kumar Ghosh of Calcutta for the inestimable assistance he rendered me during my research in India, 1964-1965. However, all opinions and conclusions about Sarat Bose expressed herein are strictly my own.

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A NOTE ON EMPLOYMENT POLICY

GANGADHAR RAKSHIT

Much of the political and economic unrest in India today, is due ro the problem of growing unemployment among the educated youths in the country. A solution of our unemployment problem is, therefore, a basic pre-requisite for the establishment of lasting peace in the country.

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In the past, the Planning Commission used to put forward estimates of the backlog of unemployment at the beginning of the plan and of the estimated increase in the labour force during the plan period. According to these estimates the Fourth Plan was to have started (on 1. 4. 69) with a backlog of 160,00,000 unemployed and new additions to the labour force during the Fourth Plan are expected to be about 2,30,00,000 in all amounting to 3,90,00,000 by the end of the Fourth Plan.

In view of the widespread differences of opinion regarding the definition and measurement of unemployment in the urban and rural areas in India, the Planning Commission appointed, in August 1968, a Committee of Experts to enquire into the estimates of unemployment in the country. In the opinion of the Committee, the data available to the Planning Commission for estimating unemployment in the past have not been adequate and that the conclusions based on them were, therefore, subject to an unknown margin of error. The Committee further states that the concept of

labour force as adopted in the developed economies is unsuitable for an economy like ours with its preponderence of self-employment and production within the household enterprises. Here the main problem is that a sizeable proportion of labour input in household enterprises is provided by some members of the family who have only a partial attachment to the labour market. In all probability they would neither seek work, nor be available for outside work. Thus their inclusion in the labour force and in the calculation of unemployment, in the opinion of the Committee, becomes misleading.

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It is no use debating upon the extent of unemployment in the country. Unemployment problem is a reality in India today and its solution brooks no further delay. Not unemployment that India did not have problem during the pre-independence days, Government of India did that nothing for its solution after independence. Central and State Governments, in fact, created a large number of employment opportunities, since independence. But probably never before in the history of India such a vast number of people did rightly of wrongly believe that all persons who obtain a bare pass degree of the college or university will necessarily be provided with jobs. The unemployment problem in India today is, therefore, largely a

crisis of ambition of the enlightened Indian youths.

At any rate, a large army of unemployed youths in India today is pregnant with serious social, political and economic dangers. As such, if we want to maintain our present social, political and economic fabric in the country, a solution of our unemployment problem is urgently called for.

A few suggestions are put forward in this regard: (a) Switching over into a job oriented, system of education. The present system of imparting general education beyond the secondary stage to all and sundry should be discouraged. A large number of students of mediocre intelligence should be trained according to their aptitudes in technical, vocational and professional schools. A sense of dignity of labour should be infused in them so that they should be ready to accept any kind of job either manual or mental.

- (b) Granting of liberal credit by the fourteen nationalized banks/co-operative banks to the unemployed persons who could organise themselves into some consumer/marketing co-operative societies.
- (c) Unemployed youths should be encouraged to adopt farming, small scale industry and trade as their occupations. Government should help them in the form of liberal credit and subsidized seeds and fertilizers.
- (d) Imposition of an 'employment tax' on the new upper-classes-sector, e. g. Government contractors, rich peasants and business community. The sum collected in this way should be used as an 'employment benefit'. The recipients of employment benefit should be put to work under a social/moral/physical welfare programme. The district should be taken as a unit. The task of implementing the programme should be vested in a district committee consisting of a band of dedicated

souls. Non-political men of integrity should be entrusted with the task. They are not to be elected and therefore, not answerable, to the electorate. That is to say, employment should be kept above party-politics. Services of the ex-principals/headmasters/teachers/professors or retired officials of integrity who have no connection with politics should be requisitioned in this regard. A state plan for employment should be prepared on the basis of the district plans.

- (e) Wage or salary freeze in both private and public sectors and a ban on retrenchment or lock-outs for five years.
- (f) Creation of extra army units for recruitment of the unemployed youths. This will help preservation and chanelling of much of our youthful energy towards a rational and meaningful goal.
- (g) Greater emphasis on labour intensive programmes in the basic strategy of Indian planning which is highly capital intensive. The objective of using more labour need not necessarily mean a return to the antiquated system of production. The Government should encourage the setting up of efficient, labourintensive small sector units which can be fitted into the more capital intensive industries and projects. In a recent report of the World Employment Programme the International Labour Organisation argued for the integration of employment-creation to economic development through the maximum possible productive use of available labour to accelerate economic growth and more particularly to substitute labour for scarce capital. I. L. O. suggested that this could be attained through a strategy of development involving comprehensive programmes of rural development and labour-intensive public works programmes. e. g., construction of roads, bridges. dams, canals, public buildings and afforestation.

There is nothing new in these types of programmes. The States Governments, in India incur a lot of public expenditure on these items every year. But rural work in most States are performed on an ad hoc basis and mostly in the form of relief works which has little lasting impact on the life of the community. Political leaders very often reap large divizends out of these rural development works. A switch over into some concrete and permanent rural development programme manned by some non-political men of inegrity is, therefore, urgently called for. The programme under the Dandakaranya Development Authority is worth emulating in this regard.

(h) Age of retirement in both private and public sectors should be fixed at 55 years and

work on a part-time basis by a whole-timer elsewhere should be discouraged.

(i) The main objective of the Fifth Plan should be 'employment for all' who satisfy a minimum educational standard. For five years other objectives, though important, should be given a secondary role. The Fifth Plan should be designated as a Plan for full employment. The employment policy should be based on a job-oriented education policy, rural development, public works, encouragement of farming, co-operative societies, small-scale industry and trade and creation of extra army units and a general programme for social/moral and physical upliftment.

In the opinion of the present writer, implementation of all or some of the suggestions as stated above will go a long way in the direction of solving the problem of unemployment in India today.



INDIAN DEMOCRACY—A CHALLENGE FOR THE INTELLIGENTSIA

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PREM NARAIN

The working of democracy in India provides many informative and interesting lessons. As we embarked on a constitution which theoretically claimed to be the most democratic, it was feared in 1950 that the ship of state might founder on the rock of cultural and ethnic variety in a sub-continent that contained 300 languages and major religions. The working of democracy all these years has falsified many a prophet of doom. Inspite of their compromising with individual's liberty, neighbouring countries comprised of a more homogeneous stock are still at a distance from the stage of economic take-off, whereas major break-throughs have been made in India both in the agricultural and industrial sectors. The stoppage of assistance by the aid-giving foreign powers in wake of Bangladesh operations has failed to arrest economic growth. Judged from normal historical standards, the success of democracy in India stands far from being questioned. R. R. Brooks, none-too-friendly disposed to India, in a much debated article in the Saturday Riview terms the federal unity of this country as a 'miracle'.

The working of democracy in such a vast and varied country, however, provides a number of warnings, and, there lies considerable scope for a qualitative improvement of this biggest democracy. While making an assesment it has to be remembered that the democratic form of government carries some inherent defects which cling even to an electorate which is well-educated and underwent a long process of evolving a corporate national life. The literature of any general election in Britain as well as the United States teems with instances of perversion of facts,

amazing charges of unfair dealings and suggestive insinuations. With their eye on the next election, political parties whether in or out of government, are playing to the gallery all the time. Rather than speak, they shout and that too by using the hyperbole. Normal government plans are described as 'crash programmes', the V.I.P.s make 'air dash' rather than fly, every housecrash is a catastrophe and a delayed summer is a great calamity. Under the circumstances, some gap between the practice and the profession must be conceded. Elections are a costly business, more so in affluent societies. Mr Nixon's journey to the White House cost no less than Rs. 2 crores. The concern for the weaker section or the common man, therefore, remains more of an aspiration than a reality. Instances are not wanting when personal or party interests have been gratified at the cost of the nation or even international peace. If one is to believe Prof. James Thompson, former adviser to Ex-President Johnson, the reason of American involvement in Vietnam lay in the President's desire to prove winners before an electorate that felt chagrined at the loss of face in both Korea and China-the latter displaying violent anti-American sentiments. In India with 35 crore illiterates and per capita consumer expenditure of less than Rs 20/-per mensem (1969 figures), things should have been far worse than they turned out to be. This speaks volumes for our cultural heritage that lays emphasis on tolerance, search for truth and individual's freedom. Elections have been peaceful and political leaders have gracefully accepted the verdict of the ballot-box. The constitution has shown resilience and in 1970 the 26th amendment was effected. The judiciary upheld the rule of law and no less a person than the President personally appeared before the Election Tribunal. There has never heen any apprehension of the army overstepping its limits and the civil authority has remained supreme. Viewed in the context of continuous sabre-rattling on our frontiers, this achievement speaks for itself. But all the same the 24 years of freedom have not been without avoidable lapses and it is worthwhile to take stock of the situation and identify the areas where improvement can be effected.

It is conceded at all quarters that substantial improvement in the quality of our democracy will have to wait till illiteracy is cradicated but this proposition in its entirety should not be accepted. To educate the 70% illiterates, an outlay of Rs 4,500 million will be required, which we we can ill afford. Secondly, education, as we have seen, has not always been concomitant with the development of civic sense. Our unlettered countrymen have an exhaustive fund of ancient wisdom which formed the plank of Gandhi's appeal to the masses. We may well rely on the sound common sense of the average Indian provided the issues are explained to him. It is here that a great social responsibility lies on the educated elite that are fairly widespread in all parts of the country and have a stake in the free society that a democracy offers. So far the awakening of the man on the Indian streets left entirely to the political manipulator who would have no compunction in reducing the nation to a crowd. Truth will be victorious but only when a society develops a passion for it. Robert Guillain, a celebrated scholar of Chinese affairs, unhesitatingly praises the material progress of Mao's country, but lays his finger on the vulnerability of that system by observing that

liberty in China is another name for totalitarian indoctrination which is considered right because it leads to unanimity.

Let us consider the areas where progress has been impeded on account of democratic system. Unfettered and independent thinking is a prerogative of the youth which should blossom best in a free society. The sad fact in independent India remains that youth movement can claim little positive achievement to its credit. This is all the more regrettable in the context of pre-independence freedom struggle when the youth had provided most of the fire and drive. It is fallacious to argue it out as a part of worldwide phenomena of youth unrest. Firstly, a poor country like ours cannot afford the loss of valuable energy and material. Secondly, it is not like Japan's student power manifesting itsef, on problems like Okinawa agitating the nation; it is a directionless and destructive movement that smacks of gangsterism. Developing countries juxtaposed with the present spurt in technology are facing a lot of imbalances, and students in India have a host of problems pertaining to curricula, books, libraries, laboratories, teaching personnel, hostels and the like: It would have been in the fitness of things if student-ire were directed against obstructions on their way, but that is not so. According to a study conducted by the University Grants Commission (about the year 1969) it was found that out of the 234 notable cases of indiscipline, 60% emerged from non-accademic issues. Since all agitation is directed against the few in authority, the demands of students carry a semblance of righteousness in a democracy which is conditioned to treat the majority view as the correct one. The hard fact is that an infinitesimal small number of students under the cloak of democracy are pressurising the large body of students. This is possible because the brilliant ones are too busy, the

average inert or indifferent, and the subaverage eager to come out of their class rooms, are willing to listen to such advice. A small fanatical minority holding the large body of students as well as society to ransom, reminds one of Revolutionary France, After the first blaze of enthusiasm had died down, the French people in their anxiety for tranquility were content to leave politics to club men. According to an estimate by Prof. Fisher, only about 6% of the electorate took part in the elections to the National Convention which under the gospel of libetry, equality and fraternity unleashed the reign of terror, the guillotining of "the brave, the good, the beautiful, the innocent". Looked at from society's view point, it may be reprehensible to encourage such a clique of students as could assault a V. V. John in broad daylight in his own office, but it is only natural for the professional politician to patronise elements that have the potentialities of herding people. The remedy lies not in blaming any section or in legislation but in arousing the civic sense of the people to feel involved in the activities going around them. We would have to evolve, as M. Srinivasan, a noted sociologist, puts it 'a code of public behaviour' so that the person offending it, may find things not for him both in and outside the campus. This studious scholar may gather the pluck to defend his right to study, and members of public prevent forcible collection of funds (euphemistically called 'subscription') or closure of markets. The politician would automatically trim his sails according to the yariations of wind.

From every early times of our history, people have judged their ruler by the material prosperity that they could feel and see. This index stands as true as it ever was. Freedom from want remains the sine qua non for enjoying those rights that accrue to an individual in

a democracy. Inspite of the green revolution and significant advances in industry, we feel the tardiness of our pace in the context of phenomenal advances made by war-torn Germany or Japan. It will be worthwhile to identify the loopholes that require plugging.

"Where there is no vision, the people perish," said Goethe, and we have rightly chosen democratic socialism as our objective. The snag lies in our inability to project a clear image of our goal. Since ours is the first country to achieve socialism through democracy, it devolves on us to spell out our brand of socielism in as clear details as the Russians or the Chinese are doing. Although democracy provides the advantage of open and free discussion, yet we have failed to utilise it. As a slogan Democratic Socialism is attractive enough to capture people's imagination and no political party would jeopardise its popularity by sketching the details that might alienate some sections without pleasing any. Morover; the emergent picture might not be sold to the average voter. Cryptic and ambiguous phrases pay rich dividends in elections everywhere, as was the case with 'Bonapartism' in France and 'New Deal' in the U.S.A. What makes it particularly painful in India is the fact that the uncertainty about Democratic Socialism is adversely affecting production and development. As far as industrial sector is concerned, the role of private enterprise has been described as that of 'industrial strike'. It is ostensibly chary of State interference in the form of controls on investment, debentures and sale price of commodities. Added to this is the hallucination which has nearly paralysed all its development plans. On the other hand the public sector has not shown an enviable or encouraging record for running the industries, and the government or public would think twice before entrusting more units or spheres to it.

This partly explains why 80,000 engineers are going unemployed. To the slow rate of industrial growth is added the phenomena of labour unrest which appears to be endemic. In a democracy based universal suffrage, the trade unions are a force to reckon with. But like the students' unions, the trade uniods too are neglecting their primary function. Rather than attending to labour welfare and increased production, Tabour organisations are more concerned with the political motivation of their members under a committed leadership which does not hesitate to use force or violence to achieve its end. The ordinary worker finds himself a captive of those who if necessary may brandish knives to the dissenting soul. Many a survey brings out the revelation that the striking worker often cannot explain the D'ETRE of his action except by attributing it to the call given by his leader. The salutary provision of having one union for one industry may bring about immediate results in the form of better deal for the labour and increase in production. President V. V. Giri himself has repeatedly recommended it, but the inertia of the average worker and the rivalries of labour leaders would not let it happen.

In agricultural sphere, our inability to spell our the implications of Democratic Socialism has failed to provide direction to land laws. We have to decide whether, in ultimate analysis, ownership and inheritance of land will be allowed under socialism, especially in a country which is teeming with landless people, and, whether ceiling on land is a temporary expedient or the final answer. No political party appears to be keen at answering these for fear of touching a hornet's nest. As a result of green revolution, those with big holdings have suddenly acquired undreamt of prosperity and a corresponding increase of political influence over the rest. On account

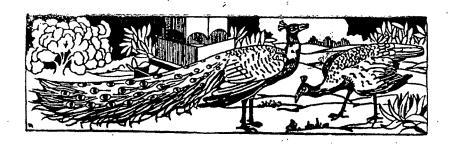
of expenses involved in the elections, and their frequency at different levels—central, state and local, political parties would like to patronise rather than antagonise influential sections in the sprawling countryside. This also explains the reluctance of States to levy income tax on agricultural earnings and the paucity of funds for irrigation, rural electrification, road building, housing and the like—schemes which are not only urgently called for but, being labour intensive, would go a long way to provide employment.

A clear perspective of the objective—Democratic Socialism-is also necessary to prevent dissipation of the nation's energy in wrong channels. Poverty and unemployment are the basic issues before all Asian countries excluding Japan). According to an I. L.O. study, there might be 1016 million jobseekers in Asia by 1980, and out of these only 35 million may get employment if effective and quick action is not taken. An election manifesto in the country should be weighed in terms of its capacity to combat these prime evils. However, at the time of elections a large variety of distractions appear in the shape of boundary disputes, language problems, cowslaughter, regionalism, casteism and so on. It appears that our 'tryst with destiny' is going to be a tryst with triviality. In this respect, the most encouraging feature has been the mid-term Loksabha poll of March 1971, which was, by and large, contested on national issues, and the results of which belied the prophets, predicting the doom of Indian democracy. It is time we take up long term plans which were bypassed to make way for the schemes that could yield immediate political gain. Flood control measures provide the instance of such negligence. The seminar on water utilisation held in September 1971, woefully noted that there had been no enthusiasm in data collection because it would not yield visible results

quickly. Similarly, our wasteful judicial system needs drastic overhaul and we have done pretty little in this direction inspite of the fact that through our freedom struggle we had been blaming the alien rulers for planting a cumbersome judicial set up. Most of the red tape and administrative inefficiency can be got over if we devise a system wherein a guilty person can be punished expeditiously. Inspite of its desire to evtend credit to the needy cultivator, a nationalised bank would take six months because it would collect proof of land ownership, 12 years, revenue record, V.L.W.'s certificate of viability, B.D.O,'s endorsement, tehsildar's verification, signatures of two guarantors and yet finally another certificate to establish that the guarantors are themselves above reproach,

Gunnar Myrdal, while discussing Asia's backwardness, bewailed the softness of Indian democracy that could not enforce discipline at various level of democratic participa-

tion. Now after the 14-day war Bangladesh, Indian democracy has assumed a chastened form. It was waged to vindicate a liberation struggle which led to the establishment of democracy in Bangladesh, our neighbour on the east. Towards the west, the collapse of the military junta, made way for the people's elected representatives to hold the reins at Islamabad. Most significantly it has shown that dictatorships are not necessarily more efficient in war. The future of democracy in the sub-continent is assured, but this increases the responsibility of Indian people more, as the quality of their democracy would be closely watched and emulated by the neighbouring countries. A heavy onus lies on the educated class from which leadership at all levels emanates. But for the indifference of the elites, the quality of our democracy would have gone up considerably. "There are no good or bad soldiers, there are good or bad officers" stands true not only for the army but also for a democracy.



NATURE AND IMAGINATION IN EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY ENGLISH POETRY

D. D. AGRAWAL

Nature and Imagination play an important part in the English poetry of the nineteenth century. Different critics advance different views. They speak of Nature more in relation to themselves than in relation to Romantic Poetry. Aldous Huxley, for instance, imagines that if Wordsworth had been born in a tropical country, he would not have become a poet of nature. Not only the critics and the literary historians but also the Romantic poets are responsible for confusing the role of Nature Romantic poetry. In their letters, prefaces, essays and evaluations of others poets views of Nature and they express their its role in their poetry. Often there is no consonance between what the Romantic poets contend and what they create. We have, therefore, to be cautious in determining the role of Nature in Romantic poetry.

One common view is that Nature is the primary preoccupation of the Romantic poet and it is in the special view that the Romantic poets hold of Nature that there lies the fundamental difference between the Classical and the Romantic, and it is indeed this view which gives to the Romantic poet his place of distinction in English poetry. Never before in England was Nature (in which she is so rich and abundant) given such a prominent place in literature as in the age of Wordsworth and never with so much sincerity, ecstasy and penetration. Nature in Chaucer was just a casual caller, at most a background. In Spenser, it becomes a character, acquries an embodiment. To the Elizabethans, it is only a bag full of images; an inflated coffer of symbols. In Milton, Nature becomes remote and cosmic,

and divorced from human relations. To Pope, it is only an article of art. He takes it, prunes it, chains it and kills it. It is his mother and nurse, friend, and philosopher, guide and God—a greater religion than Christianity. The cry of Wordworth

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A Pagan suckled in a Creed outworn, proves this point.

Further, Nature in Romantic poetry has two layers of existence—the external physical, and the internal spiritual. The external nature gives rise to the sensuous passion of Keats and the internal awareness inspires the intellectual fervour of Shelley. The two layers of existence also meet and blend and then is born the "shivering conflict of passion and eternal law" symbolized in the poetry of Byron. The glory of the lake and the mountain, the moving procession of daffodils, the intoxicating song of the nightingale or the maddening and soaring one of the Skylark, the sea, "baring her bosom to the moon" and "the coil of the crystalline streams" are a few of the myriad profiles of the external layer. And the vision of the internal layer enables the poet to feel the breath of Autumn's being and have glimpses of the "fierce maenad" otherwise not visible. The unseen universe of the faery investing the lake and the mountain with the "light that never was", "the presence that disturbs with the joy of elevated thought" and the "unheard melodies" not meant for the sensual ear are but poetic manifestations of the internal layer of existence. The external layer gives to the Romantic poet

his vision of the visible things—a sensuous, empirical awareness of the physical universe; the internal layer activates his imagination, shapes his fancy and brightens his insight into the life of things. The one gives him his social conscience and the other his idealism.

If Nature is the life of Romantic poetry, Imagination is its soul. It serves the Romantic poet in various ways. It gives him ability to view nature and life in different perspectives. It takes his vision into the corners of the universe hitherto unexplored. It heralds him to the presence of supernatural powers operating within and even beyond the natural to the presence of God. It allows him glimpses into such mysteries of life as had been hidden from the human eye. gives him his fancy, his idealism, his transcendentalism. It gives to his poetry the depth and profundity of thought and philosophy. Through Imagination he sees in the objects of nature the reflection, nay, the physical presence of Dryads and deities whom the ancient mythologists could only imagine. Imagination shapes his mind, gives him his myths and symbols. It makes him touch the fringes of eternity, border upon the reality beyond, but it does much harm too. It makes him ludicrous through fancy not controlled by judgement. It pushes him beyond the context of reality. He escapes the responsibilities of the world and loves wandering into a realm realized only in dreams.

The Romantic poet believes that poetry is impossible without Imagination and he is right. It is Imagination which distinguishes literature from history, art from morality, and the creative writer from the mere historian. The Romantic poet also considers Imagination to be the child of mind and hence also the importance he attaches to the role of mind in the making of man and to the

influence of nature on the evolution and development of mind.

Critically much has been written on Imagination in Romantic poetry. It is not possible within the limited space at our disposal to discuss all that the critics and literary historians have said but we cannot resist the temptation of quoting one critic, namely, C. M. Bowra whose lectures on the Romantic Imagination form, to our mind, the best treatment of the subject ever attempted in English. He says-"If we with to distinguish a single characteristic which differentiates the English Romantics from the poets of the eighteenth century, it is to be found the importance which they attach to Imagination and the special view which they hold of it. On this, despite significant differences on points of detail, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Shelley and Keats agree and for each it sustains a deeply considered theory of poetry."

These words of Bowra are remarkable. He proves in two sentences what the Romantic poets could not do in their prolonged studies, essays and prefaces. Bowra's is perhaps the first sustained work, an organized study of the part Imagination plays in the poetry of the Romantic Revival. Imagination is essential scene and setting in which the Romantic poetry is placed. Imagination is of Romantic poetry; it sets its the aroma tone and makes its temper. It gives it colour depth. It operates like a spirit and and breathes into poetry a magic glow from which emerge the golden clouds of feelings couched in the rainbows of words of glory. By exercising his Imagination the Romantic poet "creates life and adds to the sum of living experience."

In their theories of Imagination, not to talk of their practical application in poetry, the Romantic poets seem to differ from each other. Blake believes that Imagination is nothing less than God as he operates in the numan soul." He says that each act of imaginative creation performed by judgement "divine". Blake says: "One power alone makes a poet: Imagination, The Divine Vision." To Coleridge Imagination is "the Lying power and prime agent of all human perception." Wordsworth considers Imagination to be a blending of creative power and z special visionary insight. He agrees with Bake and Coleridge that Imagination is an zitribute of God and its activity is divine. To him Imagination is "but another name in absolute power." It is the "clearest issight" and the "amplitude of mind". It is "equal to reason in her most exalted mood."

Also, the Romantic vision relates Imaginate truth and reality. Keats says in a letter to Benjamin, written on the 22nd of November, 1817, "I am certain of nothing but of the boliness of the Hearts' affections and the Truth of Imagination—what the Imagination seizes as Beauty must be truth—whether it existed before or not."

The only Romantic poet who disparages Imagination is Byron. Keats criticises Byron

and says that the chief difference between them lay in their opposite views of the part Imagination in poetry. In played by September 1819, he wrote to his brother George, "You speak of Lord Byron and me.-There is this great differenc between us: He describes what he sees-I describe what I Imagine." Blake shares the view of Keats. He says in his dedication of "The Ghost of Abel" to Byron that Imagination is Eternity and regrets that when he should follow Imagination he followed only nature. Let us quote Bowra once again: "On the central article of the Romantic Creed, the importance of the imagination, Byron was regarded as a heretic by such good judges as Keats and Blake and he would not have denied the accusation. It is not surprising among his contemporaries he was treated as undesirable alien in the world English poetry. But he worked for different standards and would not have been troubled by such criticism. In rejecting Imagination, he obeyed a deep conviction and that ' rejection inspired his best work and won him a special place among the poets of his time."



SWAMI VIVEKANANDA—A BRIDGE BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST PRABAL KUMAR SEN

Aldous Huxley has called the human products of the ancient civilisations 'wise fools', and of the modern civilisation 'intelligent fools' and felt the urgent necessity of producing intelligent wise men. Just like Huxley Swami Vivekananda, whose whole constructive genius may be summed up as Romain Rolland points out in the two words 'equilibrium' and 'synthesis' could not remain blind to this significant truth, namely, the dichotomy of the human cultural heritage. Vivekananda visualized two distinct approaches to the problem of human development, one as nurtured by the East and the other by the West. These as Swami Ranganathananda points out in his book, the Meeting of East and West in Swami Vivekananda, can be stated in the language of biology as stress on the 'environment' in the West and that on the 'Organism' in the East.

Since the beginning of the Greek and the Roman civilizations the West has been specializing in the manipulation of the physical and social environments of man for ensuring his growth and fulfilment. "The whole gamut of ideas and processes arising from the approach is conveyed to us by the rich modern words. 'positivism' and 'humanism' which in the wake of modern technological advances are often qualified by the word, scientific."1 According to positivism it is only through understanding, control and manipulation of the natural and social environments that human development can be ensured. Positivistic philosophy believes that through socio-political processes and technology man suitably controls and manipulates his environment which ultimately results in his own self-expression. Thus with this approach is integrally correlated a sense of fight with an external enemy. Hence, it necessitates on the part of the struggling man to cultivate and express the qualities courage, faith and confidence, and the capacity for co-operation and team work. It provides man with a tremendous zest for life and an ever haunting hankering for action and achievement, which, in their turn, instil in him indomitable energy and unsurpassable practical efficiency. Vivekananda recognized this distinct philosophy of man as being the motive force behind Western civilization ever since the Greco-Roman times.

So profound had been the impact of this philosophy of positivsm on the Western culture from the very inception of it that even religion did not escape its influence. The Greek religion—the precursor of all Western religions -was positivistic in its essential core. Mt. Olympus—the seat of Greek Gods—was a source of inspiration for worldly triumphs rather than for what is called, spiritual solace. This explains why Socrates as well as the Greek 'mystery religions'—which were all well above the positivistic plane—could not be accepted by the Greek society at large. Their own dictum, 'Man know thyself' was practised only to the extent it helped them manifest their social personality. . . .

Unlike the West, the East and, especially India had since the beginning of civilization dwelt upon the 'organism'. This approach urges one to strengthen the 'within' and put up with the outside environment, and if strong enough, even to ignore it. In the wake of its pursuance man attains the virtues of patience and endurance in place of struggle and

adventure, and it helps to inculcate the spirit of renunciation and service in place of action and enjoyment. There is in this also a sense of fight but here the fight is with the 'internal enemy' of man. It gives him a standing where he realizes and proclaims his own immortality. Herein is reflected a philosophy of man, the philosophy of saintliness as they call it, which Vivekananda saw as the distinct message of the East.

Vivekananda measured the depths of both these philosophies of man and realized the argent necessity of a synthesis between the two, for his desire for real welfare of the total human society to materialize.

Before he actually gave his message of synthesis to the world, 'he lived a life of that synthesis between East and West. His personality, his outlook, and his sympathies were international and human."² The impact of the most modern of Western education on the one hand and the intimate contact with Sri Ramakrishna, the living embodiment of all that the East stands for, on the other, gave rise to a Vivekananda representative of the best in both the West and the East. He had both the 'philosophic calm' of the East and the 'philanthropic energy' of the West, ingrained in himself.

. History has witnessed the insufficiency of either of the two philosophies—the philosophy of manliness and the philosophy of saintliness -taken by itself. Swamiji was apalled to see the bitter consequences of the eastern neglect of the environment on the one hand, and the western ignorance of the organism on the other. The man of the East by concentrating consoul alone and totally neglecting the body had come accross a situation where both his soul and body were in jeopardy. The western man on the other hand, through the trampling of his soul by worldliness had lost his mental peace, the first prerequisite for keeping himself in equilibrium. Further, the western mind remained altogether ignorant

of the spiritual dimension—over and above the sensate one—of man. Consequently physical death remained ever-frightening and ever-enigmatic an object for him.

This tragedy—the tragedy of the fear of physical dealth, which can be stated in other words, as the tragedy of the total neglect of the spirit or soul of man—had not gone unnoticed even by western thinkers.

When Vivekananda was busy preparing himself for the great task of the alleviation of this human malaise, Schopenhauer referred to the tragedy of the western mind in these words:

"Almost all men who are secure from want and care, now that at last they have thrown off all other burdens, become a burden to themselves." 3

We have another thinker from the West, C. G. Jung, realising the utter fruitlessness of the modern man's pursuit of 'worldly achievement' alone. He says in his Modern Man in Search of a Soul (pp 118-26): "Achievement, usefulness and so forth are the ideals which appear to guide us out of the confusion of crowding problems. They may be our loadstars in the adventure of extending and solidifying our psychic existences—they may help us in striking our roots in the world but they cannot guide us in the development of that wider consciousness to which we give the name of culture.

"The nearer we approach to the middle of life, and the better we have succeeded in entrenching ourselves in our personal standpoints and social positions, the more it appears as if we had discovered the right course and right ideals and principles of behaviour. For reason, we suppose them to be eternally valid, and make a virtue of unchangeably clinging to them. We wholly overlook the essential fact that the achievements which society rewards are won at the cost of the

diminution of personality. Many—far too many aspects of life which should also have been experienced lie in the lumber room among dirty memories....."

"The afternoon of human life must also have a significance of its own, and cannot be merely a pitiful appendage to life's morning. The significance of the morning undoubtedly lies in the development of the individual, our entrenchment in the outer world, the propagation of our kind, and the care of our children. This is the obvious purpose of nature. But when this purpose has been attained—even more than attained—shall the earning of money, the extension of conquests, and the expansion of life go steadily beyond the bound of all reason and sense? Whoever carries into the afternoon the law of the morning—that is the aim of nature—must pay for so doing with damage to his soul just as surely as growing youth who tries to salvage his childish egoism must for this mistake with social failure. Money-making, social existence, family, and posterity are nothing but plain nature-not culture. Culture lies beyond the purpose of nature."

And then the thinker poses the question, "Could by any chance culture be the meaning and purpose of the second half of life?"

This remained practically unanswered till Vivekananda came to the forefront with his message of synthesis. He declared:

"India has to learn from Europe the conquest of external nature and Europe has to learn from India of internal nature (or 'culture' as Jung would like to call it—author). Then there will be neither Hindu nor Europeans—there will be ideal humanity which has conquered both the natures, the external and the internal. We have developed one phase of humanity and they another. It is the union of the two that is wanted."

While the West was suffering from serious spiritual malaise, India and the rest of the

East were groaning under appalling poverty and abject misery. Swamiji was moved to see this state of affairs in his own part of the globe. He recognized it as being verily the logical Easterners' consequence of the ignorance of the secular aspects of life for Therefore, the Swami thousands of years. prescribed for the East a 'toned down materialism'. Said he: "Yet, perhaps, some sort of materialism, toned down to our requirements, would be a blessing to many of our brothers who are not yet ripe for the highest truths. This is the mistake made in every country and in every society, and it is a greatly regrettable thing that in India, where it was always understood, the same mistake of forcing the highest truths on people who are not ready for them, has been made of late......But for that, a good deal of the poverty and the misery that you see in India would not have been."5

Swamiji was a believer in healthy assimilation rather than in outright superimposition of one culture on the other. He, therefore, while asking the East to "sit at the feet of the West" to learn the secrets of material progress, took care to warn it against the giving up of its own life-force, namely the spirituality.

The religion Vivekananda sought to preach to both the East and the West and which he specially enjoined on the West to assimilate along with its own materialism bore the unmistakable marks of his wonderful genius of synthesis. Declaiming on his theory of the new religion, he said in one of his addresses to the World Parliament of Religions, Chicago:

"It will be a religion which will have no place for persecution or intolerance in its policy, which will recognize divinity in every man and woman and whose whole scope, whose whole force, will be centred in aiding humanity to realize its own true, divine nature. Offer such a religion and all nations will follow you."

Serious research has shown that Swami's message to the West on the Universal Religion has significantly contributed to the later liberalization of the church all over the world, and to a process of changes and modifications in the existing world religions in the direction of an unorthodox, and true universal religion. One such researcher, Dr. C. R. Pangborn, Professor and Chairman of Department of Religions, Rutgers-The State University: New Brunswick, N. J., U. S. A., in an article, "American Protestant thought and Eastern faiths" in the Swami Vivekananda Centenary Volume (p.287) measures the impact of Vivekananda's dispensation of a universalistic religion eighty years ago, in the following poignant words:

"The new cultural reciprocity between East and West has as one of its consequences the emergence of a fresh theological stance for many American Protestant Christians. This stance is hardly new among Asians. It was a characteristic one for Sri Ramakrishna and his disciple Swami Vivekananda. attitude they articulated so well in the 19th century is now, translated into Christian terms, finding expression in the West in the 20th century. It is the stance or attitude of willingness to combine commitment to God as He is understood within one's own traditions with openness to the insights, claims, and values of commitments made in the contexts of other traditions. To define more exactly element of this stance is the contribution to the Vivekananda Festschrift....."

Vivekananda in his study of the Eastern and the Western social structures found the crux of the problem of imbalance between the two social fabrics mainly in the varying degree of emphasis laid on the spirit of organization by the two sections of humanity. He visualized the West having benefited by its marvellous sense of organizational spirit, and the East having incurred great devastations

and social malaise due to the phenomenal lack of organizational capacity there. The God of harmony in the Swami, therefore, cried out to the Indians:

"Can you become an occidental of occidentals in your spirit of equality, freedom, work, and energy, and at the same time a Hindu to the very backbone in religious culture and instincts? This is to be done and we will do it. Have faith in yourselves, great convictions are the mothers of great deeds."

While recognizing the emergent necessity for the East to cultivate the spirit of organization, he was not blind to the limitations of the same. He has condescended in a letter to Mrs. Bull (complete works of Swami Vivekananda, Vol. VI, Page 301) that "organization has its faults." He, therefore, always warned the West against the dreadful consequences of its soul being surpassed by organization.

Referring to the Swami's crying zeal for a synthesis of the East and the West, especially on the social plane, Sister Nivedita says in her masterly study of Vivekananda, 'The Master As I Saw Him' (p. 45):

"His view was penetrative as well as comprehensive. He had analyzed the elements of the development to be brought about. India must learn a new ideal of obedience...... The energy which had hitherto gone into the mortification of the body, might rightly, in his opinion, under modern conditions, be directed to the training of the muscles.

"To the western mind, it might well seem that nothing in the Swami's life had been more admired than this. Long ago, he had defined the mission of the order of Ramakrishna as that of realizing and exchanging the highest ideals of the East and of the West."

As Swami Ranganathananda points out in his book entitled The Meeting of East and West in Swami Vivekananda (p. 89), "it is specially in his ideas and programmes relating to the education of the Indian people that Vivekananda reveals his spiritual kinship with the finest of the traditions of the East and the West."

Though Vivekananda very much decried the western attempt at equalizing education with assimilation of ideas he did recognize it to be an integral part and an important objective of education. He did not stop there. On the contrary, he expanded the scope of the whole concept of education by calling for the inclusion of such Eastern (precisely speaking institutions as "Brahmacharya" (celibacy) and "Gurukula system" within the purview of a nation's education system. Now that the significance of some kinds of Brahmacharya and Gurukula system as part and parcels of an education system is being increasingly felt by the western people in general, and the students in particular7(a) it is quite clear that it was not an ulterior sense of patriotism but certainly something far greater than that—the desire to see a happy world—that prompted the great Swami to make such a novel overture about education. Moreover it would be a sheer blasphemy if one calls as spiritual (not in the sense of being an ardent follower of a certain religion) a person as Vivekananda himself a mere patriot. Only a truly spiritual person who has in fact transcended the bounds of race and nationality can say:

"Doubtless I do love India. But everyday my sight grows clearer. What is India, or England, or America to us. We are the servants of that God who by the ignorant is called man."

"There is but one basis of well being, social, political or spiritual, to know that I and my brother are one."

Irresistible indeed had been the impact of the Swami's message of harmony on both the East and the West. Marie Louise Burke, the

authoress of the book, Swami Vivekananda in America—New Discoveries, says:

"Knowing as we do that everything that concerned man was of deep concern to him and knowing of the vast knowledge he possessed of human life in all its phases, we can be sure that he studied and understood modern civilization with the combined insight of a sociologist, psychologist, historian, philosopher and mystic. As was said of him, he acquired greatest familiarity with the institutions of this country (the USA)—religious, political and social. Nor was this familiarity acquired through contact with the intellectual, alone, as he said, during the course of his mid-western tour he spoke also with labourers and farmers; his finger was on the pulse of the nation."

We have yet another western thinker⁹ saying of how the Swami's message tallied with his own western aspirations and thought.

"I shall try to show how clearly allied is the aspect of Vivekananda's thought to our own, with our special needs, torments, aspirations, and doubts urging us ever forward, like a blind mole, by instinct upon the road leading to the light. Naturally I hope to be able to make other westerners, who resemble me, feel the attraction that I feel for this elder brother, the son of the Ganges, who of all modern men achieved the highest equilibrium between the two forces eternally warring within us: the forces of reason and faith." 10

On the other side of the globe, Rabindra Nath Tagore, himself a man of universal vision declared the Swami a bridge-maker between the East and the West. He said:

"That great soul whose death occurred a few years ago in Bengal, that Vivekananda also rose keeping the East to his right and the West to his left and himself standing in between. The purpose of his life was not to contract India for all time to narrow thought-moulds, by excluding the West from

Indian history. To accept, to mingle, to create was verily his genius. He sacrificed his life to open up a communication line by which the achievements of India may be given to the West and the achievements of the West may be accepted in India."¹¹

Today when on the one hand, mankind cherishes more sincerely than ever the hope more irresistible than ever of a truly universal life—free from all strifes and scorn—and when the relations between man and man, and between nation and nation on the contrary, are far from conducive to the materialization of this hope, it is interesting to remember a few words of Swami Vivekananda, pronounced by him seventyfive years ago. He had said in no uncertain terms, "International organisations, international combinations, international laws are the cry of the day".12

Foot Notes

- 1. Swami Ranganathananda, The Meeting of East and West in Swami Vivekananda (p. 101).
- 2. Ibid., (p. 5)
- 3. Schopenhauer, The World as Will and Idea (translated by Haldane, and Kemp, Vol. I), p. 404.
- 4. Complete works of Swami Vivekananda, Vol. V.
- 5. Ibid., Vol. II, pp 149-50.
- 6. Selections From Swami Vivekananda, Advaita Ashram, Calcutta (1970) p. 16.
- 7. C. W. of Swami Vivekananda, Vol. V (p. 30).
- 7(a) Western educationists, though slowly, are realizing that the incidence of such phenomena as the Hippie movement in the U.S.A. and the Beatle and the underground movements in Europe have their origin in the sensual overtones of the western society in general, and in

the absence of spiritual training (which might make the western students appreciate the importance of psychic controls) in their education system.

As regards the Gurukula system the principal trait of which lies in intimate and pure relationship between the teacher and the taught, its importance (admittedly not in its original form) is also being more and more recognized in the West of late. In his book Higher Education: Demand and Response-"Perhaps the most percipient analysis yet made of student unrest in Britain" (Brian Macarthur in the Statesman of November 20-21, 1969;—Prof. Richard Hoggart, the then Director of the centre for contemporary cultural studies at Birmingham University, writes (see the Statesman, Calcutta edn. of Nov. 20-21, 1969):

"They (the British students) are disap-They find most teachers interested in their subject and not in the life or the mind and most teaching simply dull rather than a dialogue." "They are angry because they dream of a University as a 'moral community' (inverted commas are my ownauthor) and they find that most members of the staff, although they may say this themselves on platforms, do not live it out."

- 8. C. W. of Swami Vivekananda, Vol. VIII, pp 349-50.
- 9. Romain Rolland, the French Nobel Laureate.
- 10. Romain Rolland, The Life of Vivekananda.
- 11. Rabindra Rachanavali, Vol, XIII, p. 55
- 12. Swami Vivekananda, Lectures from Colombo to Almora, p. 139.

RÖMAIN ROLLAND ON BRAHMOISM

PRATULLA KUMAR DAS

India during the last quarter of the 18th century and the first quarter of the 19th century.

India presented a dark and dismal picture in her social, religious, political and economic life during the last quarter of the 18th century and the first quarter of the 19th century. Indian life was at a very low ebb and her potency for creative impulse was lost. Vices in the social and religious life were so glaring that they impeded progress in every step. Castes with its divisions and sub-divisions, worship of innumerable gods and goddesses with their attended deities, immoral social practices such polygamy, child-marriage, infanticide, burning of widows on the funeral pyre of their deceased husbands, utter mass ignorance etc. destroyed the texture of society and deprived life of its fuller realization. The little education that was imparted in the Pathsalas and Madrasas was of the most rudimentary kind, Education, at that time, was a mere mechanical process and was not conducive to the moral or even mental culture and development.

Religion with its innumerable forms of worship stood in the way of the realization of higher truths in life. Idolatry formed almost a 'second nature' of the Indian character. The supremacy of the priestly class among the Hindus aggravated the situation. They used religion with unaccountable deities as a source of their income. "All the accidents and business of life—the revolutions of the heavenly bodies—the superstitious fears of the people—birth, sickness, marriages, misfortunes, deaths—a future state—every form and ceremony of religion—all the public festivals, etc., have been seized upon as sources of revenue to the

Brambhuns.....'1, and 'the tribute paid to them, arising from multiplied idolatries, was far more than the revenues of the monarch'.2 Raja Rammohun Roy, the Father of Modern India observed: "Idolatry, as now practised by our countrymen, and which the learned Brahman so Zealously supports as conducive to morality, is not only rejected by the Sastras universally, but must also be looked upon with great terror by common sense, as leading directly to immorality and destructive of social comforts.......

"It cannot be passed unnoticed, that those who practise idolatry, and defend it under the shield of custom, have been violating their customs almost every twenty years, for the sake of a little convenience or to promote their worldly advantages."

The government at the hands of the Mohamedans, observed Charles Grant, was undoubtedly 'a violent despostism' and the delegated administration of it was a severe oppression. From the government and intermixture of Mohamedans, the Hindus had certainly derived no improvement of character. The inevitable consequence of such 'oriental despotism' as Charles Grant thought, was either abject submission to the ruler or flattery, falsehood and narrow selfishness. This robbed man of integrity, intrepidity of character and veracity.

In economic life, for two thousand years there was no change. Invention seemed wholly torpid among the Indians.

"On such a hopelessly decadent society," wrote Jadunath Sarkar, "the rational progressive spirit of Europe struck with restless forceEducation, literature, society, religion,

man's handiwork and political life, all felt the revivifying touch of the new impetus from the west."5

The foundation of the Brahmo Samaj

The regeneration of India and the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj on 20th August, 1828 were the outcome of some socio-economic forces that were emerging in India from the close of the 18th century down to the second decade of the 19th century.

The impact of the European skill, capital and enterprise brought about a revolutionary change in the economic life of the people of India in the 19th century. Self-satisfied village economy was destroyed. The reforms in agriculture, in land revenue systems, law and ir civil, military and judicial administration introduced by the British East India Company radically transformed our society. had External peace, internal security of property arising from a regular administration of justice, increased facilities to trade, the permanent settlement of land revenue—all these contributed to raise up a middle class which played a dominant role in the regeneration of India.

Diffusion of western liberal education also brought a radical transformation in social and religious outlook of the Indian people. Raja Rammohan Roy, the father of Indian Renaissance advocated the cause of the teaching of science and western philosophy and wrote a letter to Lord Amherst date 14th December, 1823, to this effect.

Indeed the introduction of European liberal education was marked by the growth of a rational outlook and critical spirit of inquiry in place of naive credulous acceptance of facts. The teaching of Natural Philosophy, i. e., Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics, Astronomy, Geography, History etc. helped to dissolve the old traditional beliefs and remove gross religious superstitions.

While dissemination of western liberal education in India created intellectual ferment for social and religious reformation, proselytizing activities of Christian missionaries of various denominations created great alarm among the educated people of Bengal who fell great concern over the future of Hinduism. Raja Rammohan Roy thought that if they were allowed to freely proselytize the people, Christianity one day would devour Hindu society. The Raja's apprehensions about and reaction to Christian missionary activities had been expressed vividly in the preface to the first edition of the Brahmanical Magazine, Calcutta, 1821. So he endeavoured to form a society to counter-act the evangelical mission of the Christian missionaries in 1815 called Atmya Sabha which took final shape in the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj on 20th August, 1828. Thus the Brahmo Samaj is the cumulative product of those religio-socioeconomic forces operating in India.

Basis of Brahmoism:

The cardinal principle of the Brahmo Samaj is Monotheism, i. e., the Unity of God-head. Brahmo means one who worships 'Brahma' or the supreme spirit of the universe and 'samaj' means a community of men. So the Brahmo Samaj meens a society of the worshippers of One True God.

"Brahmoism directly owes its origin to the contact of two different schools of thought. The Hindu as represented by the traditions of the country and the Jewish as represented by the Bible......The Hindu God is an impersonal essence, a sublime and grand existence exceeding all limits of thought and comprehensiveness.....The Jewish God, on the contrary, is a personal deity endowed with almost all the human passions—mingling with the daily lives of the people, leading their armies and personally superintending their acts of charity or deeds of vengeance......By virtue of its inter-

mediate character, Brahmoism seeks to represent in moderate proportions both these features."6

Raja Rammohan Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Samai. had a universal Brahmoism drew its inspiration and His principle from the teachings of the unity of all souls and of the world, from vedas, vedanta and upanishads of the Hindus, from Islamic thought of divine government a militant equality of man with man, and from Christianity's ethical and social guidance to peace and happiness of life. The Brahmo Samaj does not believe in polytheism, idolatry, prophets as the mediators between God and man, and Bookrevelation. The infallibility of the scriptures of all religions is also denied in Brahmoism. Unique, Immutable and Their God is Omnipotent.

Mission of the Brahmo Samaj

Monotheism professed by the Brahmo Samaj, had not only a religious mission but a social one as well. It sought to reconstruct society on principles consistent with a theistic system of beliefs. The Brahmos held that renounced Hindooism for "when we Brahmoism, we did so on the firm conviction that Brahmoism is a religion not only of the Soul, but of the Mind, the Heart and the Conscience. We renounced a religion which not only worshipped a myriad of Gods and Goddesses, and failed to satisfy the higher craving of the soul, but which was also a hotbed of superstitions, social evils which stinted and hindered the growth of healthy social and religious customs and habits among our countrymen, for one which was capable of our of satisfying, not only spiritual aspirations, but our purer social and intellectual wants too."7 Thus the Brahmos consider both religious reforms and social reforms intimately associated with each other. observed that "the relation between religious

and social institutions in Hindu society has been so deep, practical and inseparable, that it must influence the action of everyone who wants to purify the faith, and elevate the morality of the people. The social organisation of the Hindus is the strictly natural outcome of the Hindu religion."8 So to effect social reformation Raja Rammohan Roy started religious reformation which was believed by him to be the groundwork of reform in all other matters. Thus "retaining therefore as much as possible of Hindu usages and institutions, entering into, and truly sympathizing with the spirit of the nation, speaking and acting, so far as desirable, in strict conformity to Hindu ideals of social prosperity and progress, the leaders of the Brahmo Samaj are infusing their reforms into the very heart of Hindu society.....It is hoped the regeneration of the Brahmo Samaj will prove the regeneration of the whole Hindu race."9

Thus the mission of social reform constitutes a distinctive feature of Brahmo monotheism, which marks it out from traditional Hinduism.

Mission work of the Brahmo Samai

In pursuit of the social reform programme, the Brahmo Samaj attacked caste-system in India. Caste-system had been a great hindrance to the natural growth of the Indian nation for long centuries. It sapped the foundation of national strength. "All the virtues and vices of a race become confined in a line. There is no importation of new blood. no blending of the strength and excellence of others. Consequently the nation degenerates in point of strength both moral and physical."10 They also vehemently condemned polygamy, infanticide, child-marriage, burning of widows on the funeral pyre of their deceased husbands. On the other hand, they advocated widowremarriage, education for the women and acknowledged their rights to enjoy paternal properties which were for long centuries denied tc them. In short, the Brahmo Samaj inaugurated all round social reform programme to purge society of its dangerous evils and fought for the cause of female emancipation.

Naturally, the movement created great interest among the scholars of the different nations of the world. The great French orientalist Romain Rolland saw with absorbing interest India's triumphant march to progress in the 19th century. "For a century ir. New India", observed R. Rolland, "this has been the great target at which all the archers have shot their arrows—the sea into which have flown in one Ganga-like stream all the torrents of personalities which have surged up from the antique energies of the land.....Their goal is the same. Unity of mankind through God." Mr. Rolland saw in the movement of regeneration a unique synthetic approach between the west and the east. Rationalism of the West and faith of the East-both sought a fusion in the movement of new India. 'From the beginning to the end," observed R. Rolland, "It is the question of co-operation, on a footing of equality, of the East and of the West, of the power of reason with those-not of faith in the accepted uncritical sense with the world has come to bear among exhausted nations in a servile age-but of an intuition vital and penetrating, like the eye on the forehead of the cyclops which completes, but does not render unnecessary the other two eyes."12 In the awakening of India, Raja Rammohun Roy (1772 1833) stood in the forefront. "Though a Bengali of orthodox family," R. Rolland wrote, "nurtured in Islamic thought, well versed in Sanskrit, Bengali, Hebrew, Greek, Latin and English, a Rajah and ambassador of the Emperor of Delhi in England, an energetic reformer in perpetual conflict with religious and social prejudices of his own people -he left, after sixty years of heroic labour,

deep in the furrow the ploughshare of his famous Brahmo Samaj."¹³ The great French orientalist marked a new era inaugurated by the Brahmo Samaj in the following words:

"This universal church, the abode of the One Almighty, open to all without distinction of colour, caste, nationality or religion, is the Magna Carta Dei, the Divine Magna Carta which has inaugurated a new era for Asia and India.....In their Brahmo Samaj they claimed to unite, while dominating over them by virtue of their grand idealism, the purest aspirations and the bluest bloods of the religious thought of Europe and Asia."14 In Rammohun there was no orthoodxy. Rolland observed: "Roy was no more to be chained to orthodox Christianity than to orthodox Hinduism......He remained an independent theist, essentially a rationalist and moralist. He extracted its ethical system from Christianity, but he rejected the Divinity of Christ, just as he rejected the Hindu incarnations. He attacked the trinity no less than polytheism, for he was a passionate Unitarian."15 Raja Rammohun Roy sought to establish a universal religion, taking into consideration the essential tenets of all religions professing unity of God. Romain Rolland could not accept the term "Universalism" in its full and literal meaning; because "Roy excluded from it all forms of polytheism from the highest to the lowest. The man, who wishes to regard without prejudice the religious realities of the present day, must take into account that polytheism, from its highest expression in the Three in One of the Christian Trinity to its most debased, hold sway over two-thirds at least of mankind."16 To Rolland, "The theism of Roy claims to rest on two 'absolute' vedanta and Encyclopaedic thought of the XVIIIth century in Europe—the Formless God and Reason."17 Whatever may be the limitations of Roy's universal religion, Rolland highly appreciated

'his vigorous campaign for social reform'.

"His patriotism had nothing parochial about it.

He cared for nothing but liberty and civil and religious progress. His newspapers were impassioned in the cause of liberty on behalf of all the nations of the world, of Ireland, of Naples crushed under reaction, of revolutionary France in the July days of 1830." 18

The life of Rammohun was dedicated to the cause of humanity—a life of constant fight against the shackles of medievalism. Thus Rolland paid a high tribute to Rammohun in the following words: "This man of gigantic personality, whose name to our shame is not inscribed in the Pantheon of Europe as well as of Asia, sank his ploughshare in the soil of India, and sixty years of labour left her transformed.......And out of the earth of Bengal has come forth his harvest—a harvest of works and a harvest of men". 19

After the death of Rammohun Roy on 27th September 1833 at Bristol, the Brahmo Samai fell into a moribund condition and ceased to attract people to its theology and principles. Only the weekly services by Pandit Ramchandra Vidyabagish, a disciple Rammohun, and monthly financial assistance rendered by Prince Dwarakanath Tagore, a friend of the Raja, kept some-how the light of the Samaj aflame. The next prominent leader of the Samaj, Debendranath Tagore, the illustrious son of Prince Dwarakanath Tagore, infused a new vigour and energy into the Samaj. He established Tattwabodhini Sabha on 6th October 1839. The ultimate aim of the Sabha was to preach "True Religion as expounded in the Vedanta". In 1843, he started Tattwabodhini Patrika as the main organ of the above mentioned Sabha to propagate Brahmoism. He also compiled a Brahma Dharma Grantha (The Religious book of Brahmo Samaj) which became a religious guide book for his followers. Moreover, there was no constitution, no

covenant, no pledge in the Samaj upto this time (1843). Debendranath undertook the task of remedying the deficiency in the organisational set-up of the Samaj and soon provided the Samaj with a Brahmo Covenant. He also repudiated the infallibility of the Hindu scriptures as a result of Akshoy Kumar Dutta's (the then editor of the Tattwabodhini Patrika) teachings. Rolland opined that "the attitude of Debendranath to the Holy Books was not always consistent. Between 1844 and 1864 at Benares he seemed to consider that the Vedas were infallible, but later he gave up that idea after 1847, and individual inspiration gained the upper hand."20 This, however, appears to be a little inconsistent with Debendranath Tagore, but this marks a gradual progressive development of the thought of Debendranath. Reason and not blind faith began to dominate his mind and in his repudiation of the infallibility of the holy scriptures, rationality triumphed over uncritical acceptance of them. The faith of the Brahmo Samaj was the faith in One God. Rolland expressed his doubt as to its pure Hindu conception with Debendranath. He wrote: "I have no means of judging whether this is as purely a Hindu conception as Debendranath thought it to be. But it is interesting to note that the Tagore family belong to a community of Brahmans, called Pirilis, or Chief Ministers, a post occupied by its members under the Mussalman regime. In a sense they were placed outside caste through their relations with the Mohammedans. It is, however, perhaps not too much to say that the persistent rigour of their theism has been due influence. From Dwarakanath to Rabindranath they have been the implacable enemies of all forms of idolatry."21. To Rolland, "Brahmo Burg was the stronghold of the great dualism of the One and Personal God and Human Reason, to whom God had granted the power and the right to interpret the Scriptures". Rolland thought that in the case of Debendranath this Reason had a tendency to become confused with religious inspiration. Later, "he bestowed upon the Brahmo Samaj a new liturgy inspired by the Upanishads and impregnated with an ardent and pure spirituality."

The next important leader of the Brahmo Samaj was Keshub Chunder Sen (1838-1884) who was drawn to the Samaj by Debendranath Tagore. This man belonged to a middle class Baidya family of Bengal. "Instead of being a great aristocrat like Roy and Debendranath," wrote Rolland, "he belonged to the liberal and distinguished middle class of Bengal, who were in constant intellectual touch with Europe."22 The mission of Keshub Chunder, Rolland believed, was to introduce Christ into the Brahmo Samaj, and into the heart of a group of the best minds in India, and in this mission of life he had to suffer much till his death. Here lies the real significance of his life, Rolland thought, which has been obscured even by the Brahmos, "for they were offended by the heresy of their Chief and tried to hide it."

In pursuit of the mission of social reform, Keshub thought that the evils of the country arose out of 'hyper-individualism' and that 'India needed to acquire a new moral conscience.' In his 'Young Bengal: This is For You', June, 1860, he diagnosed the causes of the Indian's national inertia and the absence of their patriotic fervour. "Evidently my friend," he said, "there is not the heart to work. Alas! the moral nature is asleep: the sense of duty is dead. There is lack of moral courage—want of an active religious principle in our pseudopatriots." Again, "if in our country intellectual progress went hand in hand with religious development, if our educated countrymen had initiated themselves in the living truths of religion, patriotism would not have been a mere matter of oration and essay, but a reality in practice; and native society would have grown in health and prosperity." "This conception," Rolland rightly observed, "uniting the aristocratic unitarianism of Roy to the Indian masses, put Keshub into fellowship with the most ardent aspirations of the rising generation. Just as Vivekananda in after days Keshub believed religion to be necessary for the regeneration of the race...Hence religious reform within the Brahmo Samaj was to bear fruit in action. The active and daring hand of Keshub was therefore to be seen casting a handful of fruitful seeds into the soil of India, which in turn were to throw Vivekananda upon a country already awakened by the thunder of his words."23 Rolland was of opinion that Keshub came before his time and some of his reforms even came up against the traditional spirit of the Brahmo Samaj. To Rolland the conflict between Debendranath and Keshub Chunder was not due to the question of inter-caste marriages, but there were reasons far more important. To quote him, "However open Debendranath's mind might be to the great ideal of constructing the harmony of humanity through the Brahmo Samaj, he remained deeply attached to the Indian tradition and her sacred writings. He could not be blind to the Christianity working in the mind of his favourite disciple, and at whatever personal cost, he could no longer remain in association with a coadjutor who based his teachings on the New Testament."24

It is to be noted here that though the Brahmos did not ignore the above difference of outlook cited by Rolland between Debendranath and K. C. Sen as one of the important factors of conflict between them, they, however, attached much importance to the difference between them in respect of social reform programme. They held that "the real cause underlying this dissension was the distrust and want of confidence with which the

venerable chief of the parent Samaj viewed the progress of the new and radical ideas of social and religious reform introduced by the younger party. This distrust was created by the rapid strides the younger party were making in the path of social reform."25 Hence the fatal rupture took place and the Brahmo Samaj was cleft asunder into two camps in November 11, 1866,—the Adi Samaj headed by Debendranath Tagore and the Brahmo Samaj of India led by K. C. Sen. At length Rolland has traced the leaning of the mind of K. C. Sen towards Christianity and also the process of his intellectual discipline to accept the ethics of Christianity. He thought that "Keshub was attracted by the morality of Christ and his two principles of pardon and self-sacrifice. Through these principles and through him he maintained that Europe and Asia may learn to find harmony and unity."26

His discourse on Jesus Christ, Europe and Asia, followed by another discourse upon "Greatmen" created great uproar in the Brahmo Community. To Keshub, God manifests Himself through Greatmen. They are his apostles and missionaries. Like Carlyle Keshub also believed that history is the biography of Greatmen and like Emerson he took Greatmen as the representative men. Thus Keshub inculcated hero-worship which was not consistent with Brahmoism. The Brahmos did not accept any mediator between God and man and advocated persistently the direct communion with God. The National Paper, January 2, 1867 (edited by Nabagopal Mitra, a member of the Adi Brahmo Samaj) wrote: "This is a new phase of Avatarism and has a tendency to lead mankind to render divine homage to men. It has the evil effect of creating in men's mind an anxiety to look up to great souls as models of all moral and religious actions and induce indirectly a belief in mediation, for what would the phraseology God-man otherwise indicate. Brahmoism favours notions none of this kind." To this Rolland thought that Keshub "had made Jesus come into line among the messengers of God, each charged with his own special message, and each to be accepted without special attachment to any single one. He threw open his church to men of all countries and all ages, and introduced for the first time extracts from the Bible, the Koran. the Zend Avesta into the manual of devotional lessons for the Brahmo Samai."27

In 1870 Keshub went to England and stayed there for nearly seven months (15th February, 1870 to 12th September, 1870). During his visit, he came in contact with different personalities. He also delivered a large number of lectures on religion, politics and social reformation in different institutions. His visit was fraught with far-reaching consequences both for England and India. "The enthusiasm he raised," wrote Rolland, "was equal to that inspired by Kossuth......He was compared to Gladstone. He was greeted as the spiritual ally in the East,"28

In 1873, Keshub took a missionary tour all over India with the object of bringing about new unity among the brothers and sisters of the faith. This tour, to Rolland, "was the forerunner of the great voyage of exploration undertaken twenty years afterwards by Vivekananda in the guise of a wandering sannyasin." Rolland thought that this tour opened new horizons as it produced a great change in the religious outlook of Keshub Chunder who 'had found the key to popular polytheism' so repugnant to the Brahmo Samai, and that he could make an alliance between it and pure theism.

There is, however, good ground to observe this change that took place in K. C. Sen's religious outlook. "Symptoms were visible that many individual members of the Samaj already looked upon their leader as the repository of all truth and almost as a way to salvation. Persons were seen prostrating themselves at the feet of Baboo K. C. Sen as 'Saviour', "the Sinners' way", and so form...."29

In 1871, after the foundation of the Bharat Ashram, K. C. Sen introduced two doctrines. The first was the doctrine of special Dispensation, and the second of Adesh or Divine Special Dispensation with the command. followers of K. C. Sen meant the system of religious beliefs and practices propounded by their leader. His doings and teachings would constitute the special providential agency for the salvation of man. As such it was the bounden duty of all who sought the welfare of their souls to implicitly submit to this guinance as Adesh or divine command. The Brahmos observed that from that time may be trazed the absence of freedom of thought and discussion in Brahmo Samaj and they also thought that the doctrine, if acted up to for a lonz time, would bring spiritual death and moral degeneracy.30 To R. Rolland, "this meant a great step forward in religious intercourse leading to the inclusion of the greater part of mankind."31

From 1875, Keshub Chunder began to preach and practise asceticism and advocated the necessity of practising severe austerities. Towards the end of 1876, he introduced a fourfold classification of devotees to represent four typs of religious life—the Yogi, the Bhakta, the Inani, the Shebak.³² All these developments took place, Rolland thought, when K. C. Sen's relations with Ramakrishna grew. And he rightly observed that "the result was that in 1878 a new schism took place in the Brahmo Samai and Keshub found himself the butt of vicient attacks from his own people who accused him of having betrayed principles."38 This schism led to the foundation of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj on May 15, 1878. From that time, Rolland thought,

Keshub was more drawn to more and Christianity. "But Keshub was debating". He professed said Rolland "with himself. Christ but he denied that he was a Christian."34 There was, however, a prolonged struggle and oscillation in his mind which at last took its final shape in the code of his "New Samhita", September 2, 1883 containing what he called "the national law of the Aryans of the new church in India.....God's moral law adapted to the peculiar needs and character of the reformed Hindus, and based upon their national instincts and traditions". This code, Rolland characterised as national unitarianism' and opined that 'his code is a purely abstract one for an India that had not yet come into existence....."35

The call of K. C. Sen could not deeply impress the Indians and all his works were not destined to live long. The reason, Rolland thought, was that "He was in fact too faraway from the deep-seated soul of his people. He wished to raise them all at once to the pure heights of his intellect, which had been itself nourished by the idealism and the Christ of Europe. In social matters none of his predecessors, with the exception of Roy, had done so much for her progress, but he ran counter to the rising tide of the national consciousness, then fervently awakening. Against him were the three hundred millions of Gods of India and three hundred million living beings inwhom they were incarnate—the whole vast jungle of human dreams wherein his western outlook made him lose the track and scent. Hc invited them to lose themselves in his Indian Christ, but his invitation remained unanswered."36

Acknowledgement: The author expresses his gratefulness to Marie Romain Rolland who was kind enough to permit him to cite the passages of the texts of Romain Rolland published in Prabuddha Bharata, August, Septem-

ber, 1929 in her letter dated 13th December 1968 and also indebtedness to Prof. Dilip Kumar Biswas, Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture and World History, Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, Lecturer in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, who has taken pains to revise the paper thoroughly and has given his learned suggestions and helpful advice.

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ON SPIES AND PATRIOTS

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

Mr. B. N. Mullik was the Director of the Intelligence Bureau of the Government of India during 1960-65. In that capacity he was not only in the know of much information not available to others, he was also to a large extent, an executive agent of the Government. In this volume Mr. Mullik has allowed the citizens a glimpse into the knowledge that he as an official of the Government possessed of the developments in Kashmir. By doing so he has rendered a great public service and has strengthened the roots of democracy in the country. It is too often forgotten by those who rule this country and even by those who profess to champion democracy that the only basis of democracy is the freedom of information. Unfortunately there is a great and almost overbearing disincentive to the dissemination of truth in this country where conformity to the powerful has been glorified as a virtue. Therefore while the New York Times of the USA is praised for its boldness in publishing the secret military documents of the US Government, the cry for blood goes up against anybody who in this country dares to EXPOSE the official acts of dishonesty.

In this country it is not the guilt but its exposure that is sought to be punished. Lt Gen. Kaul was threatened with prosecution when, four years ago, he had come out with some sensational facts regarding the India Government's bunglings with regard to its policy toward China. Few criticized the persons whose liability was exposed. The same threat has now been meted out to Mr. Mullik for having written his memoirs. Could there be a greater irony of fate that the person, on whose integrity and ingenuity the

country depended during the most crucial period of its existence, should now be sought to be punished for having threatened the security of some guilty politicians. undeveloped state of public morality makes such absurdities possible. The end of the British rule in the country did not mark the end of authoritarianism because it was succeeded by a one-party rule for nearly a quarter of a century. Neither the bureaucracy nor the politicians in power have ever felt the need to depend on public understanding to remain in power. The conformist press sees to the rest of it. So that an atmosphere has grown in the country where in a republic the spirit "The King can do no wrong" prevails and the most perverted acts of the bureaucracy assume legitimacy. All that the erring officials have to think of is to give a bad name to those wronged by them: Until about four years ago the word "communist" was sufficient to damn a person; now it is "naxalite". Any number of persons can be beaten up or killed without any explanation simply by labelling them "naxalite". Whether they are naxalite or not is, of course, irrelevant in this calculation. The sacredness of human life loses all significance in this calculation. When makes system man expendable without any trial it is but a question of time when the brand of unpatriotism would fall on the former General or the former Director of the Intelligence Bureau, when they seem to threaten the complacent world of the ruling politicians and the corrupt bureaucracy!

The truth is that most of the official "secrets" are not secrets in the genuine sense

of the term. They are dubbed "secrets" to keep the public in the dark about the misdeeds of the officials and the politicians in power. Both General Kaul and Mr. Mullik have given out some samples of governmental bunglings. It is this exposure which makes them the object of official wrath. But the public can have no interest in shielding the guilty persons. The need to remove the lid off the official secrets is all the more urgent as the officials play a crucial role not only in the administrative sphere but also in the political sphere. Indeed Mr. Mullik's account provides an objectlesson in this regard. Mr. Mullik was not only carrying on the intelligence operations, he was setting up and removing Chief Ministers and other politicians. Before reading Mr. Mullik's account I had no idea that the succession in Kashmir after Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed's resignation from the position of Chief Minister, in the wake of the Kamarai Plan in 1963, was so much dependent on an official's (Mr. Mullik's) efforts! (P 113.)

Mr. Mullik's is a straightforward account of the alienation of Kashmir from India through the confusion and corruption Sheikh Abdullah, the Lion of Kashmir, and the intellectual paralysis of the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the Congress leaders governing the country. It was a double tragedy. The first tragedy was the degeneration of Abdullah who was transformed from the defender of Kashmir against Pakistani aggression to the unabashed agent of Pakistan and the enemy of Hindu-Muslim unity and India. Mr. Mullik's reading is that Abdullah's turning into an agent of Pakistan was not so much of a transformation as an unfoldment of the essence of Abdullah's intrinsically communal character. If this is true, then, of course, it is less of a tragedy than a blunder on the part of others to allow this unfoldment to take place. Mr. Mullik writes, "As is wellknown, the Sheikh had started his political life as a Muslim Conference worker and it was only at a subsequent stage, probably due to exercised influencè on him Prime Gopalaswamy Iyengar, the then Minister of the State, and also persons like Bakshi and Sadiq, that he converted his organisation into the National Conference in 1938. His own proclivities, however, remained communal. I mentioned this to Pandit Nehru and he was surprised. It seemed to explain many things which he had so far found inexplicable in the Sheikh." (Pp 28-29.) Again discussing specifically the cause of change in Abdullah's Sheikh stand Kashmir, Mr. Mullik writes, "What were the causes which about these changes in brought Sheikh Abdullah? Was there a change at all or was it the reappearance of some basic trait in him which had been kept subdued for the time being due to the exigencies of the Some observers have suggested situation? that the bait offered by some foreign dignitaries of an independent Kashmir worked on him. It is true that the solid support he had so far given to India had foiled the designs of the imperialists to detach Kashmir from India and make it a playground for their power politics. So, unless the Sheikh could be subverted, there was no chance of the imperialist game succeeding. But, the Sheikh was not such a simple person as to be taken in by a vague promise, eyen if it had been made. The cause was much deeper. The attitude of the members of his family, who were against India, exercised much influence on his mind. We have it from Joseph Corbel that when the United Nations Commission was in Kashmir, Begum Abdullali sent a message to it to the effect that 'even if her husband would not a firm stand for an independent Kashmir, she would'. But an even stronger reason was Sheikh Abdullah's basic commumalism. He had subdued the external manifestations as long as he needed India to prop him up. As soon as he found that he could do without India, his strong instinct of communalism and opportunism raised its head and he reappeared in his true colours. Sardar Fatel had sized up Sheikh Abdullah correctly when he had warned me as early as in 1949 that I would soon be obliged to change my favourable opinion about him." (Pp 196-197.)

The second tragedy was the surrender by the Indian leaders to the forces of disruption and treason in Kashmir. By 1953 Sheikh Abdullah had come to pose such a threat to the integrity of India that, much against Mr. Nehru's wish, Abdullah had to be put in prison. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had advised Prime Minister Nehru to dismiss Sheikh Abdullah before he had committed any further mischief. (P 37.) Mr. Mullik has very conscientiously traced the developments leading to the arrest of Abdullah in August 1953. His account shows how unequal everybody from Prime Minister Nehru downwards was to the task of the day. Not until they were lest with no alternative other than to arrest Abdullah did they take the step. Here is Mr. Mullik's account of how Mr. Nehru had agreed to the deposition of Sheikh Abdullah in 1953. "On 31 July (1953)", writes Mr. Mullik, "Mehra (Mr. D. W. Mehra, at that time Deputy Director of the Intelligence Bureau stationed at Amritsar) and I met the Prime Minister in his house and he taked to us for nearly two hours, giving us the entire background picture of Kashmir from the earliest times to date and finally he came to the point that there was no other alternative but to remove Sheikh Abdullah and install ßakshi Ghulam Mohammed in his place. He hoped that the change would be effected peacefully, but he warned that we must be prepared for the worst, because the Sheikh

undoubtedly had a large following in the valley and over this matter the pro-Sheikh group would be supported by the pro-Pakistani elements also. Mehra should be prepared to assume control of the Jammu and Kashmir Police Force and was to take over as the Chief Executive under the Sadar-e-Riyasat, if that became nececessary. At this point Pandit Nehru was nearly overwhelmed by emotion. Both of us, who had known him for some years, had never seen him in such disturbed mood before. We realised that he was on the point of uprooting a plant which he had nursed with great care. At the end, he wished Mehra good luck and wanted to be kept informed regularly. For this purpose, we could call him up even in the night." (P 42.) Mr. Mullik has also provided a vivid description of the events in the night of 8-9 August 1953 when Sheikh Abdullah arrested for the first time. Even at the last moment Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed hesitating to take over the Kashmir Administration from Sheikh Abdullah and it was not until 4 o'clock in the early morning of 9th August 1953 that Bakshi was sworn in as the Prime Minister (as the office was then called) of Jammu and Kasmir-four hours after the order for the arrest of Abdullah had been issued by the Sadar-e-Riyasat." (P 45.).

But even after his arrest the Government of India was not sure about what it wanted to do with Abdullah. To quote Mullik, "Rules regarding visitors were not observed strictly in respect of Sheikh Abdullah and Afzal Beg, and it was possible for visitors to go and meet them without being subjected to a search and Begum Abdullah was even allowed to stay with her husband on more than one occasion. Letters from the jail used to be smuggled out by such visitors and delivered to the Plebiscite Front leaders in Srinagar and other places and these gave them detailed directions about

how to proceed with their organisational and agitational work." (P 67.) By October 1957 the Intelligence Bureau had gathered sufficient evidence against Plebiscite Front leaders like Mirza Afzal Beg, Pir Maqbool Gilani, Begum Abdullah, etc., to haul them up before a court of law (p 70). Four months later, in January 1958 "the entire range of the conspiracy became apparent and we had built up a formidable case against all the accused mentioned in the FIR (drawn up in October 1957) and also against Sheikh Abdullah and several others whose names had not been included in it." (p 71) "It was clear that the range of this conspiracy was wide. Sheikh Abdullah and Afzal Beg were the directing heads and Begum Abdullah formed one of the important links with Pakistan for receiving money and directions......By 1957, on the basis of the information received from the conspirators, Pakistan considered that the ground was ready for a revolution and sent large groups of infiltrators (code name gardeners) who carried out a series of explosions and sabotages, in which several lives were lost. Some of these attempts were foiled because of timely information received, but in other cases, the infiltrators got through and, before they could be trapped, the mischief had taken place. There is no doubt that these frustrated Kashmiri leaders, in conjunction with Pakistan, had conspired to bring about a state of utter anarchy and disorder in Jammu and Kashmir by propaganda and by large-scale acts of violence and killing with a view to overthrowing the lawfully constituted Government of Jammu and Kashmir. That they did not succeed was not due to any want of preparation on their part but because the Kashmiri people were unwilling to be hustled into any irrevocable course of action", writes Mr. Mullik. (Pp 75-76.)

With all this knowledge of Sheikh

Abdullah's complicity in anti-Indian acts in league with India's arch-enemy, Pakistan, Sheikh Abdullah was released by Prime Minister Nehru in 1958 after four and a half years of detention. This is how Mr. Mullik describes how he had received the news of the release of Sheikh Abdullah in 1958. Mr. Mullik writes. "The Prime Minister had never reconciled himself to Sheikh Abdullah's arrest and detention for a prolonged period without trial. The democrat that he was, he could not tolerate detention without trial even of his confirmed enemies. So, he used to press the Kashmir Government every six months or even oftener either to place the Sheikh on trial or to release him. Our investigation received a severe jolt when on January 8, 1958, Sheikh Abdullah was released. At that time we had pieced together a great deal of evidence against him and it was apparent that he was the main conspirator and if he was left out it would be difficult to proceed against other accused persons because they could always disavow the Sheikh. Moreover, the question would always arise in a subsequent trial as to why the Sheikh was released at a time when the prosecution had collected sufficient incriminating material against him to warrant a charge sheet, and it could always be argued that even by that time the prosecution did not have enough material against him and any evidence subsequently produced could be looked upon with suspicion. However, our only hope was that, intoxicated with his newly found liberty, which he must have ascribed to his strength in Kashmir valley and which ultimately the Government could not ignore, the Sheikh might stick his head out too much and in that process expose himself further, and bring to light more incriminating evidence against himself; and this is what happened." (P 77.) The misplaced leniency of Mr. Nehru did not make Abdullah repentant; on the other hand it encouraged him to continue to indulge in anti-Indian and pro-Pakistani activities with renewed vigour with increased public support since thepublic could pardonably view Abdullah's unconditional release as a sign of his rehabilitation in the political life of the country as an honest citizen. Abdullah's increasing appeal to the religious sentiments of the Muslims fight India created a most dangerous situation forcing the Government of India to pass orders for the re-arrest of Sheikh Abdullah within four months of his release. Mr. Mullik writes, "As things were coming to a climax and it was apparent that the Sheikh was doing everything possible to join hands with Pakistan and by creating disorders in the State to give an excuse to Pakistan to intervene directly, he was re-arrested on April 30, 1958. At the time of his arrest, a draft of the Pl=biscite Front resolution, dated April 7, 1958, which gave a clear call for breaking the ties with India and more or less accepted accession to Pakistan as the aim of the Front, was recovered from his house. The draft had many corrections in Sheikh Abdullah's own hand, proving clearly that he had taken part in its preparation." (P 85.) All these documents were subsequently produced as exhibits in the abortive Kashmir Conspiracy case filed against Sheikh Abdullah and others. The prosecution case opened in April 1959 and closed on 17 June 1960. After the Defence had put up its case the magistrate passed orders on 25 January 1962 committing Sheikh Abdullah and his co-accused to the court of sessions where the trial started in August 1962. Yet there was always a secret desire on the part of persons in authority to release Sheikh Abdullah. Mr. Mullik recounts that the delay in the trial was due to the filibustering tactics of Sheikh Abdullah and his friends in the court. So far as the merit of the case against Sheikh Abdullah was concerned, Mr. Mullik quotes eminent lawyers like Mr. G. S. Pathak,

Mr. Nageshwar Prasad and others to say that it was a foolproof one (P 171.) To follow Mr. Mullik's account, "Pandit Nehru again became impatient at the delay and wrote a letter to Bakshi Saheb in September, 1963, suggesting that the case should be withdrawn. After issuing the letter, he showed it to me. I again protested and said that when the case had been committed to the Sessions, to withdraw it without completing the trial would amount to the Government's showing lack of Prosecution itself. I confidence in the reminded the Prime Minister of the letter which the Sheikh had written to him during the Chinese aggression and told him that the Sheikh had shown no disposition to change and, in fact, he was now even more bitter and hostile than he had been at any time in the past." (p 104) But the manner of the announcement of the decision to release Sheikh Abdullah on 5 April 1964 was still more remarkable as the decision was taken by the Chief Minister of Kashmir without consulting the Government of India (Pp 171-172.)

One result of releasing Abdullah unconditionally a second time was that he was made a hero before the people of Kashmir. Mr. Mullik writes, "All his erstwhile opponents fell head over heels in welcoming him back, called him the Lion of Kashmir, and even the Praja Parishad, his avowed enemy, welcomed him. After a few days' stay in Jammu he went to Srinagar and revived the Plebiscite Front immediately and started delivering anti-Indian speeches." (P 175.)

Curiously enough, having written a whole book to expose the weakness of the politicians in their dealing with a wily anti-Indian individual like Sheikh Abdullah, Mr. Mullik, like a true civil servant, says that the decision to release Abdullah was correct. Mr. Mullick writes, "I am not in any way criticizing the decision. I had myself moved for it. In the

changed circumstances there was no other alternative. The Prime Minister's analysis of the situation in Kashmir was no doubt correct, and having seen the situation in the valley that winter I had independently come to the conclusion that something radically new and revolutionary had to be done in Kashmir to win over the people to India's side. A mere change in the Government, in my opinion, was not the solution. President's Rule was no solution either. It would exasperate the people further and widen the breach between the Government of India and the people of Kashmir. One had to come to the inevitable though extremely unpleasant conclusion that a new ground had to be prepared and Sheikh Abdullah brought back to the picture to see once again whether a lasting solution of the Kashmir problem could be found with his assistance." (P 174.) How far correct was Mr. Nehru's decision has to be seen in Mullik's own observation that after MrMr Nehru's death 'Sheikh Abdullah went back to Kashmir and soon afterwards resumed his anti-Indian propaganda." (P 176.) To make the irony more prominent it was left to a later Prime Minister (none other than Mr. Nehru's own daughter Mrs Gandhi) to pass orders for curbing the freedom of Sheikh Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beg six years afterwards! Perhaps like Mr. Mullik and his master Mr. Nehru somebody would again come forward to give Mr. Abdullah and his collaborators another chance to wreck this country by their anti-Hindu and pro-Pakistani acts of sabotage!!

Mr. Mullik's account reads like an adventure story—more so when one goes through the four chapters 10-13 recounting the story of the disappearance of the Holy Relic (Moe-e-Muqaddas) from Srinagar on 27

December 1963 and its recovery by Mr. Mullick on 5 January 1964. The Holy Relic was deliberately removed by pro-Pakistani elements with the active connivance of the custodians of the Holy Relic (Pp 140-141) to create chaos and violence in Kashmir and the rest of India. Pakistan had largely succeeded in its game. It was the courage and patient work of the intelligence officers headed by Mr. Mullick that foiled the Pakistani game by recovering the Moe-e-Mugaddas (Holy Mr. Mullik writes "that from the spectacle that I had seen from December 31 (1963) till the Moe-e-Muqaddas was recovered, it had seemed to me that Kashmir was not a part of India." (P 164). True, if anti-Indian elements receive public encouragement from the Government of India it is only natural to find anti-Indian sentiments accentuated at a time of crisis which was what it was following the disappearance of the Holy Relic.

Recently Syed Badruddauja, a former M.P., and Dr. Ghulam Yazdani, a former Minister of West Bengal, were arrested under the newly enacted detention law on charges of spying for Pakistan. Under the the Government need not have announced the specific charge of spying to detain the two individuals. Even then it was announced with fanfare that they were Pakistani spies without making any arrangement for their immediate trial. On the other hand Sheikh Abdullah, Begum Abdullah, Mirza Afzal Beg and others, against whom, according to the top intelligence officer of the country, there is ample proof of acting on behalf of Pakistan, are freely moving in India and even in Kashmir from where they are formally externed! Is there any surprise in spying on behalf of Pakistan and other countries in unabated manner in India?

SHARE-CROPPING (BARGA) SYSTEM AND ADOPTION OF FARM INNOVATION IN INDIAN VILLAGES

NIRMAL KANTI SAHA

Abstract :

As communities differ in their rate of accepting changes or innovations, so also do the individuals within the same community. Some individuals are far ahead of others in matters of trying out and using new things while there are others who accept change slowly or resist it altogether. Like-wise all irnovations are not accepted at the same rate in all communities, while others find it difficult to get acceptance. It is commonly accepted system put an that the share-cropping economic strain on the share-cropper as he had to pay a heavy rent in kind. And at the same time it is believed that the standard of cultivation of a share-cropper (bargadar) is lower than that of an owner cultivator. A study was therefore carried out in some districts of West Bengal to find out the extent of share-cropping (barga) system and how it influenced the adoption behaviour of the farmers.

Introduction:

It had been estimated by various authorities that no less than a quarter of the cropped area in West Bengal was being cultivated on the share-cropping system. It was also commonly accepted that the share-cropping (barga) system put an economic strain on the share-cropper (bargadar) as he had to pay a heavy rent in kind. And at the same time it was believed that the standard of cultivation of a bargadar is lower than that of an owner cultivator.

Pursuing this line of argument a study was therefore undertaken by the Socio-economic

and Evaluation Branch of the Department of Agriculture, West Bengal on the following specific objective:

(i) to find out the nature and extent of share-cropping system;

and

(ii) its influence on adoption of farm innovations among the farmers.

Area and Design:

This study was carried out in 27 villages in 6 districts of West Bengal, e. g., 24-parganas, Hooghly, Burdwan, Nadia, Birbhum and Bankura. The study was of complete enumeration type and all the 3635 households in the 27 villages were interviewed. A very simple schedule was used for the purpose. Field investigation was carried out by four trained investigators of the Socio-economic and Evaluation Branch of the Department of Agriculture, West Bengal.

Analysis and Findings:

(a) Nature and extent of share-cropping system:

On analysis (Tables—I, II and III) it was thus observed that 85 percent of the households were depending on land fully or partially. Of these, 5 percent were non-cultivating owners and about 20 percent were landless labourcrs. The rest 75 percent were farm operators belonging to cultivating owners and different categories of share-croppers. Amongst these farmers 65 percent did not take any land on barga and 35 percent took some land on barga, 10.5 percent of the operators were share-croppers without having any land of their own. The persons giving

out land on barga was however 420. Out of these 186 were non-cultivating owners and 234 were cultivating owners lending out part of their land. These 420 farmers formed about 19.77 percent of the total land owners.

On the basis of area it was found that 6039.91 acres were being cultivated by self and 1401.51 acres on barga, i.e. about 19 percent of the total cultivated land reported by the respondents were being cultivated on barga system. It may, therefore, be said that not less than 19 percent of the total cultivated land reported in 27 villages included in the study were being cultivated on barga system. There were, of course, some variations in the percentage of land cultivated on barga in different districts. The figures are as follows: Nadia 24.18 percent, Burdwan 23.26 percent, Hooghly 21.22 percent, Birbhum 16.53 percent, 24-parganas 13.52 percent and Bankura 13.06 percent. It is seen from the tables that the extent of share-cropping on area basis is considerably higher in the districts of Nadia, Burdwan and Hooghly. It is also seen that 35 percent of the operators took land on barga. which was lent out by 19.77 percent of the land owners.

It was found that the average size of the farm (land) operated was the smallest (2.06 acres) in case of the farmers who were "share-croppers entirely. The size of the farm was the highest (4.37 acres) in case of the cultivating owners mainly and share-croppers partly". Farmers belonging to the rest of the categories, viz, "cultivating owners entirely", 'cultivating owners and share-croppers equally", 'share-croppers mainly and cultivating owner partly", were having farms of nearly the same average size which varies from 3 to 4 acres.

(b) Share-cropping system and adoption behaviour of farmers:

The relationship between tenure categories and adoption of improved practices was

studied. For this purpose percentage of within the categories farmers chemical fertilizers was taken as an index of adoption for that particular category. On analysis (Table-IV), according to this standard, the adoption index of the category "share. croppers only" was found to be the lowest as it could be expected. But the adoption index of the category "cultivating owners entirely" was found to be not the highest. Contrary to expectations, adoption index of this category came fourth in order of merit. Amongst the five catogories, the category "cultivating owners mainly and share-croppers partly" was, however, found to have the highest percentage of farmers adopting chemical fertilizer. Further probe into this paradoxical problem revealed that the order in which the adoption indices of the five categories stood, was in full agreement with the order in which "the percent farmers having agriculture as their main occupation" was distributed amongst those five categories.

The category "share-croppers entirely" had the lowest proportion of farmers (58.33 percent) having agriculture as their main occupation and its adoption index was also the lowest 59.65. These two figures for the category "cultivating owners entirely" were 65.70 percent and the adoption index 71-16; for the category "cultivating owners mainly and shars-croppers partly" 92. 8 percent and 77.43; for the category "share-croppers mainly and cultivating owners partly" 87.79 percent and 74.18; and for the category "cultivating owners and share-caoppers equally" 80.00 percent and 73.33.

From these figures it may possibly be concluded that it is not merely the right on land that is important for adoption of improved practices, but the extent to which the farmer depends on agriculture as his means of livelihood, definitely has a bearing on his adoption

behaviour. Thus it is seen that even amongst the purely share-cropping farmers, about the same number of persons who held agriculture as their main occupation were also the adopters of chemical fertilizer. In the same way it explains why the proportion of adopters was not the highest in the "cultivating owners entirely"category.

Summing up:

This study points out for the first time about the possible existence of a new factor or variable in the adoption phenomenon. This factor is "extent of dependence on farming as a means of livelihood", or "percent total income earned from farming". The next step in research will throw more light on this paradoxical problem.

Table—1

Listribution of the households in different categories of six districts of West Bengal (N = 3635).

Sl.No.	Categories of households	Number	Percentag <u>e</u>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1.	Farming households	2166	59.75
· 2.	Non-cultivating owners	186	5.15
3.	Landless agricultural labourers	740	20,30
4.	Landless non-cultivators	, 543	14.80
	Total	3635	100,00

.Table—II

District-wise distribution of the households in different categories according to nature of operation of the farm and area under cultivation in six districts of West Bengal (N=3635).

Districts	Total	Farming	Area	Under cul	tivation	Land less	SS
	households	households	self (acres)	Barga (acres)	Total ag	g. labour	Non- cultivator
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
24-Parganas	790	529	1031.87	161.25	1193.12	79	133
(5 villages)				(13.51)			
Burdwan	842	407	1274.17	386.16	1660.33	222	173
(7 villages)				(23.26)		-	
Nadia	503	334	1020,87	325,53	1346.40	76	57
(3 villages)		•		(24.18)	*		
Birbhum	777	434	1551.04	233.04	1784.08	220	103
(7 villages)				(13.06)			
Hooghly	585	384	917.62	247.15	1164,77	100	64
(4 villages)				(21.22)			
Bankura	138	7 8	244.34	48.38	292.72	43	13
(1 village)	•			(16.53)	-		
Total	3635	2166	6039.91	1401.51	7441.42	740	543
· · · · · · · · ·				(18.83)	-	1	

^{*}Figures within brackets indicate the percentage of Barga land to the total area under cultivation.

Non cultivating owner	Cultivating owner		Cultivating owner	Share-crop- per entirely	Share-cropper mainly & culti	Culitivating owner &
	entirely	lent out part of land on barga			vating owner	
(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
49	298	79	79	31	40	2
40	213	22	73	48	. 49	2
36	118	36	80	46	47	7
20	329	11	29	28	36	1
37	171	73	37	66	34	3
. 4	45	13	4	9	7	
186	1174	234	302	228	213	15

Table--III

Distribution of different categories of farming households according to the operation of the farm in six districts of West Bengal (N=2166).

Sl.No.	Categories of farm operators	Number	Percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1. (a)	Cultivating owner entirely	1174	54.20
(b)	Cultivating owner entirely but letting		
	out part of their land on barga	234	10.80
2.	Cultivating owner mainly and share-cropper		•
	partly (25 percent land obtained by barga).	302	13.85
3.	Cultivating owner and share-cropper		
	equally (50 percent land obtained by barga).	15	0.69
4.	Share-cropper mainly and cultivating owner	•	•
	partly (75 percent land obtained by barga).	213	10.00
- 4.	Share-cropper entirely (100 percent land		
•	obtained by barga).	228	10.46
	Total	2166	100.00

 $Table{--}IV$

Rank order and Adoption index of the percent farmers belonging to different categories in six districts of West Bengal. (N=2166)

Ξl.Nο	. Categories of farm operators	Percent farmers having agriculture	Average Adoption	Rank order
	$\label{eq:def_problem} \mathcal{L}_{\mathcal{A}} = \{ \mathcal{L}_{\mathcal{A}} : L$	as main occupation	index	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1.	Cultivating owner entirely	65.70	71.16	IV
2.	Cultivating owner mainly and share-cropper partly (25 percent land obtained by barga)	92.38	77.48	r
	Cultivating owner and share-cropper equally (50 percent land obtained by barga)	80.00	73.33	Ш
	Share-cropper mainly and cultivating owner partly (75 percent land obtained by barga). Share-cropper entirely (100 percent land	87.79	74.18	. II
٥.	obtained by barga).	58.33	59.65	· v



Current Affairs

America and China Plans World Domination

The ethics of human relations or the high ideals which guide the progress of civilisation play little part in the foreign policy of the powerful nations of the world. The reason for this is that most powerful nations have a background of unrighteous misdeeds by which they achieve power and importance in this world. When, therefore, two or more states come together to discuss the formulation of a common policy in regard to their mutual relations or their attitude or plans of action concerning other nations or human affairs in general; the conferring nations naturally have intentions and desires which relate only to their own material advantages and gains. Each nation considers first its own interests before going on to any questions of common profitability. The basic principle of inter-, national deals is that whosoever achieves any advantages does so at somebody else's cost. Every gain has a corresponding loss. When two or more nations meet to deside their plans of action in the international sphere they look for other nations which can shoulder the losses that would naturally arise in order to facilitate the creation of gains for the planning conclave. The gains that are aimed at are not necessarily money gains. Territories. spheres of influence, military bases, naval centres, aerodromes, roads, railways economic institutions all play a part in the broad calculation of the gainfulness of new alliances or alignments.

The United States of America had been planning to dominate the world since the end of the first world war though the various

international organisations that they had set up for achieving their objectives. The USA possessed vast territories with tremendous natural resources and had developed an industrial net work of unrivalled magnitude which enabled the rulers of the USA to control the affairs of almost all nations. The exceptions were only the so-called "Iron curtain" and "Bamboo curtain" countries of Europe and Asia. The communist states neither considered the USA as a desirable friend nor thought it ideologically permissible to accept gifts, aid or assistance from that land of capitalistic inequities. The USA too thought the states which put their faith on Marxist dogma as enemies of the American way of life and of the democratic world. There was therefore an active antagonism between the USA led countries and the communist states which found expression in wars carried on by the allies and proteges of the two groups; though the principal major powers maintained peaceful relations in so far as they avoided open and direct warfare. Over long years the USA and their allies have waged indirect war against the allies of the Communist Powers in Korea, Vietnam and other countries which the communists had been planning to conquer. In some cases of such conquests the Americans took no action against the communists, as, for instance, in the case of Tibet. The Chinese committed a great human crime by destroying Lamaism in Tibet and by taking genocidal action against all Tibetans who opposed the establishment of communism in that theocratic

The Russians and the Chinese have chosen to take direct military action at times to

protect their interests in some countries; but have not acted quite so ruthlessly in certain other cases. The military action taken Hungary and Czecho-slovakia by the Russians can be cited as examples of suppressing popular movements against communist dictatorship by armed force. Marxist attempts at overthrowing lawfully established governments in other countries had been aided by the communist powers; but no direct action had been taken by them in certain other cases. Malay, Indonesia, Burma and Ceylon provide instances of unsuccessful attempts by Marxists to overthrow governments by armed revolution. The major communist powers did not, in any of these cases, send their own armed forces to assist the revolutionaries. On the other hand, the Americans had landed their own soldiers in very large numbers and used their air force in full strength with a view to suppress the communists in Vietnam. American efforts, however, did not prove so successful and the Americans admitted their failure and began to withdraw their forces in a planned fashion.

During recent years there have been developments in the political world which induced the big powers of the democratic as well as of the communist group to reconsider reliance and dependence on each other and on the accepted facts or assumptions which determined international political relations. The emergence of China as a world power and the increasing tension between the Chinese and the peoples of the USSR slowly took shape as a highly disturbing fact of communist politics. Non-communist states, particularly the USA, were not slow to take active notice of this imbalance in the Marxist world. China began to manufacture nuclear weapons and made no secret of her plans to establish a world-wide hegemony of socialist overlordship. The under Chinese states

possible outcome of a world war in which nuclear weapons would be freely used was also considered by Chinese experts who believed that when as a result of the mass destruction of centres of population the world would have few survivors of non-Chinese races, the Chinese should still have 200 million people who would repopulate the world exclusively by Chinese men and women. The Chinese began intensive propaganda thelr erstwhile against Russians and continued their tirade against the Americans, the Indians and all others who were considered to be possible obstructors of Chinese plans of world conqust. The Chinese occupation of certain areas within Himalayan boundaries of India also made Sino-Indian political relations uncertain. The warlike activities of the Americans in Vietnam did not concern the Chinese directly; but as the Chinese were indirect supporters of the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong revolutionaries, the Chinese considered the presence of American armed forces in South-East Asia as damaging to Chinese interests.

The Chinese also made territorial claims on certain places in Asiatic Russia in the same manner that they had made claims on Indian territory and had even occupied fairly large tracts of Indian areas in an illegal manner. These acts of aggression were not met by counter acts of forceful reoccupation by India on grounds of maintaining peace and in the hope that the Chinese would vacate their aggression peacefully when Sino-Indian relations were reestablished.

The changed international political circumstances therefore showed the following outstanding features. The Russians became "revisionists" in the eye of the Chinese who took up the stance of bellicose hard core Marxists and made claims on other peoples territories in the same outrageously aggressive

manner as they had displayed when they chased the Dalai Lama out of Tibet and killed off more than a million Tibetans in order to make Tibet an integral part of Communist China. The Russians did not hesitate to meet force with force and drove the Chinese out of Soviet territory wherever they found it necessary. The Americans found it progressively impossible to liquidate the Vietcong or to cut North Vietnam off from the battle fields of South Vietnam. They tried to make it appear that the real fight was between South Vietnam and the revolutionary Vietcong. The Americans were assisting the South Vietnam Government as a temporary measure only and were progressively withdrawing their forces from South East Asia.

The Americans have found that their plans of securing a strong foothold in Asia were unworkable. They had lost heavily in money and human lives and have achieved nothing of permanent value. They had to change their tactics if they wanted to remain, on top in the economic sphere and in military strength. Their greatest allies the Western European powers were forming a European alliance of nations in order to shake off American control over Europe. They were even planning to make up with the USSR. The Japanese in the Pacific were no longer satisfied with the overlordship of the USA. They too wou'd be trying to recover control of the islands they had to give up after the second World War, So the USA should now play off China against Russia, Japan against China and the European nations against other groups by use of forces of race, colour, religion, economic gain and so forth. They had to take into account the various antagonisms like anti-semetism, white Africa against African Africa, pan-Islamism and other such urges which arise out of human folly and unreason. The attempts made by China and Russia to win over the newly freed

nations of Africa and Asia were also cited as grounds for anti-communist activities by non-communist nations.

This new outlook in the field of international relations induced the USA to seek new approaches to the realisation of plans of world domination. The idea that there can be a Sino-American rapproachment which will lead to the eventual downfall of both the communist giants was born out of this new That is how · President Nixon's Political expert Dr. Kissinger came to visit Peking to discover ways of bringing about collaboration between, the Chinese and the Americans. President Nixon's visit to Peking was arranged by Dr. Kissinger for purposes which were never made fully public. In fact although President Nixon had meetings with Chairman Mao t'se Tung, they did any joint communique. publish discussions with Prime Minister Chu-en-Lie were given the fullest publicity and a joint communique was also issued by them. It is rather strange that although the two heads of states met and discussed matters, they found it unnecessary to publish anything about what they said to one another. The matters discussed must have been Top Secret of the topmost and utterly secret variety. President Nixon found it necessary to issue a joint statement with Premier Chu-en-Lai, but they differed on many points. They also discussed matters which did not concern them, such as, the Kashmir question as seen through Pakistani eyes. It would appear that China America buried the hachet so that they could restore to the Kashmiri people their imaginary loss of political freedom. The Tibetans who lost their freedom and got half their total population massacred by the Chinese were not remembered. Fifteen million Taiwanese were offered as a sacrifice at the altar of Marxism, Many million South Vietnamese

would also follow the Taiwanese after the American armed forces no longer stood guard over the state of South Vietnam to save it from the ouslaughts of the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong. In fact the international importance of the USA has suffered a great decline. The USA are no longer dictating to China to contain their activities within their boundaries. China is even putting in words in their joint communiques relating to what third parties like India should do to adjust their internal political order to suit China's wishes and desires. The Chinese may have agreed to help America when war broke out between Russia and the USA, but nothing is known

about any such undertaking as the Nixon—Mao talks had not been published. The Americans are no longer planning to fight the enemies of democracy. Their plans are now to appease one of the Communist Giants in order to make use of its might to subdue another of the giants. The appeasement may involve the surrender of the human rights of many democratic nations, but the USA have to choose between the achievement of major objectives as againt what are considered less important. The democracies of the world donot occupy a place of highest priority any longer in the scheme of American foreign policy.

ARE THERE OPPORTUNITIES FOR SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH IN INDIA ?

TEJ NARAYAN TIWARI

As a student of science, I have discussed the question of scientific research in India with many Indian students and professors of science, both in India and U.S.A. I was surprised to find that the majority of them believe that there are no opportunities for scientific research in India and a person interested in science should either sacrifice his research career or emigrate to foreign countries like U.S.A. and Canada. These people are quick to point out the examples of some eminent Indian: scientists like the Nobel Laureate Prof. Khorana or the brilliant astrophysicist Prof. Chandrasekhar, claiming scientists could not have achieved what they achieved if they had stayed in India. Do these beliefs have any factual basis, or are they merely an excuse for not doing research in India and emigrating to foreign countries? Recently I became interested in this question and did a little research to find out the facts.

The results of this research were very unexpected, even surprising to me. They are described below in this article.

A Small Research Project

As a starting point, let us consider the hypothesis that there are little or no facilities for scientific research in India. How shall we test this hypothesis? One simple method is this. We make a list of all eminent scientists born in India. We divide this list into two groups. The first group, called the "Indian Group" contains the names of those scientists who achieved their eminence by staying in India and working in Indian research centers. The other group, called the "Foreign Group" contains the names of those scientists who emigrated to foreign countries with better facilities and achieved their eminence there. Now if our hypothesis is correct, then it follows that most of the names should belong to the Foreign Group and the Indian Group should contain extremely few names. On the effort to conduct scientific research in India, other hand, if we find that the Indian Group contains the majority of names, it will prove that our hypothesis is not correct and the belief that India has no facilities for scientific research has no factual basis.

Recently I did some preliminary research along these lines. As a source of reference, I used a recently published biographical encyclopedia "World who's who in Science", published in 1968 by Marquis-who's who, Inc. of Chicago. The editor of this book, Prof. Allen G. Debus, is the professor of the History of Science at the University of Chicago. This is a large volume of about 2000 pages in small print and contains the biographical data of all the eminent scientists of the world from antiquity to the present. From this book I prepared a list of all Indian scientists and divided them into two groups discussed above. The results were very surprising even to me.

The Surprising Results

When I started this project, it was my guess that both groups might contain a roughly equal number of entries and, perhaps, the oreign group might be 5 to 10 percent larger than the Indian group. When I asked some riends, they also expressed similar feelings. But the results are quite opposite to our expectations. The list contains a total of 224 names of distinguished Indian scientists whose achievements merit world-wide attention. The Indian Group contains 177 names, while the Foreign Group contains only 47 names. Thus the Indian Group contains 79 percent distinguished scientists, while the Foreign Group has merely the remaining 21 percent of them. Thus we have a very strong evidence that the belief that there are no opportunities for scientific research in India and one can do important research only in foreign countries has no factual basis. It is merely an excuse used by people unwilling to exert the necessary

or wishing to emigrate to more prosperous foreign countries.

A close examination of the Indian Group shows that the Indian scientists have distinguished themselves in all major and minor fields of scientific endeavor. An interesting and important fact is that the majority of them are in the field of physics where the question of apparatus and facilities is most critical. And, perhaps, it is not an accident that of the 18 Indian fellows of the Royal Society of London, 8 belong to physics, and Raman brought the 1930 Nobel Prize for physics to India while working in an Indian Institution. If the Indian scientists can distinguish themselves in physics, scientists working in other fields have no good reasons to complain about facilities. They can develop in India whatever facilities they require.

The Foreign Group

When we examine the foreign group in detail, we find some very interesting facts which show once again that the better research facilities are not the main factors behind the braindrain. For example, 5 scientists out of the 47 belonging to the foreign group emigrated to smaller countries like Pakistan and Singapore. Certainly, these scientists could have found as good or even better facilities in India. Of the remaining, who settled mostly in the U.S.A. and Canada, there are 4 mathematicians, 3 theoretical physicists, 10 biologists, 4 physicians, and two geographers. Since none of these fields require very elaborate facilities, these scientists could very probably undertake their research in India. The group contains 13 experimental physicists, but the majority of them are working in fields where experimental facilities have become available in India during the last decade or even earlier. Only two of these physicists are using large particle accelerators not available in India at present.

Sources of Error

In the above investigation, there are two sources of error, both against the entries in the Indian Group. The first error comes from the fact that the above mentioned encyclopedia was published in U.S.A. and the entries were included on the basis of recommendations by American scientists. Now if an Indian scientist works in an American institution, then his papers will be published in American journals and come to the attention of his American colleagues very easily. He will attend most scientific meetings and many colleagues will know him and his work personally. So his name would be recommended more easily. Or the other hand, if some scientist works in India, he will publish his work mostly in Indian journals which are not read widely in America. Few American colleagues will know him personally. So he will have to be very brilliant indeed in order that his name is included in the above encyclopedia. This is evident from the fact that of the 18 Indian fellows of the Royal Society of London, only 11 are included in this book. Among the 7 brilliant scientists who have been left out, there is Prof. S. N. Bose, whose researches in the retical physics have been so brilliant that a group of fundamental particles in nature have been named "Bosons" after Prof. Bose. Thus if this encyclopedia gave as much attentica to foreign scientists as it gave to American scientists, it must have included many more names belonging to the Indian Group.

The other source of error is that the scientists who emigrated to foreign countries were naturally among the most brilliant. So if they had decided to stay in India, they could have found the best scientific facilities available in India at their disposal. Thus it is very likely that most of them could have achieved eminence even in India. Thus the better facilities of the foreign countries were not the

main factors in the scientific achievements of many scientists included in the Foreign Group. Thus, in order to correct this error, we should reduce the number of entries in the Foreign Group.

It is not possible to make the precise corrections for the two errors mentioned above. But if we could make these corrections, it is my guess that the Indian Group will contain at least 90 percent scientists.

Chandrasekhar on India

Prof. S. Chandrasekhar was born in India in 1910 and graduated from Madras University. He has been at the University of Chicago since 1937. For the last three decades, Prof. Chandrasekhar has been one of the world's most distinguished astrophysicists. Recently an article was published about Prof. Chandrasekhar in the November, 1970 issue of the magazine "Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists: Science and 'Public Affairs.' In this article, Prof. Chandrasekhar gives some very significant reflections about India. Under the guidance of Prof. H. J. Bhabha, the Indian scientists built the first nuclear reactor in Asia outside the U.S.S.R. in August, 1956. About this, Prof. Chandrasekhar says, "The late Homi Bhabha was able to demonstrate to India and to the world that there are technicians in India who are capable of successfully building an atomic reactor. It is a matter of national pride, and Indians can now believe that they have the potential to do anything that any other country can do". Yes, Prof. Chandrasekhar is right. We do not have any lack of talent in India. Then what do we lack? It is the belief of Prof. Chandrasekhar that an accomplishment in science is ultimately more a question of character than of ability. He says, "Two people with comparable scientific ability can accomplish very different amounts. The factors which make the difference are

motivation and discipline, and this is what is lacking among Indians at present."

Bhabha and Chandrasekhar

It is very interesting to consider the similarities and differences between the careers of Bhabha and Chandrasekhar. Both were contemporaries, Bhabha being one year older than Chandrasekhar. Both had very brilliant academic careers in Cambridge. Both were awarded the Adams Prize and elected fellows of the Royal Society. Both selected the field of theoretical physics; Bhabha specialized in particle physics, while Chandrasekhar specialized in Astrophysics. Here the similarity ends.

Chandrasekhar went to the University of Chicago and became one of the most distinguished astrophysicists in the world. Bhabha returned to India around the same period, and worked towards the development of atomic energy in India. As a result of his efforts, India was able to build the first nuclear reactor in Asia outside the U.S.S.R. in August 1956. Today India is one of the most advanced countries of the world in the field of atomic energy. India is one of about half a dozen countries in the world who can produce their own nuclear fuel. Bhabha was a very brilliant scientist and if he had continued pure research either in India or some foreign country, it is very probable that he might have won the Nobel Prize. But Bhabha sacrificed his personal career for the sake of India and that was a tremendous gain for the country. Bhabha brought India to atomic age.

Professor Chandrasekhar is quick to acknowledge that his own personal career advanced much further as a result of his choosing to stay in the USA. He might not have done as well in India. But this was certainly a great loss for India, as pointed out by Chandrasekhar himself. He guided some 40 Ph.D. students. He says, "I know that 40

students may not have made much difference to this country. But if I had 40 Indian students, what a difference it would have made to India? Yes, Chandrasekhar is right. Had he decided to stay in India, it is very likely that India would have made as much progress in the fields of astrophysics and astronomy as she has made in the field of atomic energy.

Thus, it is upto the Indian scientists to decide for themselves whether they should advance their own personal career by emigrating to foreign countries, or they should contribute to the development of India by staying there, though it may mean some sacrifice of their personal career. Of course, all of us cannot hope to achieve as much as Bhabha or Chandrasekhar did. But all of us can repeat, in our own ways, on a small scale what these great men achieved on such a large scale. The choice is ours.

A Challenge to Indian Scientists

During the last quarter of the 19th Century the director of the Harvard College observatory was Prof. E. C. Pickering. When people visited this observatory, they asked Prof. Pickering if the observatory possessed the largest telescope in the world. Prof. Pickering replied, "No, but we have the smallest telescope in the world that is doing useful work." The telescope he was referring to had the object-glass with a diameter of merely two inches. This instrument was used to measure the light of bright stars. During the period 1880-1882, this smallest telescope in the world was used to make about 100,000 measurements of 4,000 bright Stars.

That is the challenge facing the Indian scientists today: to achieve significant results using the most modest facilities in the world. Many people believe that the era of modest equipment is over and modern science requires two-mile long accelerators

which only countries like U. S. A. can afford. This view is not correct. Consider the example of an important discovery in modern nuclear physics, viz., the Mossbaur Effect. This was discovered by Rudolf Mossbauer of Germany in 1958 and won for him the Nobel Prize in 1961. This discovery required so simple apparatus that it might have been discovered in any nuclear physics laboratory in India. This is evident from the fact that within a short time after the discovery of the Mossbauer effect, several Indian laboratories set up the apparatus and now they are engaged in further research on the Mossbauer effect.

It is a matter of pride that many Indian scientists have accepted this challenge. When our Nobel Laureate Prof. C. V. Raman passed away last year, the "Time" magazine noticed in the obituary that though Prof. Raman was a National Professor and the best scientific facilities available in India were at his disposal, he

liked to work with the simplest possible equipment. In fact he worked with such simple apparatus that the whole of his equipments could be contained in the bottom drawer of his desk. Yet he was able to win the Nobel Prize with these modest equipments.

As Prof. Chandrasekhar has noted, the scientific achievement is ultimately a matter of character. If the proper facilities are available easily, they can be helpful. But the lack of proper facilities cannot completely suppress a person determined to do scientific research or anything else. Such a person will overcome the most insurmountable obstacles and achieve his goals. For such a person, a free translation of a verse in the "Panchatantra" applies very well:

"Mount Meru is not very high,

The Hell is not very low,

The sea not shoreless, if a man

Abounding vigour show."



THE 24TH AMENDMENT OF OUR CONSTITUTION

SUKUMAR DAM

The Twenty-fourth Amendment of the Constitution is intended to undo the impact of the verdict of the Supreme Court in Golaknath's Case (1967) on the working of the Constitution of India. A narrowly divided (six to five) Supreme Court has decided in this case:

- (a) that Parliament has no power to amend the Constitution so as to take away or abridge the Fundamental Rights enshrined; in Part III of our Constitution;
- (b) that the amending power of Parliament does not derive from Article 368 of the Constitution, which deals only with the procedure of amendment; and
- (c) that amendment is law within the meaning of Article 13 of the Constitution, which provides that the State shall not make any law which takes away or abridges the Fundamental Rights, and, therefore, if an amendment takes away or abridges the Fundamental Rights, it is void.

The decision of the Supreme Court in Golaknath's case, to borrow the language of H. M. Seervai (1), "places a judicial veto on any legal amendment of Part III and denies to a sovereign people acting through its freely elected representatives in Parliament, the power to implement policies demanded by and in the interest of the people, should they require the abridgement of part III." In

short, it has not only made the Fundamental Rights in effect immutable and thereby the Constitution unduly rigid, but has also disabled Parliament from fulfilling the pledges incorporated in the Directive Principles of States Policy.

In this context, it is worthy of note that before Golaknath's case, the Supreme Court considered the scope of the power of Parliament to amend the Fundamental Rights in the cases of Shankari Prasad (1951) and Sajjan Singh (1965). In these two cases, the Supreme Court held that the power conferred under Article 368 was wide enough to amend the Fundamental Rights contained in Part III of the constitution. Needless to sav. Golaknath's case the Supreme Conrt has reversed its earlier view.

It should be remembered, in this connection, that of the total number of 21 Judges forming the benches on the three occasions, 13 were in favour of vesting the power in Parliament to amend Part III of the Constitution, only 8 were against. Hence, it may not be improper to say that the majority in Supreme Court admitted Parliament's authority in this respect,

Does not the above fact tend to suggest that the decision of the Supreme Court in Golaknath's case is not a proper interpretation of the Constitution? That the decision is not in consonance with the intention of the framers of the fundamental law of the land is evident from the following statement of Pandit Nehru in the Constituent Assembly (2):

It should not be forgotten that the Constitution is for the people and not the people for the constitution, The doctrine of amendability of a constitution is passed on the doctrine of sovereignty of the people. Therefore any restriction on the power of amendment of a constitution impinges upon the sovereignty of the people. Laski has rightly pointed out that the constitution, is a growing organism and there should be no encroachment on Parliament's right to amend the constitution." (3)

The Twenty-fourth Amendment of our Constitution has come with a view to nullifying the undue restrictions imposed by the Supreme Court's judgment in Golaknath's case. It has the purpose of reverting to the status quo ante, i. e., the position that obtained before the the judgment in Golaknath's case, Its net effect is that Parliament, notwithstanding anything in the Constitution, may in exercise of its constituent power amend by way of addition, variation, or repeal any part of the Constitution, including Part III thereof; that Article 13 shall have no application to laws passed under the Twenty-fourth Amendment; and that the President "must" assent to a constitutional amendment. In short. by

rewording Article 368 of the Constitution, the amendment has restored to Parliament the power to amend any provision of the Constitution, including those dealing with the Fundamental Rights.

Incidentally, it may be pointed out that before the Twenty-fourth Amendment Bill, Nath Pai's Constitutional Amendment Bill (4) came in order to counteract the effect of the decision of the Supreme Court in Golaknath's case. The Bill was intended to restore to Parliament the power to amend the Constitution so as to take away or abridge the Fundamental Rights. It goes without saying that the scope of the Twenty-fourth Amendment Bill is wider than that of Nath Pai's Amendment Bill.

The Twenty-fourth Amendment Bill was passed by a massive majority by the Lok Sabha (384 to 23) as well as by the Rajya Sabha (177 to 3), and was subsequently ratified by more than half of the State Legislatures. It has now been incorporated into the organic law of the land after receiving the assent of the President. Needless to point out, by assenting to the Twenty-fourth Amendment Bill, the President has signed away his (and his successors') right to withhold assent to any future constitutional amendments.

This historic amendment is indeed pregnant with immenss possibilities. It is intended to accelerate the progress of democratic socialism, the declared goal of the nation. By removing the judicial road-block created by the judgment in Goloknath's case, it has restored the power to Parliament, which is necessary for opening the way to radicial social change with a view to fulfilling the pledges enshrined in the Directive Principles of State Policy. In a word, the amendment aims at bringing about peaceful socialist revolution in the country.

However, the Twenty-fourth Amendment in momentous in its implications—legal, cons-

titutional, social and political. The implications may now be considered.

The first and foremost implication is that the amendment opens up the possibility of an undesirable confrontation between Parliament and the Supreme court, if the amendment is declared void by the Supreme Court. There is no denying the fact that a legal provision is always capable of more than one interpretation. Hence, the amendment may not be saved from being declared void on the plea that it has been only to remove the lacuna in the light of the verdict of the Supreme Court in Golaknath's case, which does not contain anything that precludes Parliament amending Article 368 so as to enable it to amend any part of the constitution, including part III thereof.

The other implication is that, a blanket declaration to the effect that Parliament shall have the power to amend each and every part of the Constitution is fraught with danger. Such wide powers to quote the words of Madhu Limaye (5), "open the door for putting further restrictions on the already restricted rights of free speech, expression, demonstration and assembly." Parliament has now the power to deny the Seven Freedoms guaranteed under Article 19 even to abolish the Constitutional Remedies available under Articles 32 and 225. It is neither proper nor wise to place the basic freedoms of the citizens at the mercy of a temporary political majority in Parliament. A critic (6) has rightly pointed out: "An amendment intended to accelerate the progress of socialism may well be utilised by a future Government for establishing tyranny based on the denial of citizen's basic rights.....In empowering the present Government to do what the people want Parliament to do may be giving a blank cheque to future Governments less democratically inclined."

Another implication of the amendment is that it thas a tendency to establish Supremacy of Parliament in place of the Constitution. As has been pointed out by an observer (7): "Indeed, the 24th Amendment beyond nullifying the restrictions imposed by the Golaknath case and turns Parliament, a creature of the Constitution. into a creator." The amendment has made Parliament so much powerful in the matter of amendment that the Constitution become almost its plaything. While in theory the Constitution still remains supreme, in fact Parliament has come to be supreme.

Incidentally, it may be questioned: Where is the guarantee that Parliament will not abuse its sweeping powers? "Assurances that Parliament will not abuse its powers cannot be taken at their face value because past assurances have been repudiated with impunityand because no Parliament can legitimately commit itself on behalf of future Parliaments." (8) Such assurances have no legal value, and in any case the present Parliament's commitment cannot bind its successors. Moreover, there is no guarantee that Parliament will not use its sweeping powers on political grounds.

It may also be questioned, "What will happen to the rights guaranteed to the religious linguistic and cultural minorities? There is nothing to prevent Parliament from taking away the rights of the minorities. As a measure of abundant caution, there should have been statutory safeguard for the rights of the minorities and other weaker sections of the community.

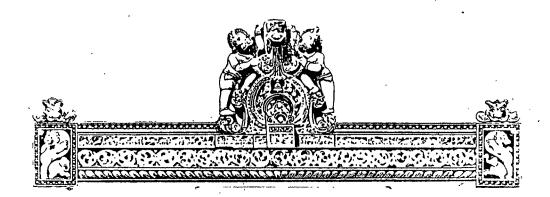
Lastly, it may be questioned: is not the amendment a move towards subordinating the Judiciary to the Legislature and thereby changing the very character of our polity? This amendment paves the way or the Twenty-fifth Amendment, which provides inter alia

that no law, containing a declaration that it is in furtherence of the Directive Principles d State Policy, shall be called in question in in any court of law despite a violation of any At the rights conferred by Articles 14, 19 and 3 (all Fundamental Rights). The Supreme Court cannot acquire proper respect and rualic confidence if its wings are clipped in this way. Needless to mention, further limitations have been put on the already power of judicial review of the Supreme Court. The role of the Supreme court as interpreter of Constitution and guardian of Fundamental Rights can, therefore, be easily imagined.

In conclusion, it may be said that if the Twenty fourth Amendment of the Constitution is utilised in a right spirit, it will make our democracy real in true sense of the term, and,

if not, it will pave the path for the rise of a totalitarian regimented state only.

- 1). H. M. Seervai—Constitutional Law of India, 1968, p. 1117.
- 2). C. A. D., Vol. IX, pp. 1195-96.
- 3). QUOTED BY N. Arunachalam in his article on Fundamental Rights and Parlia ment in the Amrita Bazar Patrika of January 15, 1969.
- 4). Bill No. 10-B of 1967, vide the Gazette of India Extraordinary of July 22, 1968.
- 5). Vide his article on Need for basic changes in the Constitution in the Amrita Bazar Patrika of August 15, 1971.
- 6). Vide Editorial in the Amrita Bazar Patrika of July 30, 1971.
- 7). Vide Editorial in the Statesman of November 9, 1971.
- 8). Vide Editorial in the Statesman of November 9, 1971



SMRITI AND BISMRITI

SIBNATH BANERJEE

Zeppelin.

The reparations were still being paid and one of the items to be surrendered was the Zeppelin, which was a air monster in those days, which could carry enormous number of soldiers and huge quantity of arms. One was surrendered when I was in Berlin. Scarcely any German eye, be it of a, woman or man, was dry when the Zeppelin glided over the Berlin sky, to be flown to America as part of reparations. Many sobbed without restraint. A few confided to me, the American Engineers have been trying to fly it to America for months and months and failed to master the mechanism and make it fly and ultimately, they had to request the German engineers to fly it to America. Not to mention, about inventing such an airship, even when it is given to them they cannot learn how to use it even in months. "They" meaning, "the French the British and Americans", have no brains or skill or stamina; compared to the Germans. "We shall rise again to the top of the World". It seemed to be an idle boast or a false consolation to their bleeding heart. But no, Hitler was already on top in Germany and soon on the top of the world for a short while.

Nazi Rise.

Chatto had suggested to me to go to Munich where some Indian youth were being trained along with the Germans on national socialist lines. It was the rise in the offing. I was not interested and instead, proceeded to Austria via Dresden and Budapest. The parting with the land lady was like leaving a friend. I invited her to come to India as my guest. I knew it was meaningless, but still it made her

happy. I went to Berlin 22 years later in 1946, but could not find her as I had lost the address.

Dresden.

Dresden is a miniature Berlin: with the Palace, turned into Museum and parks and Art galleries etc. etc. I spent only one day, to have a birds eye view of South Germany. I had apprehended some trouble at the Austro Hungarian border from the German officials as I had prolonged the 3 days transit into 30 days, but nobody seemed to notice or bother.

Austria.

In Moscow, after I secured an Afghan Pass Port, through the help of Sardar Abdul Aziz, a brother of General, later Ksng Nadir Shah, my next hurdle was to get a visa. Germany refused, even after hearing all about me. It was a rude shock from a Social-Democratic Govt. of Evart. General Hindenberg was the President of the German Republic. I tried several other countries, but failed. At last the German Social Democrats, gave me a visa. It may be, I judged German Social Democracy rather harshly. There had been communist attempts in several places in Germany to set up communist Govt.s or Soviets, the attempt at Hamburg was a very serious one and it needed much bloodshed to liquidate it. So, Germany did not wish to take a chance. After all, the communists infiltrated into Germany, by so many legal and illegal subterfuges and the Soviet leaders and Germad communist leaders proclaimed from house tops that Communist Revolution in Germany was round the corner. So. I don't blame the German Social Democratic Govt., if they took my honest story with a big lump of salt. Austrian Social Democratic Govt. was more progressive and more stable and there had been no revolutionery attempt to seize power by the Communists. Hence I got visa from Austria more easily. If Austria had also failed, my attempt would have been to go to Switzerland, which with its neutrality in the 1st World War had no communist upheavals. But my preference was Germany and next Austria, as there were Social Democratic Govts. there. Chatto had assured me that to secure visa for Germany from Austria would be easy. I would have done so, if I did not secure my visa to go to London, by a subterfuge.

Night Travel

I usually travelled at night and passed the nights in trains and thus saved the hotel bills at least for some nights. Day travel is more interesting, as you can see the people and the countryside more but a slender purse played a decisive role in the choice.

Vienna.

I reached Vienna in the morning and as usual took a room in a cheap hotel. Then I preceded straight to the residence Miss Violet......a French Artist, who was a friend of Prof Baraganzha of Bombay a Professor of economics who had gone to Moscow to study the Soviet economic system. He knew French and German and of course English, but no Russian. He was staying in the foreign Professor's Hostel. He came anc met us, the Indians and we had many interesting discussions with him. He became very frank and friendly with me. He had many-doubts whether the Soviet system would work. I had none, my only difference with the orthodox communists was whether the Sovet system could be established by the Democratic process of ballot or whether Revolutionary seizure of power was absolutely essential. I thought then, it was not, I still

think so, even after the experience of Russia and then of China, and Indonesia for the last 45 years.

Prof, Baraganza had given me an introduction letter to Miss Violet who was in her middle thirties, and an artist with refined manners and appearnace. She was very happy to receive the introduction letter and welcomed me warmly. From her talks it appeared to me that she was the lady love of the Professor. She asked me about her joining the Professor in Russia. She enquired about myself and where I was staying, etc.

I said I would like to stay in some family as a paying guest. She said she had a vacant extra flat and if I liked I could stay there. It was a bargain indeed. She wanted to learn Russian and I would get bed and breakfast free. She treated me like her younger brother and my stay there was very comfortable, cheap and useful.

Schloss Shon Brune.

The place was in an apartment just outside the palace, named Schloss Shon Brune (Beautiful Brown Fortress). Before the revolution of 1918, when Austro-Hungarian Empire was dissolved and Austrian Republic formed, this was the Palace where the Austro-Hungarian Emperor lived with his family. It was now a museum where I went by a queer turn of luck. I was living near the palace, within the palace compound, a very spacious very beautiful, with the statue one and of Maria Thenesa, placed on a high mound facing the Palace inside the palace ground. The tall trees were pruned and made into green walls, down the lanes and bye lanes of of the garden. The former grandeur was no doubt not there, but what remained was also, very impressive indeed.

Mlss Violet was a good student and picked up Russian quickly. The time for her study was at the time of breakfast and soon after. For the rest of the day, I was free to roam about, but there was one restriction, namely, the garden gate was locked at 10 P.M. It was a very nice arranagement in all other respects. On Sundays and other holidays, she would often invite me to lunch in some restaurant outside and there she would ask me all kinds of questions about Russia, her economy, politics and social aspects. She was a typical artist and also an intellectual and found it difficult to accept the Soviet system. But the discussions showed how keen she was to understand, if not agree with the Soviet system. I myself did not agree cent percent, While talking or discussing or learning Russian, the medium was German and thus I got practice of talking in German and understanding German conversation better and was thus benefitted both ways.

Social Democratic Govt.

I got acquainted with the leaders of Social Democratic Party and also the Editorial Board of Arbeiter Zeitung (workers newspaper) of which I was a regular reader. I enquired whether I could get a job and was assured that it would not be difficult. I wanted a job in the S. D. party office so that I could learn their working for practical experience. I was even prepared to work there without any remuneration in the beginning. I was keen to earn some money as my finances were running low, however economically I was living, by cutting out a regular lunch or dinner and in its place would take "hot dogs" or 'Wurst' and bread and a cup of tea or coffee. These cheap meals were substantial for the appetite and nutrition, though not for taste.

British Ambassador.

I was more keen to go to London and then to India, than just making a living or even making money by service in Austria or Germany. One day I went to the British Ambassador in Vienna and told him frankly of my peculiar predicament. He

apparently believed my statement. And after we talked for about half an hour, about India, Britain and Russia and the rest of the world, he suddenly brightened up and said if you apply to go to the Wembly Exhibition (1924) of Great Britain, I can give you visa for six weeks only, immediately and without any further enquiry. It was a great relief to me, almost a "wind fall". I decided to apply immediately and did so and in three days time I had the visa to go to great Britain for 6 weeks, to see the Wembly Exhibition.

Sri Bapat.

A few days back, a Bengalee, named Mazumdar came to Vienna and was lecturing about Tagore. I had met him in the office of the Socialist Party there. He was touring European cities, raising money by delivering lectures on Tagore by the sale of tickets. He was making enough money for his travels and even more. We became very friendly and he even invited me to join in his tour as his helper or manager. I attended two of his lectures and they were fairly well attended. I told him if I failed in my attempt to go to London, I might join him for two or three months. He had spoken about my adventures to his acquaintances and friends there and one of them happened to be a high Indian military officer, who was in Vienna for medical check up and treatment. Vienna was then considered to be the most advanced in medical science.

He expressed a desire to meet me and I did so. He was very eager to know about myself and my journey through Afghanistan and Central Asia and the details about these regions. He lauded me to the sky and also other Bengalees. He wished that Maharashtrians had shown such daring and spirit of adventure as the Bengalees. I pointed out that when Maharashtra has produced Shivaji, then Tatia Topi and even now Savarkar, Pingle etc he need not speak disparagingly of Maharastrians. He did not approve of Russian Social System

or economy and attempt at world domination by communism and all the rest of it, but he was a sterling Nationalist. He enquired from me what my future plans were. I said that I wanted to go to London and from there to India to resume the struggle for Independence and after Independence-for Socialism. He was keen for independence. He wanted to know how I proposed to go to London and whether I had enough money for my living. I said frankly that I had very little funds left. He volunteered to pay £30/—which was my estimate of my need to reach London. I was grateful to him for this, and wished to take it as a loan. He said it was his contribution to my spirit of adventure and if I paid such sums to other Indian Revolutionaries, placed under similar circumstances, it would be repaying him. Such noble sentiments, I had never heard either before or after, though I have taken help or loan from so many Indians and foreigners. He said he was a Govt. servant and aMilitary officer to boot. If it was known that he had such relations with a rebel like Sibnath Banerjee, he might not only lose his job but even may be put in prison. So I must not try to find him out in India. He gave me £ 30 in Austrian marks immediately and asked me to forget about it. I know only that his name was Bapat and nothing further. I kept my word with him till 1947, the time of achieving Independence. After that I enquired and learnt he had retired and died and could not find any trace about his family. Al honour to Bapat, the Maharashtrian Nationalist and people of that sort of high spirit.

3 months in Austria

I spent about 2 months in Vienna and was living on my own, spending the evening in the beautiful open air restaurants with beautiful music and nice cheap food and drink and highly intellectual talks with charming compa-

nions, if not walking in the streets looking at sights worth seeing.

The people were open, much more open to conversation and ready to open their hearts, than the Germans in Berlin, though both are of German stock. In a particular restaurant I frequented I developed a kind of friendship with a group of intellectuals. I found in Vienna that on an average one out of four or of five spoke English and some very fluently. I went out for strolls with them, and they showed me round the rapid improvements made by Vienna municipality, in improving the slums and working class quarters etc.

Danube Restaurant

Once I was taken for a long stroll up the Danube river to a beautiful bend, where the sunset seen through an opening of the forest was indeed grand. It was worth walking 3 or 4 miles to enjoy the view. I was more moved by the widow who was keeping a fairly big restaurant. I was introduced by my friend to her and her daughter aged 20/22 years, who was suffering from T. B. She was a little pale otherwise she was as pretty as other Viennese girls of that age. She was a blonde with wide eyes. The daughter was most interested to hear about India and Indian people and the Indian struggle, about which she had heard so much. She did not speak much English and our conversation in our table continued in English through my friend, who acted as the interpreter. After an hour, I wished to return, but she held us back for another hour. She said, I was one of the very few Indians she had met who was willing to converse seriously with her and expressed her gratitude to me. She requested me to come there frequently. I agreed with an if, i.e. if I found time. I invited her to come to India where Indians would cure her and restore her to full health. She thanked and smiled and said it was her dream, but circumstances hardly favoured such a course.

We had our evening meals in the Restaurant, but when we offered to make payment of the bill, they refused to accept payment. It was rather embarassing. The daughter asserted that we were her guests of honour and she thanked my friend for having brought me, for taking the trouble of coming and sparing so much time for her in conversation. I honestly and feelingly replied that it has indeed been a rare pleasure for me. Moreover if I had been invited to her house, it would have been a different proposition. But she insisted on nonpayment of the Bill and I reluctantly agreed on condition that when she came to India, she would be my guest. Addresses were exchanged but no letters not even one was exchanged. When we exchanged addresses, we both were sincere, and meant seriously and even after the lapse of 45 years I still remember the incident and can even see or imagine the glow in her pale cheeks and big bright eyes, while talking to me. Circumstances stood in the way of correspondence, which none of us could envisage at that time.

Switzerland

After thanking and bidding good-bye to the Austrian Socialist Party comrades and my hostess Miss Violet and last, though not the least the British Ambassador whose brain wave, opened up the route for me to London from Vienna, I left Vienna.

I had some apprehension that going to London may be easy, but coming out of London may not after all be as easy as going there. So I wished to finish my visits to Swizerland not for sight seeing mainly, but to see the League of Nations, which in the Soviet Union the comrades always called League of Robbers, and also the I.L.O. or the International Labour Organisation. In the I.L.O. I was glad to find that the name of the Late N.M. Joshi was well known and was spoken with great respect. The League of

Nations had been replaced by the United Nations, but the sound principles which were accepted in forming the I.L.O. are being still honoured and followed.

The spacious, and imposing buildings of the League of Nations are being used for various international purposes, one of the important activities being the rehabitation of refugees from different countries. I had not much time or money for sight seeing in Geneva. I spent one day there and then went to Paris.

Budapest-Paris

"Paris is called a paradise on earth". I reached Paris as usual in the morning by trair having hired a room in a and after cheap hotel, I went out for a stroll. My first attention was the Eifel Tower. It is many times the height of the Shahid Minar (Octorlony Monument) (165ft) in the Calcutta Maidan. Whenever I go to a new town or city, I try to go up the highest building and have a bird's eye view of the city and surroundings. I did the same in Paris also. There are two lifts and one has to pay a small sum to use it. One lift takes you to four-fifth o the height and there you change to a smaller one. At the very top there is a Restaurant. where you can look around Paris and 20 miles of the suburbs over a cup of tea or coffee and snacks. There are telescopes fixed and on payment in the slots, you can use the telescope and see distant buildings and villages, but only If you wish to use the for five minutes. telescope longer, you have to put more coinin the slot.

Post Office

There is a post office, where you can buy stamps and picture post cards and post them there to your near and dear ones. Like others I took coffice and sent several picture post cards, sitting comfortably on 'top of the world.'

Budapest

Ι had learnt in Moscow that Prof. Suhrawardy, a brother of the Ex-chief Minister of undivided Bengal and Sahid Surhawardy, ex-Prime Minister of Pakistan, had been for a long time in Austria and was studying Russian art and theatre. I tried to contact him in Moscow, but learnt that he was in some provincial town of U.S.S.R. Later on I learnt that he was in Budapest. On my way from Germany to Austria, I went to Bucapest. With great difficulty I found out the address which I had got from Moscow. It was a very foggy day, the speed of buses and trams was very slow, because of low visibility. But to my bewilderment, when I reached the place I learnt that he had changed his address to some other part of the town. I wanted to give up the attempt to find him as I had nothing in particular to do with him. But being by nature obstinate and averse to admitting defeat, I made another attempt, but on reaching that address, I learnt he had returned to Moscow only a week previously. So I was not to meet him, anyhow that time. I met him later in Zurich, Switzerland, by the sick bed of Sahid, my staunch opponent on policy but very likeable personally and a good friend. Prof. Surawardy was well versed in all kinds of Dramatic arts of different regions of U.S.S.R. and also of Indian States. He was recognised in U.S.S.R. also as an expert. alas, it was not my line at all.

Swedornia (B)

Though I failed to meet Prof. Suhrawardy in my arduous quest for him, I discovered that a group from Russia had established one University, called "Swedornia" meaning freedom. The people in different parts of U.S.S.R., with or without pass port or their bags and haggages, had started this centre for fighting to cust the communists from power in Moscow and get back their riches. There were about

a thousand young trainees, both male and female, emigrants from different parts of U.S.S.R. I posed as an emigrant, businessman from Bokhara, dealing in Persian carpets. I had lived in Bokhara and spoke a little Persian, also, along with Russian.

So there was no difficulty in posing as a merchant of Bokhara. I went there and found that a rich industrialist had offered his landed estate as an asylum for the emigrants to be trained there and sent back to U.S.S.R. to subvert the Communist Regime. I had a mind to stay there for a month or so to know what was being cooked up there. I had no fixed purpose, except to see U.S.S.R. from a different angle to which I was made familiar for the last two years. The usual word for addressing people as 'comrade' in U.S.S.R. was taboo there and I was addressed as Gospadin or 'sir'. I had to do the same. After a little while waiting in the reception hall, I was taken to the Principal and had half an hour's talk about the aims and objects of the training centre. It was a counter revolutionary organisation, planning to overthrow the Soviet Government. Though I did not agree with the Soviet Union in all aspects, I would resist any attempt of the Swedornia, where I would get lodging, boarding, dress, etc. free. I said I would think it over and report in three days. There must have been Soviet spies there and I did not like to stay there as an anti-Soviet agent. I never went back there, but was intrigued to learn how the opponents of the Soviets were working actively for the overthrow of the Communist Regime.

Notre Dame

One fine morning having no particular program in my mind I was standing in front of the historical, beautiful and imposing Church Notre Dame (Our Lady), I found a group of 10/12 Americans, mostly elderly ladies, enter the building and engage a youngish person as

a guide. Instead of hiring a guide myself, which was rather expensive, I often joined such groups at a short distance and heard the explanatory speeches of guides, when they explained in English. Often I found the speeches of guides to be too long and in great detail. Then I would proceed to the next such group and so on and finish the whole sight-seeing or getting a bird's eye-view in half or one fourth the time the others took. I stayed long with this group and this particular guide's speeches were short and to the point, and had also a touch of humour. After he had completed the round and got an usually large tip, near the gate, he saluted me also and I returned the salute.

I felt a little embarrassed, as I was not paying any tip. He said, 'you enjoyed the round? I could read it from you face.' It is the effort of these guides to please the sightseers. They study their faces and if they find them bored, they cut short and if they show interest or put questions, the guides countinue with flourish. It is their daily task. I replied, "I really enjoyed, and you spoke very well, to the point and short." I still thought he was after a tip, perhaps he was. He entered into conversation with me and after learning I was an Indian Revolutionary on my way to India via London and was not sure what was in store for me there, he became interested and suggested "let us take a cup of coffee". I thought it was the least he wanted to extract from me. However, I agreed and had coffee and snacks together along with further talks about each other. He insisted to make payment for both. I suggested as a compromise, that let each pay his own share. But he did not agree even to that and paid for both of us. He said he had earned much that morning and wished to enjoy with me, a small part of it. He was 5/6 years junior to me and was a teenager of about 17/18. He had no University or hardly any school education. His

parents were living in a distant village and being poor he had taken up the profession of a guide to make a living. He was an assistant for a year or so.

He invited me to go to his hotel. I then thought, it was a trap and I did not go with him. But I invited him to come to my hotel. which was not far. He came and confessed that he acted also as a guide for sight-seers. He showed me stomach dance himself in which he was an expert. The young man took keen interest in me and showed me round, the under-world in Mont Martre. My fear of being traped by him remained up to the last but I moved about with him about two days and learnt more than what I would have learnt in two months or more. On the third day I found a note in the hotel, where I lived, that he was going suddenly to his home in the south as his mother was seriously ill and would like to meet me after his return in a week or so. I reckoned that he had spent much more on my food and transport than what I did for him. I could not and did not wait for him for a week. I felt sorry however that I did not trust him fully inspite of his sincerity and open hearted hospitality. I don't know what was his motive- It might have been patriotic, to help another patriot of India. He left his permanent address, but I lost it. Later on I been to Paris half a dozen times have within the last 40 years. I went to Notre Dame twice hoping against hope to meet that sympathetic young man, who must have also by now grown quite old.

Versailles

While I was young and was reading in 'Hogol-Danga' Middle school, I had a teacher from Malda (name I cannot recollect), who was a great admirer of Napoleon Bonaparte. Whenever he spoke of Napoleon, he became emotional and spoke in hyperbole about his genius and his great achievements. He men-

tiened often about Abbot's life of Napoleon. I read it while a student in Hooghly College borrowing it from the College Library. I also became an admirer of Napoleon. Later on, when in Moscow, much of the halo about Napoleon in my mind was knocked out and I started looking upon him as an Imperialist, pure and simple. He had genius and his ambition knew no bounds. But still I could not check the temptation of going to Versailles about 20 miles from Paris and see the Palace where he lived and the famous Palace Gardens, where he roamed about with Totephine and later on with the queen, and planned his compaigns and dreamt his dreams. The impressions of early youth about the genius of this world figure inspired me even after Moscow teachings and I am not ashamed to admit it. His thoughts do even now draw admiration from me as a genius, though overshadowed by Marx and Lenin. To stay there longer I even took a room in a small hotel and spent the night and the next day also there roaming in the Palace and in a the Palace Gardens. Usually people go there from Paris in the morning and return in the evening. I could have done the same, but Versailles kept me for two whole days dreaming and roaming. Treaty Hall

In Versailles also lies the famous Hall of Marrort, where the Peace Treaty was signed in 1919 after the defeat of Germany in the first World War. It was no Treaty. It was an abject surrender. Twenty five years later in the same Hall, in 1943, was signed the surrender of France to Germany and two years later in 1945 surrender of Germany to the Allied Forces. These are ups and downs of History, full of pathos as well as deep lessons of history. Waterloo-Panorama

Many years later, I was lucky to see the Panorama view of the battle of Waterloo, my wife was also with me. It was a semi-circular dome. Standing on a raised platform as if the real battle was going on. Napoleon's

famous Imperial Guards in their gorgeous dress repeatedly and furiously charging the small phalangx in square formation of the IronDuke, (Wellington). The tough British imfantry with fixed bayonets, some standing and others kneeling on the ground, stood the furious charges repeatedly. The casualties on both sides were very high. The Iron Duke held on like a rock. Napoleon is seen, directing the operations, riding his white horse, from a village nearby. Many horses and riders were rolling wounded and dying nearby. Even the smoke and the embers of the village huts burning were visible. I have never seen anything so graphic and dramatic in my life. Much later I saw in Moscow the Panoramic view of the battle of Borodino. It was a copy of Waterloo Panorama made by Russians. It was a fairly good copy. In both instances the hero was Napoleon and in both cases the military genius had to eat the humble pie in the face of overwhelming forces against him.

Sylvan Levi

I had heard in India of the fathomless learning of Sylvan Levi and Mrs. Sylvan Levi. He and his wife were great admirers of Gurudev Tagore and spent much time in Santiniketan. When I went Prof. Levy, I found him engaged in learning Chinese language in his study room filled to capacity with books on various subjects. He was over 60 years in age. I was struck with the sagacity of this scholar. People much younger fight shy of such an attempt as learning Chinese. It is one of the most difficult languages in the world. My admiration for that humanitarian scholar Sylvan Levi increased immensely by this single fact. He asked many questions about Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore and Santiniketan. He relaxed, and spent one hour with me. I apologised for taking so much of his time, when he could have learnt many words of Chinese. I told him that I went to pay respects to one who loved India so deeply. He was pleased and I was glad that I could please him.

Indian and Foreign Periodicals

Are the USA Good Allies

Prof. Nadav Safran of Harvard has written in News from Israel about the implications of the Indo-Pakistan war for countries dependent on the USA, who may now find that the greatest of all military powers is inclined to be a fickle ally. He says:-

The Indo-Pakistan war suggests some interesting lessons and bears some important implications for the Arab-Israel conflict.

Observers in Israel have been particularly struck by the fact that Pakistan has been abandoned in its hour of dire need, and that the Chinese and the Americans allowed the Indians, backed by the Soviets, to dismember a state that was a friend and an ally without even making a serious attempt to save it.

Undoubtedly, there is a lesson to be learned here, but it is easy to misjudge its nature. It is tempting to rush to the conclusion that allies and friends are worthless, and that there is no substitute for relying upon oneself for one's own security. It is tempting but wrong.

It is wrong because it oversimplifies a number of complex issues. The United States was not a formal ally of Pakistan for purposes of the recent conflict. Pakistan is linked to the United States through CENTO and SEATO, but these alliances are aimed at Communist aggression, not at particular conflicts between member states and third parties. This notion was repeatedly and explicitly reiterated in the 15 years since these pacts were concluded, and was confirmed by practice, including the precedent of the American stance in the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965.

Of course, an alliance for one purpose creates a presumption, though not an obligation, of mutual assistance with regard to other purposes; however, this presumption is two-sided, and in the case at hand Pakistan had chosen to remain aloof from the American

war in Vietnam, which fell much more plausibly within the purview of the SEATO treaty than the Indo-Pakistan conflict. But let us grant, withal, that the United States had an interest in the survival and integrity of Pakistan and that it had given the Pakistani Government to understand that much. Is it justifiable to conclude from recent events that this kind of solicitude is useless?

It may be, if one postulates circumstances similar to those that confronted Pakistan Pakistan was facing secession and dismemberment due to an internal crisis, even withou any outside interference. The Indian military intervention merely quickened an inevitable process. In such circumstances, one can perhaps say, paraphrasing the Psalmist: If a state cannot preserve itself, in vain shall its frience be solicitous.

Short of such a situation, a friendship might well have helped. Even as it was, the United States had begun to make some moves, including pressure on the Soviets and naval manoeuvres, that might have seen Pakistan through the immediate crisis of Indian intervention if it had been able to hold on a little longer. But the rot was so deep that Pakistan could not hold for more than two weeks.

The Indo-Pakistani war suggests then, not the uselessness of friendships but the limits of what they can do. It also suggests their possibilities, if one looks at the Indian side of the picture. India might not have been able to accomplish what it did had it not received the backing of the Soviet Union. That support shielded India from American and Chinese pressure long enough to permit it to finish what it had set out to do. It is no use to argue from this that Soviet support is somehow intrinsically more valuable than American or Chinese; because the fact is that the Soviets were in a position to give effective support with minimal risk, while the Americans and

the Chinese could render effective assistance to Pakistan only by taking drastic and risky steps. We are back to the basic situation, and to the real lesson, which is that friendship is useless unless it is given a reasonable chance to come into play, and that self-reliance is crucial because it can provide that reasonable chance for friendship, not because it can do w thout it. The practical implications of this lesson are different from the 'go it alone' conclusion indicated by the other lesson.

Struggle against Racism

Fyodor V. Konstantinov of the USSR Academy of sciences discusses the racial crimes committed by different states even to-day; though the world recognizes that such actions are criminal and contrary to all international standards of Human Rights. We reproduce parts of this discussion from Backgrounder, a publication of the information branch of the Consulate General of the USSR:

The United Nations Organisation proproclaimed 1971 the year of struggle against racism. This is a great problem of concern for all freedom-loving peoples. The reason and motive for raising this problem at the United Nations were the events in Sharpeville on March 21, 1960 when the racialists of the South African Republic fired on a peaceful demonstration demanding the repeal of discriminatory passes. which subjugated indigenous Africans to their masters as to slave owners. Sixty-nine people were killed and 180 wounded in this racialist massacre of unarmed South African Bantu workers. This bloodshed enraged all honest people on earth.

Yet the bloodshed in Sharpeville was only one episode (by no means the most horrible one) in the bloody chronicles of racist crimes against humanity.

Racism, racial segregation and discrimination—some of the grimmest evils of capitalism—still exist on our planet, in some countries even as a dominant ideology and policy.

As is known, the ideologists of racism allege that mankind is divided into "superior" races capable of attaining the pinnacles of culture and civilisation and inferior races incapable of cultural progress. Racism furnished and is furnishing the ideological basis for colonial conquest. Under the black banner of racism the most heinous crimes were perpetrated against the peoples, against humanity. Extermination of whole peoples, slave trade, ruthless colonial oppression of the indigenous inhabitants of Asia, Africa, Latin America—all these and many other brutal atrocities on the conscience of the bourgeoisie were consecrated and justified by various kinds of racialist theories.

Modern experience proves that racism continues to exist as an ideological weapon of the reactionary and militarist forces of our time.

Every year the whole world witnesses new and new manifestations of the police reign of terror against the Negro people, assassinations of Negro political leaders, judicial persecution of fighters for Negro civil rights.

At present a racialist court in California, on the basis of a framed up charge, intends to victimize the courageous fighter for Negro freedom, the fearless Communist and patriot, Angela Davis. Such phenomena have long become a rule of the "American way of life."

Chauvinism is the main ideological credo not only of the home but also the foreign policy-makers of US imperialism, which strives to rule everywhere, interferes in the affairs of other peoples, infringes with a high hand on their inborn rights and sovereignty, uses force, bribery, and economic infiltration in an effort to impose its will on states and whole regions of the world.

A special place in the military and political practices of US imperialism is held by its shameful armed intervention in Vietnam, then in Cambodia and Laos.

The reign of racist terror in its most unbridled forms continues as before in the South African Republic where racial discrimination is enforced by law.

In the hands of the ruling classes of the South African state racism is a weapon used to keep the indigenous population in colonial bondage, to preserve a situation in which a white minority of 3.7 million can ruthlessly exploit a 16-millioned non-European population. This is why the government of the South African Republic has proclaimed racial discrimination its official policy.

The basis for the policy pursued by the South African racialists is the apartheid doctrine which prescribes a separate life for different races and national minorities inhabiting the South African Republic. With the aid of this theory the racialists are systematically brainwashing the European population of the country.

The racialists of the South African Republic are followed by their junior partners of "kindred spirit" in Southern Rhodesia. For several years now the events in that country neighbouring the South African Republic have been causing concern and indignation of world public opinion.

Recently a shameful deal was concluded between the fascist regime of Southern Rhodesia and the British conservative government in contravention of the United Nations resolutions on sanctions against the racialist government of Ian Smith.

Racialism is flowering in Angola and other colonies of fascist Portugal which she proclaimed her "overseas territories".

The world was witness to the tragic developments of the Indian Subcontinent: the military conflict between India and Pakistan. Where are the root causes of these saddening events? They are in the colonial heritage left by imperialism. Following its perfidious

"divide and rule" policy Britain exploited religious prejudices and strived to instill antagonisms between Hindoos and Moslems.

The immediate cause of the military conflict was the treacherous policy and the brutal crackdown by the military rulers of Pakistan on the Bengali population of East Pakistan. About one million Bengalis were killed and ten million escaped from East Pakistan to India to save their lives as another fit of chauvinistic hysteria afflicted the reactionary military of Pakistan.

Export Promotion in India

A. C. Banerjee, Executive Director of the Trade Development Authority, Government of India, writes in "International Trade FORUM" about their scientific approach to international trade promotion. We give below certain excerpts from his article:

INDIA IS TRYING a new approach to export promotion. After more than a decade of effort in this field, we in the Government have realized that traditional, generalized trade promotion techniques are not working well enough. So we are trying a new tackwhat we call the "mirco" or "pin-point" approach. The Government has established a new agency that identifies producers with export potential, finds the most promising markets for their products, helps them gear up their production if necessary, and then leads them through the marketing process and helps them overcome the obstacles that stand in the way of actually selling to these markets.

Although the size and complexity of India's export promotion institutions make its situation somewhat unique, many of the problems that led up to this new venture will be familiar to export promotion officials—and exporters—in other countries, and if it is successful, it may spur them to rethink their own programmes.

Like many other developing countries,

India recognizes that export growth is vital to the fulfilment of its development goals, and in recent years it has made substantial export gains. In the 1968/69 fiscal year, India's exports scored a record 13.5% increase. Although the rate dropped in the following year, it rose again to 8.5% in 1970/71.

There has also been an encouraging development in the nature of Indian export. The share of non-traditional items such as ores, minerals and industrial products rose from 8.4% in 1960/61 to 35% in 1969/70; while during the same period the share of engineering products alone climbed from less than 1% to 15%.

While these trends are heartening, our performance has not been good enough. Over the decade, the annual export growth averaged only 3.9%, compounded, compared with our current five-year goal of 7% a year. The share of North America and western Europe in India's total exports has declined over the years, from 55% in 1960/61 to 39% in 1969/70. Although the United cortinues to be our most important market, there has not been much increase in our exports to that country over the last three years.

The need: As Ministry of Foreign Trade Secretary H. Lal puts it, "...we have not done enough to tap the vast potential for marketing our goods in the affluent countries. If India wants to increase her share in total world trade, it is imperative for her to raise her exports to the affluent countries. particularly in manufactures."

There has certainly been no lack of attempts to promote Indian exports. Over the years the Government has introduced a battery of incentivs, and dozens of official, semi-official and unofficial institutions have been established to promote or service exports. But the procedures involved in taking advantage of the incentives has been so

cumbersome and time consuming that many firms have been discouraged from even trying to export. And the effectiveness of the various export promotion institutions has been very mixed.

One basic reason for the disappointing performance of or export promotion efforts is that they have been too diffused and generalized. They have been based on general principles and devoted to commodities, territories and functions, but the exporter himself, the actual actor in the drama, has been in the background. So the thrust that would lead his product to his buyer was missing.

Among Indian Government officials, and no doubt among business men as well, the feeling grew that new approaches had to be tried if India was to meet its export goals and take advantage of the opportunities offered by world markets.

Getting started: In January 1970, Mr. R. B. Lall, Secretary of Foreign Trade at the time, put the situation this way:

"Our schemes and projects do not enable us to concentrate on supporting selectively individual exporters or firms or growth points, nor do we pay adequate attention to building up export capabilities of individuals or firms which show a degree of dynamism or interest in their effort."

Mr. Lall went on to moot the idea of creating an agency dedicated to exporters, first and last, a public sector agency that could operate outside areas handled by State trading agencies, with the object of inducing and organizing mainly small and medium scale entrepreneurs to develop their individual export capabilities.

The idea quickly took root and grew. The former Foreign Trade Minister B. R. Bhagat sent a note to the Prime Minister stressing the need to set up a market development agency in the public sector with complete autonomy

in its operations, It would include an "express thruway" branch to speed processing of applications for joint vetures for export production and would also attempt to relax some of the road blocks facing export industries. It would bring within its umbrella integrated services to be rendered to the exporter at a single point.

Sheikh Mujibur Thanks the Russians

A Press Release by the Soviet Information Service, dated 3rd February 1972, broadcasts to the Indian Press the following summary and commentary relating to Sheikh Mujibur Rehman's speech in Dacca dated February 1, 1972:

All today's Soviet newspapers publish the report on the speech made on February 1, at a meeting in Dacca by Mujibur Rahman, Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. Pravda singles out the words of Sheikh Mujibur expressing sincere gratitude to the USSR which held a consistent and principled position in the United Nations during the recent conflict on the Indian subcontinent and which helped, as the Prime Minister said, "To frustrate the conspiracy of the imperialists" who tried to hamper the just national-liberation struggle of the 74 million-strong people of Bangladesh.

Quoting a report of the PTI Agency from Dacca, Pravda states that Mujibur Rahman criticised the policy of the United States Government during the conflict on the Indian subcontinent. The Prime Minister pointed to the fact that the United States actively supported the military regime of Yahya Khan and supplied it with arms and equipment fully realising that the Bengalis were victims of mass murders. Mujibur Rahman said that the White House had supported the military regime which set itself the aim of destroying the Bengali nation.

Under the headings: "Who is responsible for the atrocities in East Bengal?" "Accom-

plices of crimes," "Unprecedented atrocities"—the Soviet newspapers publish reports on the revelation of fresh facts of crimes perpetrated by the West Pakistani army against peaceful inhabitants of East Bengal. For instance, according to INA agency from 3,000 to 4,000 people were killed in the area of Comilla alone (East Bangladesh).

The Government newspaper Izvestia cites reports from the Bangladesh Press to the effect that apart from the West Pakistani military regime the responsibility for the sufferings of the Bengali population of Bangladesh falls also on external forces that helped to fan the conflict on the Indian subcontinent, particularly on China and the United States. Izvestia reprints a report from the Bangladesh Observer regarding the gap separating Peking's words and deeds. The newspaper writes that having proclaimed itself a leader of the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples, Peking, during the conflict, openly sided with the Pakistani military regime which hurled bloody repressions against the people of Bangladesh.

newspaper, Leninskoye Moscow Znamya, and a number of other newspapers publish a report on the speech made at a mass rally in Comilla by the chairman of the National People's Party, Professor Muzaffar Ahmad, who declared that the Soviet Union, which rendered Bangladesh decisive support at the most critical moment of its national-liberation struggle, is a sincere and unselfish friend of the people of Bangladesh, and all the peoples of the world fighting against reaction and imperialism. Pointing to the numerous difficulties facing the Bengali people, Professor Muzaffar Ahmad stressed, the newspaper reports, that only socialism is a reliable guarantee of building a happy and flourishing society in Bangladesh. The carrying out of socialist transformations, he pointed out, will facilitate the speedy emancipation of the

pecple of Bangladesh from all forms of social and economic inequality, oppression and exploitation.

Franciscus Cornelis Donders, 1818-1889

A short account of the life and work of the great scientist and opthalmologist Franciscus Cornelis Donders has been published in The Netherlands. We reproduce it below:

On hearing of a professor whose field of knowledge and tutorship covered anatomy, physiology, hystology, anthropology and forensic medicine, you would probably be inclined to dismiss him from the twentieth century. And you would be right. If you then learn that his achievements also brought him international fame as an opthalmologist you will agree that even for an era in which the necessity of specialisation was less marked than it is now his versatility could be qualified as prodigious.

Franciscus Cornelis Donders lived from 1818 till 1889. When he opened an eye clinic in Utrecht in 1851 the funds came out of his own pocket. Seven years later this grew into the opthalmic hospital with which his name is irrevocably bound. The aim of the hospital was to provide relief for poor and needy eye sufferers, however history relates that among those who took their places in the waiting room were an Emperor and Empress of Brazil. In 1929, a patient arrived there for treatment after a journey from the United States, and requested that he be examined by the famous man. Prof. Donders had departed this earth forty years earlier.

How much of his fame, of his versatility, how much of that pioneering hospital work, how much of Donders' 399 scientific publications still appeals to the layman's imagination after some eighty years?

In 1872 he published a paper on the subject of the "basal muscular current emanating from the heart," a subject which will for

long remain one of the pillars of cardiac research. There is a direct link between Donders' findings in this field and the modern art of electro-cardiography, which became possible thanks to the development of the string galvanometer by Willem Einthoven.

Another original discovery made by Donders, and proved beyond doubt by carefully executed tests, concerned the existence of an area of sub-atmospheric pressure in the thorax, the area around the lungs and in between thoratic membranes. He demonstrated that the introduction of air between these membranes causes the lung to collapse. This discovery was employed successfully decades in pneumothorax treatment associated with tuberculosis of the lung. These are but two of Donders' discoveries in the field of physiology, in which field alone he published 77 papers. His greatest achievements, however, were in the field of ophthalmology. In the early years of his clinic in Utrecht, he busied himself mainly with the anomalies of refraction and accommodation (defects in visual acuity resulting from imperfections in the lens system in the human eye). As a physiologist possessed of immense knowledge and experience, this study was not difficult for him.

Until 1860, the range of spectacle lenses available was limited to twenty five. Donders brought about a radical change in this situation; indeed he completely reversed it. Taking as his point of departure the adaptation of the lens to suit the eye, and not vice versa, he proceeded to develop a veritable arsenal of spectacle lenses comprising not only ordinary types for corrective purposes but also cylindrical lenses for dealing with cases of astigmatism. All these he arranged systematically in a cabinet, the strength of each lens in diopters being indicated on the metal tab used to hold it. So comprehensive was his approach to this problem that it has not been improved

upon to this very day. The results of his labours have more than doubled the working power of human beings. The ophthalmic mirror which he developed, and which was an improvement on one devised by Von Helmholtz, is still in use today.

Following the example of his Swedish colleague Holmgren, Donders recommended to the railway authorities in Holland that compulsory sight tests should be introduced for all employees. He undertook journeys in order to lay down the criteria for the tests, and the apparatus which he designed for establishing a subject's ability to distinguish colours has not so far been improved upon in principle. Franciscus Cornelis Donders was born on 27th May, 1818 in Tilburg, then a small industrial town in the Catholic-dominated southern part of Holland. Franciscus had a yearning for knowledge, and regarded teaching as his calling. In 1842, he was asked to undertake the teaching of anatomy, hystology and physiology at the School for Public Health Officers in Utrecht, at which he himself had studied earlier. Such was his progress as a tutor there that five years later he was appointed to a specially created post at the University in that city. He was an outstanding speaker and had a command of Latin and modern languages. While lecturing on one occasion, the French physiologist Claude Bernard saw Donders sitting at the back of the Paris classroom. He invited him to take his place on front of the class, and this Donders did without hesitation, continuing the lesson in fluent French. What is the connection between Donders' early career and his later excellence as an ophthalmologist? In 1851, his particular interest in the physiology of the senses took him to England, where he met the famous Von Graefe. There he occupied himself with the work of doctors specializing in diseases of the eye. In 1858, at the

recommendation of a special committee, a grant of forty thousand guilders (eighty thousand Rupees) was made to his clinic in Utrecht. This served to remove the last traces of doubt from his mind and, declining an offer of a post in Bonn in succession to Prof. Von Helmholtz, Donders devoted his energies fully to his new, self-chosen task.

His Physiological Laboratory, and later his Eye Hospital have throughout the decades served as sources of knowledge for innumerable students. Moreover, Dutch and foreign medical men of repute have chosen to visit those establishments in pursuit of knowledge. Franciscus Cornelis Donders was buried in Utrecht. One of the main 'squares of that city is adorned by his statue.

Moshe Dayan Answers a British Press Man

Certain excerpts from an interview in The Observer have been reproduced in News from Israel. We quote from these in the following:

Question: Some people believe that you, personally, are an obstacle to political nogotiation with the Egyptians—Why?

—that you want a big showdown with them, a chance to knock them out for good. Do you believe that negotiations with the Arabs is impossible?

—The people who say that do not know me. Nor do they know the facts. Or they know about them but wish to distort them.

First, what I think about the Arabs. The Arab is part of my life. He lives on the land which I live on and he is my neighbour. He was not here before my forefathers were, no, but he was here before I was and before my father was. I understand how and why he sees me as a foreigner, a trespasser, somebody who has come from outside. I understand him enough to know that. But also I know him enough to be able, if he wills, to accept me as his neighbour and live at peace with me. I know the Arabs.

When I was a baby, nine months old, I was very ill. My mother became very disturbed. She decided she would take me several miles away to see a well-known doctor. Or the way I became worse, and was crying. This was out in the country. We passed an Arab looking after his goats, and he heard me crying and offered help. He milked a goat, and gave me the milk to drink, telling my mether I would not cry any more and would get better. He was right. He may have saved my life.

Later, when I was still a small boy, I remember a day when Arab boys threw stones at me. An Arab man came up and drove them off, took me into into his home and gave food, and showed that he was sorry, though he could not speak my language and at that time I could not speak his. But human links are stronger than language.

Fundamentally I am a farmer, somebody cultivates the soil. This is what the 'Falach'does, the Arab peasant. I Sympathise with the Arab peasant. am a Jewish affinity with I feel a strong peasant, The most important thing to understand about the Middle East is how very dificult it is for a man to make a living. This is the bond which should bring Jews and Arabs together.

You spoke of Arabs as a permanent part of the population of an increasing Israel. But what is the future of the Arab in the State of Israei?

—At the moment we have an Arab minority of about 300,000 to 400,000. If you asked them now if they would like to stay here as Israeli citizens, even though it would mean serving in the Israeli Army and possibly fighting Arabs on the other side, or whether

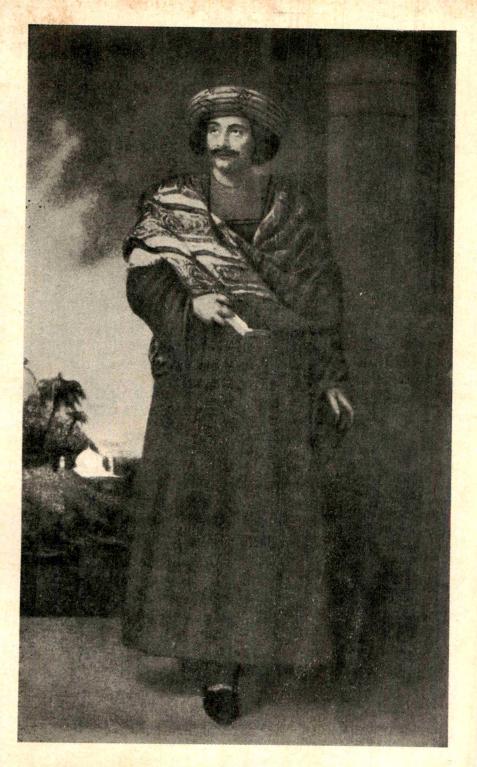
they would prefer to leave the country with full compensation and settle in one of the neighbouring Arab countries, I am positive you would find they would rather stay here. And I am very proud of it. I am very proud of it.

I have, personally, said to many of them: Look here, old boy: we can buy your piece of land and give you enough money for you to buy another piece of land and a house just across the border, say 15 miles from here. You can go to Jordan, you can go to the Lebanon, you can go to Syria, or you can go farther. Or you can stay here. and be a citizen of Israel—just like me. Then you will have to pay taxes—and a lot of them—and if need be, you will have to fight the Jordanian Army, or any other Arab army.' None of them want to leave this country.

I hope that they will never have to fight the Arabs, If they do, it is only because the Arab countries have attacked them. I do not want them to stop being Arabs. They will stay Muslim, with different traits, a different faith, a different personality. They will not assimilate. They will not inter-marry But they will, it is now clear, live here on an equal footing with us, talking the same language, talking also their own language, living out their own history, and so on.

As the man of action which everybody knows you are, don't you just long to, well, fight?

I am a man of action. It is action I care about and believe in. But I do not coufuse action with agression, with violence. Action for me is creating, not destroying. I told you, I am a farmer. I like to plant, to see things grow, to help them grow. My passion is about life, not death—life for everybody.



RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY



THE MODERN REVIEW

MAY



1972

Vol. CXX-X No. 5

Whole No. 785

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What is Economic Growth

In a democratic society economic growth would naturally be associated with Benthamite ideal of the greatest good of the greatest number. As the physical body of man needs a balanced and proportionate development of all parts of the body; the economic body of the country at large also needs balanced growth and progress of all persons constituting the nation. If in the physical body the head or the chest is over developed and the arms or the lower limbs or under-developed; one are atrophied, would have to correct such imbalance before the person so affected can make fullest use of his physical abilities in the material fields of life. The nation as a whole also requires that all persons should act in a manner which will enable them to be equal partners in production; that is as far as possible and within their ability; and also in consumption to the extent that will be found justified by accepted standards fixed by the nation after due consideration of the moral laws and bases of human rights. If such economic equality is not established and ten percent of the population are allowed to own ninety percent of the wealth or income of the community, such a state of affairs will be contrary to the higher principles of economic development, no matter if the nation produced great wealth by use of forced or underpaid labour or by following unethical rules of extortion and deprivation as far as certain members of the national body were concerned. Judging the nation's economic growth solely by the quantum of wealth produced, therefore, cannot be a just, correct and morally acceptable method of measuring economic growth.

The economic law of diminishing utility proves that as a man's possessions increase in quantity; the usefulness of any additional quantities of possessions progressively diminish. So that piling up possessions in the hands of a few men, can never be a method of deriving the greatest usefulness from whatever is produced by man's efforts. This has been known to economists from the days of Adam Smith and modern socialistic preachings are merely based on this old law of economics. Professor A. C. Pigout dealt with this aspect of the

economics of production, distribution and consumption in his Economics of Welfare with great mathematical exactitude. The law of diminishing returns prove that a limited number of persons should not be made to do all the hardwork nor that a few hectares of land only should be put to cultivation to produce all the crops the nation needed. Just zs all men should be equal partners in the field of consumption, subject to certain ethical and economic limitations; so should all men and all material resources be put to work or use in order to obtain the maximum return with the minimum of effort. The number of "drones' should be reduced to the fewest and the utilisation of resources made as wide spread and full as possible. And that is what all countries have been trying to do during modern times, though "drones" are cropping up in an "ever new" manner through the creation of party workers, legislators and so forth whose contribution to the GNP are microscopic. Natural resources, machinary and other capital also are left relatively idle at times while maximum pressure is put on certain selected bits and pieces making production difficult and costly. If the economy rested on the proper utilisation of all factors of production and the most equitable distribution (and consumption) of the product; one would come nearest to an ideal economic system. Other things being equal and showing least deviation from the ideal standards, the size of the gross national product could then be the measuring rod for the correct assesment of economic development.

Size Control of Newspapers

The Government have found over and over again that their extraordinary laws, rules, controls etc. hardly ever succeed in achieving the objectives that they are supposed to achieve. The rules are observed more in violation than by being obeyed. The controls

are defied too, in such a variety of ways that no one can ever find out how, where and in what manner they failed to do what they were meant to achieve. The idea that by controlling the size of newspapers the Government will be able to save foreign exchange or save themselves from criticism by the Press will be found to have been based on utterly false hopes. Nothing will be saved in foreign exchange, rather people will insist on getting their quotas and the total imports will surpass previous maxima of imports. As to criticism of government, extensity is always less dangerous than intensity. And there are more ways of attacking a Government than by making use of pages in Sunday newspapers. Posters, handbills, pamphlets and magazine articles can be powerful instruments for destroying the popularity of a government. So can be the sensational "discoveries" made in the pages of weekly papers. In fact two pages in a well circulated daily paper may not compare so well with the same space in a weekly journal which has made a name for the discovery of governmental secrets. Generally speaking the attempt that the Government are making, through size control of newspapers, to reduce the import of foreign newsprint, is bound to fail. Moreover of all the foreign exchange expenditure that the Government permit, there are many which are quite unnecessary or even injurious to the nation's good name and well being. Many delegations are sent to foreign countries which in no way do any good to the nation. Many persons are allowed to go abroad without any good reason. Many things are imported too which have good Indian substitutes. The public should demand publication by Government of all details relating to the foreign exchange disbursements permitted every year. will help the people to make valuable suggestions for saving foreign exchange. Much more

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good will be done that way than by publishing the long lists of heavy income tax payers or of persons who had not paid their income tax dues.

Death of Jamini Roy

The great Indian artist Jamini Roy died in Calcutta on the 24th of April 1972. He was born in Beliatore village of the Bankura district of Bengal in April 1887. The art traditions of Bankura are of long standing. The Vishnupur terracottas, the earthen dolls and toys made by the village Kumhars, of which the Bankura horse has been recognised as a thing of beauty by art lovers all over the world, and the silk and metal work of Bankura artisans have been famous for hundreds of years. One may also mention the wood carving, the illuminated manuscripts on tal leaves and the ivory playing cards, of which old examples can be found though new ones are no longer made.

Coming from such an artistic background the art instincts of Jamini Roy naturally derived nourishment from the folk art of his homeland and his own style of work was at once fully creative though it displayed its family resemblance with what the villagers have expressed in line and colour for generations. Jamini Roy received his art education from Europeans teaching in the Art School of Calcutta, where he was a student for many years, and was thus well versed in the art styles of different countries and periods. After finishing his art education the artist was for many years practising what he had been taught but this never gave him any satisfaction for the reason that reproduction of popularly accepted art motifs or photographic portraiture did not enable him to express his aesthetic urges to any extent. He, therefore, began to do original work and his bold lines for depicting the remarkable shapes and forms which emanated from his creative imagination, soon attracted the attention of art critics.

He used colour to enrich the representation of his imagery and, in this too, he showed the same strength and distinctiveness that he had shown in his use of lines. Some have found in his art a similarity with the work of the Potuas of Kalighat and other religious But one must remember that the Potuas were mainly mere craftsmen reproducing shapes and forms in a mechanical fashion, while Jamini Roy's paintings were aesthetically creative and expressed the artist's mental images, quite often by use of techniques unknown to the Potua craftsmen. Some of his paintings remind one of the rose windows of European churches or of Byzantine representations of religious subjects. Jamini Roy's art is truly original and creative and has been accepted as such by connoisseurs all over the world. In his use of technique he has never tried to make a secret of his Western training. He has expressed his mental imagery in the most vivid manner by use of all methods of depiction at his command, freely and lavishly, with no thought of adhering to any style or of building up a school of art named after himself. Jamini Roy has never been an imitator. He neither imitated any styles nor represented any subjects by close imitation of its natural form and physical character. We once had the pleasure of discussing this matter with him. He said art must be creative and never a mere copy of what nature has given to us. His art, he said, was never an imitation of something that exists; but he only sought inspiration from nature; the pictures he painted were expressions of what he felt and imagined. All aesthetic imagery are to be accepted in their totality. It is no way to appreciate art by breaking up pictorial visions into their alleged components and by trying to fix the caste and ancestry of each piece.

Jamini Roy has departed but his art re-

mains to commemorate the beautiful images that were born in his mind and were projected externally in material shape, colour and form, to enable those who will come after him to share his artistic emotion when he was no longer there.

Freedom of the Press

One of the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Indian Constitution is "the right to freedom of speech and expression to all citizens". This freedom has been interpreted by the courts to include freedom of the Press inder the constitution. Parliament can pass legislation reasonably restricting this right "in the interest of the security of the State, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality or in relation to contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an offence." The attempt made by the State to restrict the size of a newspaper is an imposition on the freedom of the Press; for restricting the size of a newspaper is preventing it from expressing its opinion, critical assessments etc. to the extent that its size is cut down by orders of the State. One may say that if the State restricts the pages of a newspaper to half its normal number of pages it would be interfering with the freedom of the Press to some extent definitely. The limiting of pages therefore is contrary to the guarantee given by the Constitution.

India has a large number of newspapers and periodicals which may total upto more than 14,000 in 1972. Of these about 700 would be dailies, 3000 (approx.) weeklies, 1200 fortrightlies, 4000 monthlies, 1000 quarterlies and 400 annuals. All these and other periodicals have a total circulation of 3,00,00,000 (three crores). These numbers show the importance of the Press in India and emphasize the reason why the Government should not play with its freedom in any manner whatsoever. In foreign countries daily newspapers often

have much more than ten pages. Double that number or even three or four times, may also be found quite often. It may be argued that restricting size is not suppressing expression of views. The journals can say whatever they want to say in the ten pages that they will still have at their disposal. True, but a mere summary expression of views does not complete the work of enlightineng the public about the various aspects of what goes on in the world; which newspapers try to do by explanatory articles etc. whenever necessary. This work of elaboration cannot be done satisfactorily within a limited space; and where restrictions are imposed on the size of newspapers, much may remain unsaid of what the newspapers wish to say. Would that or would that not be interfering with the freedom of the Press?

Wars of Liberation

The word liberation is used much too reely now-a-days by persons who wish to describe wars generated by motives of various kinds. When the Chinese army invaded Tibet, the propaganda machine of Peking described that act of gross aggression as an attempt at liberation of the Tibetan people. The lakes of Tibetans who were killed by the Chinese soldiers were no doubt liberated from all earthly sufferings; but what the Chinese meant by liberation was liquidation of the Tibetan theocracy and its replacement by a Chinese imperial-Communist autocracy. The Chinese justified their act by reference to the fact that the Tibetans were at one time, several hundred years ago, a subject nation of the Chinese Empire. They did not say why imperial overlordship of how an and charged a foreign power was super and freedom, while liberty national theocracy was an imposition of slavery on the nationals of Tibet. Today when more than half the Tibetans have died

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due to liberation at the hands Chinese soldiery and large numbers of Chinese have been imported into Tibet to replace the dead Tibetans; freedom is flowering in the overcrowded grave yards of Tibet.

The latest war of liberation is being carried on by the North Vietnamese army which is trying to uproot the American aided Vietnam government. The North Vietnamese are being aided by the Russians (and also by the Chinese). The only good thing in this war of proxies of the super powers is the presence of some South Vietnamese who call themselves communists. They are known as the Viet-Cong and want union with North Vietnam to form one large Communist state of Vietnam. In Tibet too there must have been a few pro-Chinese communists. But the vast majority of the Tibetans were happy with the Dalai Lama at the head of their government. In South Vietnam a very large proportion of the people are not communists and do not desire to become a part of a big communist state. In the circumstances, one has to work out how far the North Vietnamese invasion of South Vietnam is just conquest and how far it is for establishing freedom.

The Many Facets of Imperialism

Many empires have been established in human society from time to time in history, mainly in an open and declared manner; by armies of occupation and by imposition of imperial taxes and tributes. There have been other empires which had been created by settlements of people migrating from the parent country to the imperial domain. Instances of direct occupation by force of arms can be found in the Roman Empire which spread in many parts of Europe and Asia or in the Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch and British Empires which were extended by wars of occupation as well as by other, more reprenhensible means. Intrigues,

treacherous court revolutions, organised assassinations and other sinful methods have been used by empire builders throughout the ages- and the spiritual descendants of the imperialists of olden days have not yet ceased their activities in certain parts of the world. Court revolutions are still organised by prospective imperial overlords and assassinations too, of a political sort inspired by foreigners, are not unknown in the present day world.

Direct occupation of other people's territory has generally fallen out of fashion, since modern empires are mainly created in a subtle and relatively invisible manner; but one finds exceptions here and there, such as in the case of the Chinese occupation of Tibet or in Israeli expansionism. There are instances where empires, that is territories lorded over by foreign powers, do exist; but are nonexistent at law by reason of the formation of unions of states, which unions being born of compulsion, even by use of military might, are in reality the union of a large and powerful central entity with a number of weak satellites which have, willy nilly, to stay in the union. The USSR, for instance, have many socialist republics in it, which are quite different in point of race, language, way of life etc. of their inhabitants as compared to the people of European Russia. The peoples of Uzbegisthan, Armenia and Siberia, for instance, are not at all similar in their human characteristics. There are other races people in the hegemony of states in Eastern Europe which are very dissimilar but are kep: together by the Warsaw Pact which is a military alliance of powers among which the presence of the Russian giant shows clearly wherein lies the power of all final decision. In fact all these states are quite free to do what they like; but do they ever do what they like or are they at times made to like what they do not like?

In the case of China, we have already mentioned the occupation of Tibet by the Chinese. There are People in various parts of the land of China who do not like to be ruled by the party leaders of Peking. But they cannot secede from the People's Republic of China. The rulers at Peking even think of extending their territory in Russian Asia, or in the lands to the southern extremities of the frontiers of China. One should not be surprised if Peking has secret plans of expansion in South-East Asia, Malaysia, Indonesia and the Himalayan regions of India, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and the Northern parts of Kashmir.

There are other aspirants in the field of imperialism whose case need not be discussed here. They are, among others, South Africa, Rhodesia and the UAR. But their expansionism is limited to the lands that adjoin their present territories and are, therefore, not yet becoming a world problem.

Last, but not the least, is the expansionism of the USA which is subtle, far reaching and affects the freedom and proper advancement of almost all races inhabiting the earth. americans are opposed to communism and are, therefore, interested in influencing the noncommunist world to organise their forces for the purpose of fighting communism everywhere and in every way. The Americans (of the USA) also know that the communists ere not united but that there is a basic split between the Russian and the Chinese led groups. America has actually organised military action to thwart communist expansion is East Asia and are still engaged in warfare in Vietnam. In their work of anti-commumist organisation of non-communist nations, the USA have chosen the path of winning support by financial and military aid to selected groups of nations. They have thus given thousands of millions of dollars in cash

and kind to many nations, some of which have assuredly developed their military forces in a manner which creates an anti-communist war potential against communist blocs. Others have taken advantage of American assistance, but have played a double game in so far as they have indulged in "running with the hare and hunting with the hound." Among these double dealers Pakistan had been in the forefront; but their policy of planned breach of faith with whosoever had any dealings with them, led to the break up of their State in the eastern part in Bangla Desh. The Americans sent a naval force to assist Pakistan in East Bengal, but due to circumstances beyond the control of the USA, their 7th Fleet had to go back without doing anything of benefit to the military dictators of Pakistan. American imperialism has been using its fangs and talons in the Middle-East too in providing arms and finance to all who could ultimately go against the USSR. The President of the USA had recently been to Peking on an alleged mission of friendship; with a view, obviously, to organise China, more potently, as an enemy of Russia. How far this will work out in actual practice cannot be foretold at this stage, but, generally speaking, the Chinese are not likely to act as stooges of the USA. The Chinese will not doubt expect the USA to act against Russia more aggressively than they have done so far, before they, the Chinese, go actively against Russia on a sizeable scale.

The Pakistanis have been routed in Bangla Desh; but they are still established in the Western parts of the Indian Subcontinent in full force. With American assistance in money and military supplies the Pakistanis can be a menace to India. The USA would like to support the Pakistanis in view of the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and mutual assistance. Whether Pakistan will risk total dissolution by fighting India again is a matter

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which is of a speculative nature. The USA have recently got reinvolved in their Vietnamese adventure and may have to send troops to S. E. Asia again on a large scale in order to stop the progress of the Pro-Russian communist forces of North Vietnam in that area. The help that the USA may give to Pakistan will depend to a great extent upon the size of the American involvement in South East Asia. We have to wait and watch.

A Great Historian Speaks of Rammohun Roy

In September 1934 the famous historian Sir Jadunath Sarkar addressed a meeting in Darjeeling which was being held on the occasion of the death anniversary of Raja Rammohun Roy. The Associated Press reported Sir Jadunath's speech in summary as follows:—

"The Raja made long arduous preparations for his life's chosen task of founding a religion of concord. He went into the original sources of the chief religions of his day by mastering Sanskrit, Arabic, English and Hebrew and probably some amount of Tibetan. Mere emotionalism could not have created for him such a commanding position in the world of thought. Emotion is like alcohol administered to a sinking patient: it can create a temporary stimulation, but if it is given as a permanent diet, it promptly kills him.

"The Raja's success had a more solid foundation than frothy rhetoric. He was truly a pioneer—like the early North American explorers, who blazed a trail across the dark unknown and dangerous primitive forests to reach the West. At Rammohun's birth the old Indian civilisation was almost dead and Rammohun was the prophet of a new Indian civilisation, uniting the best elements of the East and the West, so that the Hindu race did

not perish in the new age as the American Indians have done.

"In Europe the Renaissance and the Reformation were two distinct movements. But in India they were united in the person of Rammohun. All modern Indians, Hindus, Muslims, Brahmos and Christians, irrespective of their special creeds, are the heirs of the rich legacy of spiritual and intellectual culture left behind by Rammohun Roy.

"To contemplate his life and achievements is to ennoble our minds like glimpses of the pure, lofty, serene Himalayan heights caught amidst our low daily surroundings."

Sir Jadunath Sarkar was one of the greatest historians the world has produced. His books on Moghul history are accepted as authoritative by all scholars everywhere. His evaluation Raja Rammohun Roy's life and work, therefore, would be found specially interesting by students of history in this year of the bicentenary of his birth.

"Prabasi" Completes Seventyone Years of Publication

"Prabasi", a monthly review and miscellany in Bengali, was first published in April 1901 from 2/1 South Road, Allahabad. Its editor and publisher, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee was, at that time, Principal of the Kayasth Pathshala which was a College affiliated to the Allahabad University. Prabasi has continued to be published every month since then and has thus created a record in monthly journalism in Bengali. It may be said that there are very few monthly magazines in any language with such a record of unbroken publication over seventyone years. The Poet Rabindranath Tagore started writing for Prabasi from its first number. The Poet wrote his novel "Gora" for Prabasi. This novel ran as a serial for over two years. Later his autobiography was published as a serial. His drama Achalayatan was published in full in a

single number of Prabasi in 1911. The poet remained the most regular and prolific contributor to Prabasi during almost his entire life time. He wrote poems, songs with notation, short stories, essays and dissertations of superb quality for this journal which earned a unique place among the journals published in Bengali,

Will India go Nuclear?

India has repeatedly reiterated her determination to keep out of the Nuclear group of powers. It is no doubt true that more than one country which has inimical feelings towards India have or can easily obtain nuclear weapons. India should, therefore, have nuclear weapons in her arsenal. a number of important politicians have said, very seriously too, that India should manufacture nuclear weapons. All arguments against this proposal can be easily refuted. The only argument that is paraded regularly is the one about India's alleged undertaking to keep out of the nuclear camp. Our political leaders thought it was a point of honour, so to speak. But nobody really thinks that we are under any moral obligation to avoid arming ourselves with nuclear weapons. Pandit Nehru wanted to keep out of the nuclear camp. But that does not put us under any obligation to remain non-nuclear. Gandhiji wanted cottage industries and he was not fond of large scale industries. But Pandit Nehru, his successor, drifted completely out of Gandhiji's dreamland. He began bûilding large capital intensive But Sm. Indira Gandhi, industries. daughter, is now going in a different direction. She has started and almost completed a green revolution and is going all out for small industries and scientific agriculture. So, if Pandit Nehru wanted Indian soldiers to fight with swords and lances, that should not deter us from buying rifles. In fact now, with our very probable enemies armed with nuclear weapons, we cannot afford to avoid t weapons. At Nehru's time he used to thinl America protecting India from nuclear atta We now have grave apprehensions of Ami arming the Pakistan army with nue weapons in order to enable them to Indian forces off the battlefields. And C is there, too, with her nuclear weapons, I ing hungrily at India's Himalayan territo Everything considered India has to thin the effective protection of her long frontier difficult coastal defences. Her vast popula also needs special protection against nu attacks, which can be arranged for through possession of the power to la immediate nuclear counter attacks. position, therefore, summarises down to only conclusion that India must have nu weapons.

North Vietnam Denies Invasion of Sou Vietnam

On the 27th of April, the Radio broadcast said that at the peace talks si the North Vietnamese delegates denied they had invaded South Vietnam. They not explain what half-a-million soldiers North Vietnam with tanks, artillery mortars were doing in South Vietnam tory. Were they there on a sight seeing or as a rather large military delegation? should, of course, be prepared to believe thing that we may be told.

Two weeks before this naive and unbel ble radio announcement we had receive Press Release from the USIS which rea quoted below:

"We deeply regret the escalation of iting in South Vietnam instigated by Handa scale unmatched since the Tet offer Since 1968, the U. S. has reduced its force South Vietnam by 85 percent, whereas I has increasingly deployed North Vietna forces throughout Indo-China with

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apparent ambition to force its hegemony upon the entire area. As one New Delhi journal put it last week, 'Going by common sense and not the narrow Communist definition, one could legitimately describe the struggle of all Indo-Chinese people against North Vietnamese domination as a national liberation struggle.'

"Only a paralysis of judgment and objectivity could obscure the simple truths of North Vietnam's most recent aggression against the South. The facts are: Several mainforce divisions of the North Vietnamese Army, armed to the teeth, are invading South Vietnam in a long-planned military effort. Moreover, of 14 regular divisions comprising the North Vietnamese Army, 12 are engaged in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

"Beginning March 30, regular units of the North Vietnamese Army launched this massive offensive against the Republic of Vietnam. Near Quang Tri, the 304th, 308th and 324B North Vietnamese divisions are attacking supported by three regiments of artillery and one regimet of armour. Elements of three other North Vietnamese divisions are attacking Central South Vietnam. The North Vietnamese have constructed roads to facilitate their attack through the demilitarized zone and have introduced missile units as well as long-range artillery in the DMZ."

"This North Vietnamese aggression clearly violates the 1954 Geneva Agreements and refute Hanoi's claim to be seeking a peaceful settlement. The States of Indo-China should be free to decide their future free of foreign intervention. The United States is withdrawing its troops from South Vietnam; let the North Vietnamese do likewise, and from Laos and Cambodia as well."

It would seem now, in the light of the

North Vietnamese denial of their invasion of South Vietnam, that the United States have got a completely wrong picture of this new aggression against South Vietnam. If these soldiers, who are shelling the defences of the South Vietnamese forces, are not North Vietnamese but are Chinese, Russian or Japanese, why are the Hanoiese having peace talks with the representatives of the USA? And why did Hanoi agree to come to the peace talks at all if they had not got involved in any breach of peace? Peculiar are the ways of diplomats! They behave in a marner at times which ordinary mortals will not dare emulate for fear of being called names by their fellow common-men.

To the Moon and Back

A journey to the Moon would have been a fit subject for a Jules Verne novel in the earlier years of this century; but the American rocket-riding-space travellers have made such a journey almost a matter of routine tourism. The latest journey to the Moon undertaken by the astronauts John W. Young, Charles M. Duke (Jr.) and Thomas K. Mattingly in their rocket ship Apollo-16, was completed successfully on April 27, 1972 when the ship splashed down in the pacific 282 km. Scuth -East of Christmas Island. It entered the earth's atmosphere about a quarter of an hour before the splash down and its speed at the time of its entry into the Earths air belt was about 40,000 km. per hour at its highest. This generated a heat on its protective heat shield of about 4000°. The astronants had landed on the mountainous regious of the Moon and their haul of about 100 kilos of samples of Moon material would be likely to increase man's knowledge of the satellite.

RAMMOHUN ROY CENTENARY

As one belonging to the Brahmo Samaj the editor of this journal naturally reveres Rammohun Roy, the founder of that religious denomination. As a Bengali he honours Rammohun Roy, the distinguished Bengali. As an Indian he holds in high regard that great modern Indian.

The homage paid to Rammohun Roy by non-Brahmos, non-Bengalis and non-Indians cannot but gladden his heart.

The centenary of the death of Rammohun Roy at Bristol on the 27th September, 1833 is going to be celebrated this year in different provinces, towns and villages in India, and in England and America. This is a proof that the great reformer is claimed by Indians as an Indian, and outside India by some non-Indians at any rate as belonging to all mankind—a proof of Sir B. N. Seal's pronouncement that he was a "universal man."

Articles on Rammohun Roy, written by non-Bengalis, have been appearing in several newspapers outside Bengal, and preparations are being made for celebrating the centenary. It is being recognized that it is, as the non-Brahmo editor of The Leader called it in the following editiorial article,

"A GREAT OCCASION.

"For Many long years Indians, as a grateful people, have been celebrating with due

ceremony the death anniversary of Raia Rammohun Roy who cast off his mortal coil at Bristol on Sept. 27, I833. The celebration of the day this year, which is shortly coming, will assume special significance as it happens to be the centenary of his death. Rammohun Roy was something more than a great Indian; he was the first great man of modern India. Almost in every sphere, in education, journalism, literature, politics, social reform and religion, he was an outstanding figure with the supreme distinction that he broke the ground where others did not trace a furrow. In the choice language of Dr. Tagore, 'he is the great path-maker of this century who has removed ponderous obstacles that impeded our progress at every step, and initiated us into the present Era of world-wide co-operation of humanity.' To celebrate the centenary of the death of so great a man is not only a privilege but also a duty, and it is but right that adequate arrangements should be made to observe the day on a bigger scale than usual as befitting the occasion and in a manner worthy of the man and of the country. Already in Calcutta a comprehensive scheme has been developed by representative public men under the distinguished leadership of the Poet and an appeal made by him, Mr. J. N. Basu, secretary of the Rammohun Roy centenary committee and Mr. Hirendra Nath Datta, treasurer, to all Indians, irrespective of caste and creed, to

education it was a fact that the growth of nationalism in India was the outcome of that education and Raja Ram Mohan Roy could justly be called the Father of Modern India.

The chairman, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, chief editor of *The Leader* and ex-Minister said in winding up the proceedings:

It could be claimed without any exaggeration that Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the greatest Indian of all time. He enumerated monumental achievements the of Raja Ram Mohan Roy in practically every sphere of public life, social, religious, economic and political. "When you think of his successful attempts for the abolition of suttee and polygamy from Hindu life, his attempts for the establishment of English colleges for the education of the Indian youths, his revival of Hinduism in a highly scientific and purified form, his pioneer but great debut in journalism, his stern fight against the newly imposed Press Act of 1893 and his open and trenchant

criticism of the form of the Government of India which did not distinguish between the executive and the judiciary, you feel that there hardly was a public activity which did not engage his attention.

In short, as Mr. Chintamani remarked, there was no reform he did not strive for, there was no improvement in existing life for waich he did not care and there was no suffering which he did not bear to recall the glories of ancient India., It was his dream, which unfortunately remained yet unfulfilled so long as the present form of government continued in India-a form which, according to Raja Ram Mohan Roy's political disciple Mr. Mahadeva Govind Ranade, had 'organihypocrisy' as its basic strucure. Raja Ram Mohan Roy tasted the bitterness organized hypocrisy in political official life when he launehed his campaign against the Press Act.

(Modern Review, November 1933)



RAMMOHUN ROY

C. F. ANDREWS

A long and careful study of world history has convinced me that Raja Rammohun Roy was by far the greatest religious genius of the 19th century. Even today, after a hundred years, we are only slowly and hesitatingly working out the supremely vital principles for which he had lived and died.

Born in the narrowest of family religious circles in Bengal, in the later part of the 18th century, he had broken through one barrier after another which had confined the religious and social outlook of his age. He seemed guided by a divine instinct within, from child-hood onward, which made him always direct his course to one single end, the 'Religious Unification of Mankind.'

The more I have studied his life the more I have felt that this principle of the Divine Unity creating human unity and brotherhood; was the guiding principle underlying all he did and said and thought. This is a conception which has its deepest root in Indian soil. The Search for the One is the passion of the Indian heart. Satisfaction only comes when that divine passion has found its fulfilment.

It was this supreme enthusiasm which drove the young lad to seek the Truth among the Himalayan mountains. It guided him to enter Tibet. There he nearly lost his life, but the women of Tibet, pitying his youth, saved him. Even from earliest days his mind

was so massive in its greatness that it overleapt all obstacles and difficulties which stood in the way of obtaining itellectual culture. He made himself proficient in Persian and Arabic in order that he might study the unity of God in Islam. He learnt Greek and Hebrew so that he might study those Jewish and Christian scriptures which led up to the birth of Christ and told the story of His life. He published the pure teaching of Jesus as he found it in the Sermon on the Mount and wrote a notable preface to his book which he called The Precepts of Jesus. Thus he went to the sources of religious truth and was not content with any external knowledge of such vital subjects.

In practice he was equally insistent on finding the unity of human life in society. He realized that the divine in mankind was obscured and obstructed by social abuses, such as existed in his own day. Fortunately, he found among those who had come out to India from England certain enlightened men and women who were ready to go any lengths in moral courage and perseverance in order to rescue mankind from these abuses which had gradually crept in. Thus East and West were able to work together, for the first time, in a marvellously effective manner. Lord William Bentinck and Duff were great, each in their own way, and they fully recognized the moral genius of Raja Rammohun Roy.

Miss Carpenter was, in her own sphere, equally great and collaborated with him to the end.

The closing days of Raja Rammohun Roy's life were saddened by much physical suffering, but at the same time enlightened with the glow of the rapid passage of certain moral and political reforms which were completed in the very year in which he died. For, only a month before he passed away, he was able to learn that the bill abolishing slavery had been passed, and the emancipation of the Negro race had begun. How greatly the news of this victory cheered his last days, we can read in the memoirs which have been written about him. He died in an auspicious yearthe year when slavery was abolished and the great reform measures, granting political liberty, were being carried through. It was the year also when the change in the East India Company's constitution was confirmed, whereby racial equlity was enunciated for the first time.

As one looks back over the whole century since the death of Raja Rommohun Roy it is possible, as an historian, to watch the strength of the current setting in the opposite direction and rendering negatory the very things for which Raja Rammohun Roy had stood out so

boldly and bravely. Racial equality in India and in the rest of the world has not yet been attained. Political equality has been swept away since the war by one dictatorship after another. Even slavery has returned, in the form of indentured labour, in wage slavery under the cruel lash of economic pressure, and also in forced labour in many different ways. Central Africa and the Indian States were examples of the bad relics of the old slave would have troubled system. What Raja Rammohun Roy most of all would have been to find religious tolerance, on which he laid such stress, passing on into religious indifference and from thence into militant hatred of religion.

Thus the great causes for which he stood out so boldly have not had an unchequered career. The backward current has often proved too rapid for the forward progress. Yet we can be certain, that, with a faith and courage so strong as his, Raja Rammohun Roy would have been today, if he had been living with us, in the vanguard of the great struggle for human liberty. He would never have been on the side of the reactionaries. His spirit is with us still to cheer us on.

(Modern Review, November, 1933)



THE CENTENARY OF RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY, "THE FATHER OF MODERN INDIA"

J. T. SUNDERLAND

The Centenary of the death of Raja Rammohun Roy, which occurs in September, 1933, is to be celebrated in India on a wide scale. It should not be without notice in America.

This illustrious son of India was indisputably one of the very great men of the modern world. His achievements were remarkable in two directions, namely, in service rendered to the world and in service to India in particular.

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It is unquestionable that he rendered high and lasting service to the world as a scholar. Many scholars affirm that he possesses a better claim than any one else to have been the founder of the important modern Science of Comparative Religion. This alone should insure for him a permanently conspicuous place in history.

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He rendered priceless service to India, of three kinds:

- (i) It is the testimony of the highest authorities that, through his able, scholarly and extensive writings, he gave to the Bengali tongue (the most important language of India) distinctly increased range, versatility, strength and attractiveness, and did much to raise the literary quality and standing of all Bengali literature.
- (ii) He founded the very important religious and social reform movement known as the Brahmo Somaj, which notwithstanding its somewhat slow growth in numbers so far in its history, has kindled a light in India which

cannot be extinguished; has set up an ideal of religion so living, so vital, so in harmony with the best modern thought, and so adapted to India's practical needs today, that the whole religious and social thinking of India must inevitably more and more realize its truth and beauty, feel its uplifting influence, and move in its direction.

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(iii) It is more and more realized that he gave the initiatory word, the first clear impulse in creating India's modern movement to shake off her bondage to a foreign power, and to become once more free,—free to shape her own destiny, to develop her own institutions, to occupy again the great place among the nations which she filled so long, and to render to humanity the high service which her illustrious past and her rich spiritual genius so indisputably fit her to render.

Rammohun Roy wrote the great and heroic declaration: "I WANT TO BE FREE, OR I DON'T WANT TO BE AT ALL". That was a clarion note, which meant nothing less than the political as well as the spiritual rebirth of his country. The spirit of that note has spread and spread until today all. India is feeling the mighty thrill of it.

Such, in a few words, are some of the reasons why his appreciative and admiring countrymen have given to this distinguished scholar and reformer the great title of THE FATHER OF MODERN INDIA, and why all India's religious faiths, classes and parties are uniting to celebrate his Centenary.

Modern Review, October, 1933.

RAMMOHUN ROY CENTENARY

(From Notes published in 1933)

During September and October last the centenary of the death of Rammohun Roy was celebrated in various places in different provinces of India. Not having had access to the leading newspapers of all the provinces of India, we have not been able to see the reports of all the celebrations. But from what we have seen, it seems that more places in the Madras Presidency have celebrated the occasion than those in any other.

The meetings in some of the cities were very influentially attended and thoughtful speeches were made, For example, at the Lucknow meeting,

Amongst those present were, Raja Jagannath Bux Singh and Kunwar Rajendra Singh, ex-Ministers of the U.P. Government: hon. Mr. Justice B. N. Srivastava; R. B. Pandit Shyam Behari Misra, Diwan of Oreha State; Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Vicechancellor of the Lucknow University; Dr. R. D. Wellons, principal, Reid Christian College; Mr. A. P. Sen; Prof N.K, Siddhanta, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Lucknow Siddhsnta; University and Mrs. Miss. Manchester, professor of the Isabella Thoburn College; Principal S. C. Sen; Messrs. Shambhu Dayal and A. C. Bose, retired district and sessions judges; Mrs. Minon, advocate; Dr. Qutub-uddin Ahmed, LL. D., barrister-at law; and many others.

On the motion of the hon. Mr Justice B. N. Srivastava and seconded by Mrs Mukand

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani took the chair. Dr. R. Pa Paranjpye. was the first speaker.

He stressed the catholicity of outlook of Raja Rammohun. Born and brought up in the midst of orthodoxy Raja Ram Mohan had the breadth of vision to realize that the West had its good points which the East could profitably assimilate. He perceived that one of the principal causes of the downfall of India was the proneness of her people to hug the dead past and their refusal to adjust themse ves to changing conditions.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy set himself to giving the outlook of his people a new orientation and bringing about harmony between the East and West. He was a great reformer in all spheres, social, religious, moral, political and educational. The abolition of suttee was his crowning achievement for which he laboured strenuously and ceaselessly.

A great believer in liberty, he founded the Brahmo Samaj and thus gave an impetus to independence of thought and the fearless pursuit of a new faith. Dr. Paranjpye pointed out how much India owed to the Brahmo Samaj movement, which had comparatively few adherents but had produced some of the greatest leaders of India.

It was in no small measure due to Raja Ram Mohan Roy's endeavours that a change came over the system of education in the country, Whatever the defects of modern enlist themselves as members of the committee and also contribute to its funds, so that the szheme of celebration which included ceremonial functions as well as permanent memorials to the Raja's memory, may be effectively carried out. It was but in the nature of things that these centenary celebrations should find (as they are likely to do) more eloquent and wide-spread manifestations in Bengal than in other provinces. It should however be borne in mind that if Rammohun Roy belonged to Bengal more, he did not belong to the rest of India less. In fact he belonged to humanity. Who can ignore the force of Jeremy Bentham's tribute to him as 'an intensely admired and beloved collaborator in the service of hamanity'? May it be hoped that the U. P. will enthusiastically join its voice to (the national chorus in singing the glory of Rammohun, whose name is always an inspiration to every good cause and noble effort? It is a great occasion which no province or community in India should miss, for much of the progress the country has made during the last hundred years can be traced to the loftyminded and high-souled endeavours Rammohun Roy."

Owing to politico-economic causes Englishmen in general are not at present in the mood to recognize India's greatness in any direction and Indians' distinction in the person of any of their fellow-countrymen. But among the British men and women who were Rammohun Pay's contemporaries—even among those who were sojourners in India—there were many who appreciated his achievement and respected and loved him. It is not our intention, and it would not be possible even if we wanted. to reproduce their eulogies here. But an extract may be made here from the letter of an English sojourner in India who knew Rommohun Roy. Mr. J. S. Buckingham, editor o the Calcutta Journal, who came out to this

country in 1818 and had ample opportunities to come into close contact with the Raja. Wrote he in 1832:

"Rammohun Roy might have abundant opportunities of receiving rewards from the Indian Government, in the shape of offices and appointments, for his neutrality; but being as remarkable for his integrity as he is for his attainments, he has pursued his arduous task of endeavouring to improve his countrymen, to beat superstition, and to hasten as much as possible those reforms in the religion and government of his native land of which both stand in equal He has done all this, to the great detriment of his private interests, being rewarded by the coldness and jealousy of all the great functionaries of Church and State in India, and supporting the Unitarian chapelthe Unitarian Press-and the expense of his own publications besides other charitable acts, out of a private fortune, of which he devotes more than one-third to acts of the purest philanthropy and benevolence."

From the opinion of a contemporary English journalist in India let us pass on to what a contemporary French naturalist and traveller, Victor Jacquemont, who knew Rammohun Roy personally and has left a graphic description of the Raja's features and appearance.

The French scientist wrote in his Voyage dans l'Inde. Tome I (Paris, 1841), pp. 183-188:

"Before coming out to India I knew that he was an able orientalist, a subtle logician and an irresistible dialectician; but I had no idea that he was the best of men......

"Rammohun Roy is a man of about fifty years of age, tall, stout rather than fat, and of a middle complexion among the Bengalis. The portrait in profile which they have made here, is a close likeness, but the front view is

not so good; his eyes too small for his large face, and his nose inclines to the right side. He has a very slight moustache; his hair, rather long behind, is thick and curly. There is vigour in his physiognomy, and calmness, dignity and goodness. His dress is of the simplest, differing from that of well-to-do Indians only in the socks and shoes of European pattern which he used instead of wearing slippers on bare feet. He wore no trinkets, not even the sacred thread, unless he had it under his dress.....

"......He never expresses an opinion without taking precautions on all sides...

"......He has grown is a region of ideas and feelings which is higher than the world in which his countrymen live; he lives alone; and though, perhaps, the consciousness of the good he is accomplishing affords him a perpetual source of satisfaction, sadness and melancholy mark his grave countenance."

(Translated from the French.)

In her appreciation of Rammohun Roy Madame H. P. Blavatsky speaks of him as "one of the purest, most philanthropic and enlightened men India ever produced." In her opinion,

His intellectual power was eonfessedly very great, while his manners were most refined and charming and his moral character without a stain. Add to this a dauntless moral courage, perfect modesty, warm humanitarian bias, patriotism, and a fervid religious feeling, and we have before us the picture of a man of the noblest type. Such a person was the ideal of a religious reformer. Had his constitution been more rugged and his sensitiveness less actute, he might have lived to far greater fruits of his self-sacrificing labours than he did. One searches the record of his life and work in vain for any evidence of personal conceit, or a disposition to make himself figure as a heaven-sent messenger.

Madame Blavatsky writes further :--

It is said by Miss Martineau that his death was hastened by the anguish he felt to see the awful living lie that practical Christianity was in its stronghold. Miss Marry Carpenter does not touch upon this point in her Memoir of his Last Days in England, but she prints among other sermons that were preached after his decease one by the Rev. J. Scott Porter, a Presbyterian clergyman of Belfast, Ireland, in which he says that "Offences against the laws of morality, which are too often passed over as trivial transgressions in European society, excited the deepest horror in him." And this is quite enough to give the colour of truth to Miss Martineau's assertion.

In the course of his address on Rammchun Roy Professor MaxMuller said:

"The German name for prince is furst', in English first,' he who is always to the fore, he who courts the place of danger, the first place in fight and the last in flight. Such a 'Furst' was Rammohun Roy a true prince, a real Raja, if Raja also, like Rex, meant originally the steersman, the man at the helm."

Professor Sylvain Levi, the French orientalist, has said in the course of an address on Rammohun Roy:

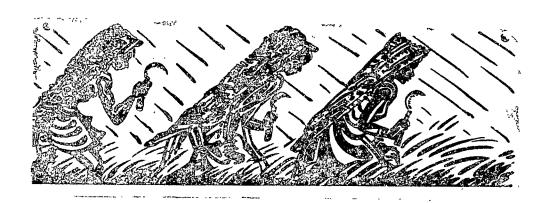
"Raja Rammohun Roy, Father of Modern India, was one of the most remarkable personalities of his age. While representing all that was best in the Indian tradition he showed his special genius in a line where the Indians of today are the weakest in translating into practice by the force of will the dictates of idealism.....He fought, with phenomenal heroism, against desperate odds, to realize his ideal. If India today wanted any model to shape her present destiny and future history, Rammohun should be the model. He was really the first to bring modern India abreast of universal history. A profound scholar in

Sanskrit and Brahminical lore, the Raja's unbounded intellectual curiosity and insatiable therst for discovery of the fundamental unity of the human mind, drove him to study the ancient Hebrew, Arabic and Persian literatures.....His philsophical acumen, the rare universality of his outlook and the courtesy he showed towards his Indian as well as European contemporaries opposed to his views, go to make him a great man in the real sense of the term."

It is unnecessary to discuss here the advantages and disadvantages of the education through the medium of English and according to some Western system which Indians have been receiving for generations. This education has promoted our intellectual,

moral, social and political progress, enabled us to share in international culture and progress and has, in any case, enabled many to earn their living. Much of the credit for the introduction of this system of education belongs to Rammohun. In the Cambridge History of India, Vol. VI, page 110, we are told that "it is important to notice that the strongest influence in bringing this English Party, (which advocated English education in India) into existence were the petition of Rommohun Roy (to Lord Amherst) and the practical experience of the Committee." There are distinct echoes of Rammohun's letter to Lord Amherst in Macaulay's Minute advocating English education.

(Modern Review October 1933)



RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY

ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

The Encyclopaedia Britannica is the most trusted book of reference in the English language. Trusted by scholars, students, teachers and the press for its careful survey, analysis and scrutiny of all matters that it deals with in its tens of thousands of chosen subjects. The committee of experts who handle this extensive work of collecting correct and comprehensive information about all things that are interest to the intelligent public, consists of scholars chosen by reliable academicians from the Universities of Britain and America. Britannica, therefore, is a Encyclopaedia thoroughly dependable book of reference. It avoids partisanship, current prejudices and dogma related to all matters on which there are various points of view and opinion.

In writing about the life and work of Raja Rammohun Roy on the occasion of the bicentenary of his birthday we have, therefore, chosen to quote from the summary biography of this great reformer as published in the Encyclopaedia Britannica about 25 years ago, when no one had yet contemplated the celebration of his 200th birthday, nor had the forces been mobilised which concentrated on the work of glorifying the memory of a superman of rare calibre or belittling his towards Hindu Reformation contributions and the socio-political rebirth of the Indian nation. The short biography of the great Raja was written by Dittakavi Subrahmanya Sarma, Principal Emeritus of Vivekanarda College, Madras, who, being a South Indian scholar, was in a position to take an impartial view of the important part that Rammohun Roy played in reviving shastric studies and introducing English education in India. It was Raja Rammohun Roy viho first attempted, in modern times, to liberate Hindu thought and beliefs from superstitions and to rescue the Indians from their decadent practices which they indulged in from a mistaken conception of shastric teachings. He looked at the sacred books of the Hindu, with the eyes of detached enquiry of a true schelar and taught the world the truth that he found in the Upanishads and other philosophical treatises of ancient India. His findings were inspired by his deep attachment to the ancient civilization of his motherland and by his disillusionment with the parody of that glorious culture that he found in the debased practices of his compatriots which they carried out in the name of obeying the dictates of the religious texts. Before going into any details of the life and work of Raja Rammohun Roy, let us first quote from the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

"Ram Mohun Roy (1772-1833) the four der of the Brahmo Samaj (q. v.) in India, was not only a great religious leader and social reformer but also a far-seeing statesman who indicated the lines of progress for India under

British rule. Hence he is sometimes called the Tather of modern India. He was born in 1772 in a village in Burdwan district in Bengal. During the first 30 years of his life he seems to have travelled widely outside his province and mastered several languages-Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Hebrew, Greek and English in addition to Bengali, his mother tongue. In 1803 he secured an appointment under the East India Company, served its administration in various capacities until he retired in 1815 and settled in Calcutta. There he began his great agitation against the rite of suttee (q.v.) and vigorously kept it up until suttee was abolished by Lord William Bentink in 1829.

"During 1815-19 Ram Mohun published his translations of the Upanishads and his papers on Hindu theism. His object in these and similar writings was to wean his countrymen from what he regarded as the corruptions of medieval Hinduism and the evils of Hindu society, viz., idol worship, animal sacrifices, polygamy and the caste system, and to draw their attention to the original purity of the teachings of Vedanta..... It was for achieving this object that he also later founded the Brahmo Samaj (1828).

"Ram Mohun next turned his attention to the problem of education, and in a famous letter to Lord Amherst (1823) made a vigorous plea for scientific and English education for India in preference to the traditional Sanskrit education. He was as great a champion of political freedom as he was of scientific education; his memorial for the repéal of the Press Ordinance of 1823 has been hailed as the Areopagitica of Indian history. Ram Mohun's letters show that he greatly admired the progress of freedom in Europe and hoped that India through its British connection would grow in knowledge and freedom and ultimately claim equal partnership with Britain.

"In 1830 he went to England on behalf of the titular emperor of Delhi to plead his cause before the British government. He fell ill there and died at Bristol on September 27, 1833."

This short sketch of the life of Raja Rammohun Roy highlights the important facts relating to the Raja's character and to his contributions to the Hindu reformation that took a definite shape in the nineteenth century. Even when he was an adolescent student in Patna, studying Arabic and Persian; he wrote a booklet in which he condemned idolatry and pleaded the cause of monotheism. He was chastised by his father for this and left home to travel all over North India. He eventually arrived in Tibet and was in Lhasa, & studying Mahayana Buddhism with the help of some Lamas who resented his critical attitude and, but for the ladies of their families, might have killed the young seeker after truth. The Tibetan women hid him and arranged for his escape, back to India. This made the Raja a lifelong champion of women and he never hesitated to be a wholehearted supporter of the women's cause. A journey to Lhasa at the age of sixteen, over the snow-bound passes, undaunted by the dangers that all travellers to Tibet had to face; was a fact which fully demonstrated the courage, tenacity and the rare spirit adventure of young Rammohun Roy. An commentator had said that had English Rammohun only crossed over to Lhasa at the age of sixteen in the seventeen hundred eighties, that single great adventure should have made him famous as a youthful explorer. When going through the Himalayan passes he was often obstructed by fallen boulders which he had to move to one side by using all his strength, so that he could get along. There were also the fear of wild animals which frequented those heights. Rammohun had picked up many north Indian languages by

chis time and had become proficient in Hindi and Urdu. His visit to Lhasa which lasted for about two years and the study of Mahayana Buddhism gave him a working knowledge of Pali and Tibetan. When he returned to India he went back to Patna and Banaras to continue his study of Arabic and Sanskrit.

After this he remained involved in family affairs upto 1797 when, as a result of difference of opinion about religion and moral principles with his father and elder brother he severed his connections with them and set up his own business independently.

We find that Rammohun Roy organised his business in a sound and gainful manner during the years 1797-1803. He purchased two Taluks at auction in 1799 and he appointed one Rajiblochan to manage these estates. Rajiblochan began to send the income derived from these lands to Rammohun regularly.

In 1801 Rammohun became known to John Digby and began to speak English of a sort, but he could not write correct English. He also had dealings with Mr. Woodforde, Collector of Dacca, who later appointed him as his Dewan. When Mr. Woodforde resigned his post, Rammohun Roy also left his job and returned to Calcutta.

In 1803 Rammohun Roy published his pamphlet Tufat-ul-Muwahhidini in support of monotheism. This booklet was written in Persian and had an introduction in Arabic. In 1805 Rammohun Roy accompanied John Digby to his various places of work. He had by now become quite proficient in English, both spoken and written. From this time onward his association with Digby became closer year by year. When Digby officiated as Magistrate Rammohun served as sheristadar in the criminal court. In 1807 he went with Digby to Jessore where the former had been appointed Collector. From Jessore they went to Bhagalpur and later returned to Jessore.

After this Digby was appointed Collector of Rangpur and took Rammohun Roy with him. In October, 1809 Digby made Rammohun Dewan but was reprimanded by the Board of Revenue for his action. Digby made a strong and spirited protest against this. Digby resigne'd from service in 1814 and went away to England. Rammohun had during this period begun to take to a closer study of the Shastras The name of Nandakumar Vidyalankar, who lived with Rammohun at Rangpur, came up in this connection. In 1815 Rammohun Roy took up residence in Calcutta permanently and founded the Atmiya Sabha in the same year He also published his Bengali translations of Vedanta Grantha and Vedanta Sar in the find, therefore, that We same year. Rammohun Roy's worldly activities during these years did not in any way restrict his intellectual and spiritual aspirations nointerfere with his work of expounding the Shastras and making them better known to the general public. He published many books and tracts from 1815 onward and the following were the more important among them.

- 1816, May—Bhattacharyer Sahit Bichar (12 Bengali).
- 1816, June—Translation into Bengali and English Kena Upanishad.
- 1816, July—Translation into Bengali and
 English Isopanishad, also
 published an English abridgement of Vedanta.
- 1816, May-Dec.—Utsabananda Vidyabagisher Sahit Bichar (in Sanskrit).
- 1817 —Translates into Bengali the
 Vedanta Sutra of Badarayana
 according to Shankara's interpretation. Also Vedanta Sar
 in Bengali and abridged
 Vedanta in English.
- 1817, Aug-Oct.—Translates Katha Upanishad and Mandyukyopauishad n

Bengali, Kena Upanishad in English and publishes "A Defence of Hindu Theism" and a second defence of Vedic Monotheism.

Roy carried on extensive controversies with learned men of the orthodox view point relating to idolatry and the Shastras. His publications continued and he published in : 1818 -Gayatrir Artha (in Bengali) 1818, June-Goswamir Sahit Bichar (in Bengali), Sahamaran Visayeh Prabartak o Nibartak Samvad. Dvitiya somvad. Also translation into English of Katha Upanishad.

During the years 1817-1823 Rammohun

In 1819 Digby came back to India from England. About the same time Rammohun Roy had his controversy with Subrahmanya Sastri.

Rammohun published his first tract against the burning of widows (Suttee) in 1819. There was also a conference among those who opposed and those who supported this practice. He also published the Atmanatmaviveka, the Bengali translation of Mundakopanishad as well as an English translation of the same.

In 1820 he published the details of a second conference between the advocates and opponents of Suttee. Rammohun began his publications dealing with the Christian religion in 1820. "The Precepts of Jesus the Guide to Peace and Happiness" as found in New Testament was published in Sanskrit and also a Bengali translation. The Baptist Mission rose in protest in which the names of Dr. Marshman and Rev-Mr-Schmidt came up. The latter called Rammohun Roy "a heathen".

Rammohun published an Appeal to the Christian public in defence of the Precepts of

Jesus. He signed himself "Freind of Truth". Dr. Marshman who was Editor of the "Friend of India" replied to the appeal in his journal. Rammohun Roy published "An Apology for the Pursuit of Beatitude independently of Brahmanical Observances" in 1820 and replied to Dr. Marshman in his "Second Appeal to the Christian public in defence of the Precepts of Jesus".

In 1821 he published "The Brahmunical Magazine". In the same year Samachar Darpana, a weekly Bengali journal, published by the Srirampur Baptist Press published a letter proving the worthlessness of the Hindu Sastras. Rammohun Roy replied to this signing himself Sivaprasad Sarma. In the same year he had the four Gospels translated into Bengali by two missionaries William Adam and Yates and established the Unitarian Society. Digby eame back as collector of Rammohun Roy published the Burdwan. Brahman Sevadhi.

In 1822 Rammohun rented a house for Unitarian worship. He also established an English school. He associated actively with David Hare and Dr. Duff in the work of English education. His "Brief spreading Remarks regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females according to Hindu Law of Inheritance" published in this year pointed to his eagerness to emancipate women from the numerous handicaps they suffered from in a decadent society. In 1822 Dr. Marshman's friends published his papers in the controversy in London as "A Defence of" the Deity and Atonement of Jesus Christ in reply to Ram Mohun Roy of Calcutta". This shows how profoundly the Christian Missionaries had been upset by the criticism of Rammohun Roy. The Baptist Mission Press publishing had been Rammohun Roy's rejoinders upto this time: but they began to refuse now and Rammohun Roy, therefore,

established a printing press called the Unitarian Press in Dharmatala St., Calcutta. In 1823 he translated the Kena Upanishad into English and published his "Final Appeal to the Christian Public". In this he made full use of his knowledge of Hebrew and Greek.

In 1823 the Acting Governor General John Adam promulgated the Press ordinance suppressing Freedom of the Press. Rammohun Roy and his friends placed a Memorial to the Supreme Court against this but it was rejected. An appeal to the King in Council was made after this. In 1823 the publication of the "Miratul-Akbar" was stopped in protest against this attack on the freedom of the press. In the same year Rammohun wrote his famous letter to Lord Amherst for the introduction of education through English.

1825 Rammohun Roy published the translation of his Sanskrit tract on different modes of worship and a Bengali booklet named Brahmanistha Grihaster Lakshman (characteristics of a Householder devoted God). Rammohun Roy lost his mother in 1826. He established a Vedanta College in the same year. In 1827 he brought out his Sanskrit Gayatriya Brahmopasanabidhanam (Rules relating to the worship of Brahman in accordance with the Gayatri). He also published Vajrasuchi (in Sanskrit and Bengali) during the same year. On the 20th of August 1827 Rammohun Roy established the Brahmo Samaj and published the books relating to the worship of Brahma and devotional songs in 1828. His three appeals about the Precepts of Jesus were printed in a single volume in America about the same time.

In 1829 Suttee was abolished by law by Lord William Bentinck and there was a movement against the abolition among Indians as well as British officials. It was planned to carry on propaganda in England for the annulment of this law prohibiting the burning of widows on the funeral pyres of their deceased husbands. In 1830 Rammohun Roy published an essay on the Rights of Hindoos over Ancestral properties according to the Law of Bengal. This was followed by Eight Letters on the Hindoo Law of Inheritance, all of which appeared in 1830. He also published an Abstract of the Arguments for stopping the Burning of Widows. In November 1830 Raja Rammohun Roy started for England where he stayed till his death at Bristol on the 27th September 1833.

The above chronological statement regarding the life and work of Raja Rammohun Rov shows what a remarkably talented man the Raja was. Never was there such a combination of great scholarship, spiritual urge, zeal for social and political reform and business acumen found in a single person. One may add to this his great attachment to the highest ideals of liberty, freedom and Human Rights. During the short period that he stayed in England he came in contact with persons like Robert Owen and Jeremy Bentham, who recorded their appreciation of the great Indian in terms of unstinted praise, comparing him to Erasmus and even to Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. During this time he met many political leaders of other countries and was accepted as a great political thinker. He was invited to dinner by the King of England and the King of France. Jeremy Bentham was so struck by Rammohun's style of English that he wrote in one of his letters to Rammohun "Your works are made known to me by a book in which I read a style which but for the name of a Hindoo I should certainly have ascribed to the pen of a superiorly educated and instructed Englishman." Comparing James Mill's style with Rammohun's, Bentham wrote about Mill's History of India "...though as to style I wish I could with truth and sincerity pronounce it equal to yours".

Rammohun Roy's great thirst for knowledge remained unquenched till the end of his life. He had very good knowledge of Sanskrit, Arabic. Persian. Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Pali, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali and English. He also knew French, Italian, Spanish, Tibetan and some north Indian languages. His knowledge of abstract philosophy, theology, law, politics and history was vast, analytical and precise; and he could state his own point of view on any subject of controversy in the manner of a highly talented lawyer. Rammohun was indomitable in his courage and defiance of evil social customs. He constantly risked his life in boldly condemning Suttee and idolatry. He incurred the wrath conservatives by his support of Women's education, equality in the sphere of legal rights, widow remarriage and by his criticism of child marriage and other customs which stood in the way of social progress. The Raja was a great reformer as well as a great revivalist. He was all for teaching Indians science and other progressive ideas through English education; but devoted himself very ardently to the work of making known to the world the truth about the sacred books of the Hindoos. His whole idea was to make Indians as great intellectually and morally in terms of modern knowledge and humanistic ideals as they had been in the days of the Rishis, the profundity of whose knowledge was amazingly deep and all embracing. Raja Rammohun Roy is truly called the father of modern India as it was he who inspired a galaxy of men and women in India during the hundred years ending with the First World War. Debendranath Tagore, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Kethub Chandra Sen, Swamy Vivekananda, Dayanand Saraswati, Gopal Gokhale, Rabindranath Tagore, Krishna Jagadish Chandra Bose, Aurovinda, Prafulla Chandra Roy and a host of intellec-

tuals, nation builders and freedom fighters can be named as the successors of Raja Rammohun Roy. It is rightly thought that had the Raja not been born towards the end of the eighteenth and the dawn of the nineteenth . century, India would have developed as a cheap imitation of England. There would have been no intellectual and spiritual renaissance in India and the subcontinent would have been swamped by a colourless variety of Christianity and a type of education that only helped people to imitate superficially without diving deep for the pearls of true knowledge and wisdom.

Raja Rammohun Roy was for ever a champion of liberty and freedom; a Knight Errant who traversed the length and breadth of his own country as well as of other lands to destroy the dragons that lurked in the deep dark corners of the social-political mind. His experiments in the field of reforming religious institutions were the expression of his desire to unite all mankind in a brotherhood of common moral endeavour. William Adam, a Baptist Missionary who became a Unitarian wrote about the Raja, "He would be free or not at all.....Love of freedom was perhaps the strongest passion of his soul...freedom not of action merely, but of thought...This tenacity of personal independence, this sensitive jealousy of the slightest approach to an encroachment on his mental freedom was accompanied with a very nice perception of the equal rights of others, even of those who differed most widely from him." When the Neapolitans were crushed back into servitude by the powers of Europe he wrote "... I consider the cause of the Neapolitans as my own and their enemies as ours. Enemies of liberty and friends of despotism have never been, and never will be, ultimately successful" (Letter dated August 11, 1821). When the Spanish colonies freed themselves in South America he

gave a public dinner at the Town Hall. When asked why he had thrown this party he exclaimed, "What, ought I to be insensible to the sufferings of my fellow creatures wherever they are, or however unconnected by interests, religion or language?" When he heard about the presence of French ships flying the flags of free France, while he was on his way to England and his ship was in harbour in the Cape of Good Hope, he broke his leg in trying to rush up quickly to see the flags and to salute the same. When in England he said that the Reform Bill of 1832 was a record of the struggle between reformers and anti-refomers, a "struggle between liberty and tyranny throughout the world, between justice and injustice and between right and wrong."

When the Acting Governor-General in Council promulgated a Press Ordinance in India Rammohun Roy prepared and submitted a petition to the Supreme Court which was rejected. He then prepared a Memorial to the King (which also was rejected). In this Memorial he said, "...Your Majesty is well aware, that a Free Press has never yet caused a revolution in any part of the world, because, while men can easily represent the grievances arising from the conduct of the local authorities to the Supreme Government, and thus get them redressed, the grounds of discontent that excite revolution are removed; whereas, where no freedom of the Press existed, and grievances consequently remained unrepresented and unredressed, innumerable revolutions have taken place in all parts of the globe, or if prevented by the armed forces of the Government, the people continued ready for insurrection.

"It is well known that despotic Governments naturally desire the suppression of any freedom of expression which might tend to expose their acts to the obloquy which ever attends the exercise of tyranny or oppression and the argument they constantly resort to is, that the spread of knowledge is dangerous to the existence of all legitimate authority, since, as a people became enlightened, they will discover that by a unity of effort, the many may easily shake off the voke of the few, and thus become emancipated from the restraints of power altogether, forgetting the lesson derived from history, that in countries which have made the smallest advances in civilization, anarchy and revolution are most prevalent, while on the other hand, in nations the most enlightened, any revolt Governments, which have guarded inviolate the rights of the governed, is most rare and that the resistance of a people advanced in knowledge, has ever been-not against the existence—but against the abuses of the Governing power.....The more enlightened a people become, the less likely are they to revolt against the governing power, as long as it is exercised with justice tempered with mercy, and the rights and privileges of the governed are held sacred from any invasion."

As a great advocate of human rights and freedom Raja Rammohun Roy naturally disapproved of the caste system and of the multiplicity of mutually antagonistic religious creeds. The caste system interfered with the free exercise of human rights at every step and the religious creeds, by their variety and intolerant attitude towards one another prevented the growth of brotherly sentiments among the peoples of India. He also desired that education of a modern scientific type should be introduced in our country so that the clouds of base ignorance and superstition could be dispelled and the people could grow and develop in the clear light of true knowledge and civilized outlook. The British took advantage of our ignorance and of the obscurity of vision that too many creeds

They therefore tried created in us. give preferential treatment to Christians as against Hindoos and Moslems, which was not in keeping with the principles of justice and Raja Rammohun Roy protested against the Jury Act of 1827 which debarred Hindoos and Moslems from being a juror of trial of Christians under trial but allowed Christians to be in juries trying Hindoos or Moslems. He suggested to the British that they should by practising true justice, help India to grow as an "ally of the British Empire" and not as an "annoying and determined enemy". - A people which received justice from its rulers and were not overtaxed maintained the rule of the law willingly and even agreed to fight for the rulers in case of Such conditions, thought Raja war. Rammohun Roy, were certainly preferable to keeping down a vast and over-taxed population by force of arms of a large and expensively maintained standing army. These and similar ideas show what a great statesman Raja Rammohun Roy was and how deeply and analytically he went into the fundamental principles of public finance and government.

Raja Rammohun Roy was all for the spread of scientific education through the medium of English but not at the cost of sacrificing our own languages. Rammohun Roy is rightly considered to be the father of modern Bengali prose. He wrote text books of Bengali grammar and analysed Bengali syntax. He also introduced punctuation marks in Bengali prose composition, and composed many hymns, some of which are s il sung in religious assemblies in Bengal. The "Sambad Kaumudi", a Bengali journal was published from 1821 and it contained matters of political, historical, literary and scientific interest. He can therefore be considered to be the first Indian in modern times who tried to introduce Western education in

India and to open the gates of our conservatism to new ideas and progressive reforms. He was opposed at that time by the decadent defenders of the established order, and these soldiers of social decay, though defeated in the field by Rammohun and his successors, passed on their hatred of the great reformer to their desendants, who, even now try to belittle what the Raja did, even though they take the fullest advantage of the reforms brought about by Rammohun Roy's persistent war against superstition, evil social practices and obscure dogma. In modern India Western science has taken deep root and the ideas of human progress have been synthesized with the x classical intellectual aspirations educated people. Women's emancipation has been fully achieved and most degenerate practices and beliefs have taken shelter in the darkest corners of Indian life. All this progress has been possible because a great soul came to illuminate our civilization 200 years ago.

Rammohun Roy's connection with the work of liberation of women in India is usually associated with his agitation against the evil practice of Suttee or Sahamaran. But in fact he was foremost among modern Indians in the work of demanding equal rights for women in all spheres of life. The following excerpts from the Centenary Volume of the Bethune College of Calcutta (published in 1949), Mr. Jogesh Chandra Bagal, eminent historian and scholar of great reputation, wrote: "Raja Rammohun Roy, the greatest of Indian reformers in modern times, started a movement against Suttee even before the twenties. To popularise this movement, he used to issue pamphlets in Bengali. In these much stress was laid inter alia on the rights and claims of women. He also advocated the cause of women's education so that they might be conscious of their own position in society and discharge their duties adequately to themselves as well as to the people at large." Dr, Kalidas Nag, the Editor of the Volume referred to the Raja's above mentioned contributions to women's progress in India and said, "The immortal harbinger of chivalry and life-long champion of womanhood was the great Raja Rammohun Roy." Dr. Kalidas Nag is considered to be an indologist of international standing who had been, time and again, invited out to lecture at various universities in Europe, the Americas, Asia and Australasia on Indian History. Scholars all over the world accepted his assessment of the facts of Indian history as precise and dependable. We have already mentioned the names of two famous contemporaries of Raja Rammohun Roy, who testified to the remarkable ability and intellectual eminence of the great Indian. They were Robert Owen and Jeremy Bentham. We shall now examine what M. Romain Rolland, the well known French savant, has written about Raja Rammohun Roy in his book "The Life of Ramakrishna" which was published in India in 1930 by Advaita Ashrama, Almorah. Regarding the spiritual life of Raja Rammohun Roy M. Rolland has quoted from an article by Dhirendranath Chowdhuri entitled "Ram Mohun Roy, the Devote" which published in The Modern Review of October 1928. The quotation is as follows, ".....The Raja would be frequently found absorbed (in Brahmasamadhi) all his distractions notwithstanding.....For the Raja Samadhi is not an abnormal physiological change of the body that can be effected at will, not unconsciousness generated as in sound sleep, but the highly spiritual culture of perceiving Brahman in all and the habit of surrendering the self to the higher self. Atmasakshatkar to him was not to deny the existence of the world.....but to perceive God in every bit of perception...

Ram Mohun was preeminently a sadhaka......
Though a Vedantist in every pulse of his being, he did not fail to perceive that the Upanishads were not sufficient to satisfy the Bhakti hankerings of the soul, nor was he able to side with the Bhakti cult of Bengal....."

M. Rolland found that Raja Rammohun Roy was also a great reformer in the material field of life. Referring to "his innumerable reforms or attempted reforms" M. Rolland said "let it suffice to mention among the chief-Sati (the burning of widows) which he proved to be contrary to the sacred texts and which he persuaded the British Government to forbid in 1829, and his campaign against polygamy, his attempts to secure the remarriage of widows, intercaste marriage, Indian unity, friendship between Hindus and Mussulmans, Hindu education which wished to model on the same scientific lines as Europe and for which he wrote in Bengali numerous text books on Geography, Astronomy, Geometry, Grammar etc., the education of women based on the example of ancient India, liberty of thought and of the Press, legal reforms, political equality etc." M. Rolland rightly says, "This man of gigantic personality, whose name to our shame is not inscribed in the Pantheon of Europe as well as of Asia, sank his ploughshare in the soil of India and sixty years of labour left her transformed. A great writer of Sanskrit, Bengali, Arabic, Persian and English, the father of modern Bengali prose; the author of celebrated hymns, poems, sermons, philosophic treatises and political and controversial writings of all kinds, he sowed his thoughts and his passion broadcast. And out of the earth of Bengal has come forth the harvest—a harvest of works and men.

"And from his inspiration (a fact of supreme importance) sprang the Tagores."

Miss Sophia Dobson Collet was a very

young girl of ten or eleven years when she saw Raja Rammohun Roy in South Place Chapel, London. She was so deeply impressed by the magnetic personality of the great man who founded the Brahmo Samaj, that she followed the development of that monotheistic community throughout her life as well as undertook to write the life of Raja Rammohun Roy, which, unfortunately, she could not complete during her life time. She handed over all papers connected with this biography to the late Rev. F. Herbert Stead with a letter of request to finish the work in her behalf in which she said, "I am dying. I cannot finish my 'Life of Rammohun Roy'. But when I enter the Unseen I want to be able to tell Rammohun that his 'Life' will be finished. Will you finish it for me?" Miss Collet died on the 27th March 1894. The 'Life' was published after her death in 1900 by Harold Collet from London. Other editions have been printed after that. The general plan and the documentation had been made and carried out by Miss Collet who spared no pains to make it as complete and perfect as one could when Indian sources could not be tapped easily, if at all. What Raja Rammohun Roy meant to the development of modern Indian civilization can be best expressed in the words of Rabindranath Tagore and Swami Vivekananda (as quoted by Sister Nivedita). The Poet said, "Rammohun belongs to the Eneage of India's great seers who age after age have appeared in the arena of our history with the message of the Eternal man." The Swamiji said in May 1898 at Nainital in the course of a talk on Rammohun Roy that he had been taught three things by this teacher, acceptance of Vedanta, patriotism and the ideal of equal love for Hindus and Musalmans. In all these he (Swami Vivekananda) was inspired by Rammohun Roy. Rammohun Roy was from his boyhood an intensive

enquirer into ultimate realities and truth. He tried to realise the fundamental nature of the creative force that was God, by reasoning as well as through direct communion and meditation. His knowledge of the Upanishadic speculation in this field was profound and faultless. He studied the theology of Islam, Christianity and Buddhism in order to get a clearer vision of Godhood. He learnt a dozen languages in order to study the different religions through their original source books as well as to go deeper into the problems of human life in the political, educational, legal and other social fields. His knowledge of constitutional and general law was so precise and extensive that many politicians got into touch with him in order to avoid faulty legislation. The Spanish Constitution which was declared at Cadiz in 1812 and published by the Philippine Company was dedicated to Raja Rammohun Roy, the liberalissimo, noble, sabio and virtuoso Brahmo (the most liberal, noble, wise and virtuous Brahman). The Raja took a keen and lively interest in the political struggles carried on by the people of various countries. His advocacy of the Reform Bill, the French Revolution, the Portuguese struggle against autocratic rule and Catholic Emancipation drew the attention of many important political thinkers of Europe.

Raja Rammohun Roy understood fully well that man was a social animal and man's morality and religious practices should therefore go beyond the narrow limits of his individual existence. He found that the Hindu way of philosophical speculation and spiritual endeavour to establish communion with God were unequalled by anything that could be found in other religious communities. He therefore based his intellectual and spiritual endeavours mainly in Vedanta. But when he came to consider the ethical life of man he found the teachings of Jesus Christ

were a better guide in the ethical field. He also found that congregational worship was a stronger nation-building force than individual devotion and communion with the Deity. That is why he introduced a congregational form of public worship in the Brahmo Samaj. The Vedas, the Upanishads were to be used in place of the Bible and the songs sung should have an emotional appeal derived often from the devotional traditions of Indian devotees and mystics. The resemblance with Christian church service will be exclusively in outward form. Rammohun Roy saw that the Europeans were better educated, better organised politically and in trade and commerce and their ascendancy in the world was due to those controllable factors. He never believed in any racial superiority as is evidenced by his replies to the Select Committee of the House of Commons which asked him about his countrymen, "what capability of improvement do they possess?" Rammohun Roy's answer was, "They have the same capability of improvement as an other civilized people." In 1822 he wrote, "But should the Natives receive the same advantages of education the Europeans generally enjoy, and be brought up in the same notions of honour, they will I trust, be found, equally with Europeans, worthy of the confidence of their countrymen and respect of all men."

Before closing this narration of the life of the great scholar, social reformer and nation builder Raja Rammohun Roy one should include in the concluding passages some excerpts from his writings which highlight his outlook on different subjects connected with his life's work. The abolition of Suttee was no doubt effected by legislation which was carried out by Lord William Bentinck after he had long discussions with Raja Rammohun Roy and had studied the arguments put forward by the Raja for the abolition of this evil

practice. Raja Rammohun Roy made a statement in the Abstract of the Arguments regarding the Burning of Widows considered as a Religious Rite which he published in 1830 as a rejoinder to the manifesto of the 128 pundits. He called it "a clear and concise epitome for popular use of the points which had been scattered through many essays and tracts" and grouped his arguments under three heads. According to the Sacred Books of the Hindus, concremation was (1) not obligatory but at most optional; (2) not the most commendable but the least virtuous act a widow could perform; and (3) must be a voluntary ascending of the pile and entering into the flames-a mode never practised in the conventional Suttee. The Raja closed his tract with the remark, "thanks to Heaven, whose protecting arm has rescued our weaker sex from cruel murder" and "our character as a people" from international opprobrium.

Raja Rammohun Roy established the Brahmo Samaj which was a society practising the worship of the Upanishadic Brahman. The Trust Deed of the place of worship stated that the building was meant:

"For the worship and adoration of the Eternal Unsearchable, and Immutable Being who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe but not under, or by any other name designation or title, peculiarly used for, and applied to, any particular Being, or Beings by any man, or set of men, whatsoever.

"And that no graven image, statue or sculpture, carving, painting, portrait or the likeness of anything, shall be admitted within the messuage, building, land, tenements, here ditaments, and premises; and that no sacrifice offering, or oblation of any kind or thing shall ever be permitted therein; and that no animal or living creature shall, within or or the said messuage, building, land, tenements hereditaments and premises, be deprived or life, either for religious purposes or for food."

Raja Rammohun Roy was against offending the religious feelings of persons who were cf other communities and enjoined toleration of all religions on his followers. The Trust Deed further said:

"And that, in conducting the said worship or adoration, no object, animate or inanimate, that has been, or is, or shall hereafter become, or be recognized, as an object of worship, by any man, or set of men, shall be reviled, or slightingly or contemptuously spoken of, or alluded to, either in preaching, praying, or in the hymns, or other mode of worship that may be delivered or used in the said messuage or building."

He also made it very clear how he desired bonds of unity to grow among all religious communities by stating, in the same Trust Deed, that the purpose of all preaching, ciscourse, prayer etc in the Brahmo Samaj shall be the "promotion of charity, morality, piety, benevolence, virtue, and the strengthening the bonds of union between men of all religious persuasions and creeds."

Raja Rammohun Roy was granted the title of Raja by the Moghul Emperor of Delhi, His Majesty, Ubaonunssur Moeenoodeen Ukbur Badshah as the Raja was appointed his Elchee (envoy) to the court of Great Britain and was therefore invested with a new dignity of position. The British Governor General of India, Lord William Bentinck, also accepted this investiture as within the right, of the Moghul Emperor of Delhi, when the Raja crew his Lordship's attention to this fact.

While the Raja was planning to go to Britain the people who were against him were also busy organizing the opposition to the reforms that the Raja sponsored. Some were even of the opinion that Rammohun should be assassinated and, for a while, armed guards were placed in his house under the command of one Mr. Martin. Rammohun Roy himself

went about with a dagger and swordstick accompanied by Mr. Martin who carried a brace of pistols. Al least one attempt was made to assassinate the Raja, which however proved abortive.

Raja Rammohun Roy was a passionate believer in educating the people. In his zeal he was as willing to start schools and colleges himself as he was in rendering assistance to others who wanted to organize and run schools and colleges. In 1816, or even before that, Raja Rammohun Roy offered to give a piece of land for a school to Mr. Eustace Carey of the Baptist Missionary Society. Rammohun Roy was closely associated with the Calcutta School Book Society which was established in 1817 and he wrote a text book of Geography in Bengali. He also wrote a Bengali Grammar named Gaudiya Vyakarana. He assisted Dr. Alexander Duff to set up his institution, though it was a Christian institution. breadth of outlook was quite different from the narrowmindedness of his opponents who said they would have nothing to do with the Hindu College if the Raja's name was included among its sponsors. The idea that India should have English education with an emphasis on science subjects was particularly and strongly supported by Raja Rammohun Roy. His life was based on modern progressive ideas. He was the first Brahmin to cross the "black waters" of the sea and to break the rules of conduct imposed on Hindus. The impression he created in England moulded and modified British opinion of Indians in a manner which proved valuable for Indians after his time. He went to Europe at a time when political reforms were sweeping over various countries. Slavery was abolished by law in the British Empire. The Factory Act was passed in those days too. The Railways were being built and modern institutions were taking shape eveywhere. The Third Reform

Bill was passed through all its stages in the Lower House before the end of March 1832. Everyone waited excitedly to see what the Lords did. Raja Rammohun Roy thought that "the welfare of England, nay of the world, depends" on the success of the Reform. The Raja had admired the material progress achieved by the Europeans even before he went to Europe. But he never thought that the Europeans were superior to the Indians in point of moral and spiritual outlook. As the Raja was a man inspired by great spiritual and moral urges and aspirations, he naturally wanted the Indians to preserve their own culture, although he thought Indians should è build their life materially on science and by developing political and economic institutions of the European type.

Rammohun Roy's letter to Lord Amherst on Western education, as against Sanskrit education gives us a good idea of the way of thinking of the great Indian. We shall give some passages from this letter.

"The establishment of a new Sangscrit School in Calcutta evinces the laudable desire of Government to improve the Natives of India by Education—a blessing for which they must for ever be grateful; and every well wisher of the human race must be desirous that the efforts made to promote it, should be guided by the most enlightened principles, so that the stream of intelligence may flow into the most useful channels.

"When this Seminary of learning was proposed, we understood that the Government in England had ordered a considerable sam of money to be annually devoted to the instruction of its Indian Subjects. We were filled with sanguine hopes that this sum would be laid out in employing European Gentlemen of talents and education to instruct the natives of India in Mathematics, Natural Philosophy,

Chemistry, Anatomy and other useful Sciences, which the nations of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world.

"We now find that the Government are establishing a Sangscrit school under Hindu pundits to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. This seminary (similar in character to those which existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon) can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practicable use to the possessors or to society. The pupils will there acquire what was known two thousand years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtleties since produced by speculative men, such as is already commonly taught in all parts of India.

"From these considerations, as the sum set apart for the instruction of the Natives of India was intended by the Government in England, for the improvement of its Indian subjects, I beg leave to state, with due deference to your Lordship's exalted situation, that if the plan now adopted be followed, it will, completely defeat the object proposed; since no improvement can be expected from inducing young men to consume dozen of years of the most valuable period of their lives in acquiring the niceties of the Byakurun or Sangscrit Grammar.

"If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen, which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner, the Sangscrit system of education would be

the best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British Legistature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it will consequently promote a and enlightened system of more liberal instruction embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry and anatomy, with sceinces other useful which may be accomplished with the sum proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talents and learning educated in Europe, and providing a College furnished with the necessary books, instruments and other apparatus."

It has taken India a very long time to introduce a proper system of education for the improvement of her sons and daughters. It was partly achieved by the joint effort of the British and the Indians; but a great deal

remained to be done. But the ideals which Raja Rammohun Roy set up no doubt changed the direction of all efforts to educate the people into useful channels. He concluded his letter to Lord Amherst by saying, "I conceive myself discharging a solemn duty which I owe to my countrymen and also to that enlightened Sovereign and Legilature which have extended their benevolent cares to this distant land actuated by a desire to improve its inhabitants......"

Rammohan Roy thus had the unique distinction of being a conservative who did his utmost to conserve and uphold the intellectual and spiritual heritage of India; as well as of being a pathfinder who boldly struck out into new fields of science and progress to make India one of the great and modern nations.



SOCIAL DEFENCE IN A "SOFT STATE"

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

A dangerous development during the last wenty years has been the tendency on the part of the upper middle classes to think compartmentally. The classic example of compartmentalized thinking was, of course, by the French queen who, when told of the hunger of the common citizens for want of bread, wondered why they did not eat cake! She was not aware that cake was costlier than bread and that a person who could not afford to buy bread could not afford luxury of eating cakes. When communication between social groups is so effectively blocked as to keep one group utterly ignorant of the problems of the other, social defence breaks down as it did in France in the eighteenth century, and elsewhere at other times. In this country the base of affluence was very narrow until the massive investment during the past twenty years led to the creation of an economically affluent and politically powerful upper middle class. Its rising income and political power has not allowed any desire to observe any discipline in its conduct. During the past decade it was this upper middle class and not the top income group which registered the highest rate of growth of income. Professor Gunnar Myrdal has coined a new term to denote the rule of this new class which seeks to grab all gains but refuses to recognize any social obligations; he calls such an organization a "soft state". Professor Myrdal writes, "The term 'soft state' is understood to comprise all the various types of social indiscipline which manifest themselves by 'deficiencies' in legislation and in particular law observance and enforcement, a widespread disobedience

by public officials on various levels to rules and directives handed down to them, and often their collusion with powerful persons and groups of persons whose conduct they should regulate. Within the concept of the soft state also belongs corruption..... These several patterns of behaviour are interrelated in the sense that they permit or even provoke each other in/circular causation having cumulative effects." (Gunnar Myrdal: The Challenge of World Poverty, Penguin Books, 1971, p. 211.)

Proceeding further Myrdal writes, "The laxity and arbitrariness in a national community that can be characterized as a soft state can be, and are, exploited for personal gain by people who have economic, social and political power.....the whole political, legal and administrative system is thus systematically heavily weighted against the masses of the poor people..." (Ibid. Pp 211, 233,) To any observant mind this description of a soft state fits in very well with conditions obtaining in India. But there is no need for taking the trouble of inferring anything. For Myrdal instantly makes the reference to India specific. "An Indian state assembly", writes Myrdal, "can thus show its generosity to the landless poorer peasants by passing laws on minimum agricultural wages or by putting a maximum on the landlord's share of the crop or the moneylenders' interest charges without a risk that such laws will be enforced.....the main explanation of the soft state is that all the power is in the hands of the upper class who can afford egalitarian laws and policy measures but are in the unchallenged position to prevent implementation." (Ibid. Pp 222, 223.)

In view of the prevalence of compartmentalization of social groups and thinking it is not often that anyone except the sufferers in the group of poor persons feel the need for any change. Recently an incident made me profoundly aware of the gripping dilemma of a widening social schism. After finishing a very delicious lunch in the enjoyable company of a journalist friend from New Delhi at a newly set up posh (by Patna standards, of course) restaurant at the heart of the town I was just coming out of the comfortable dining hall when I was rudely shaken by the plaintive cry of an old woman for alms. Having just eaten a good meal myself I just could not bring myself to turn her away and paid her half a rupee. The demonstration of my charitableness brought a swarm of beggars all round us and after paying two or three of them ten paise or five paise each I just wanted to find an opportunity to run away from the All my feeling of enjoyment had place. evaporated. I bade an abrupt goodbye to the friend whom I should really have seen off at the airport where he was due shortly afterwards. I wanted somehow to escape from the whole surrounding. In the meanwhile a small girl and her mother (I thought, her grandmother) was tugging at my coat for help. By that time all my spirit of generosity had dried up as I suddenly became aware that my fixed income permitted me only a very narrow degree of deviation from the usual pattern of expenditure. I frantically looked for a means of escape and boarded the first available rickshaw and asked the rickshawala to drive me away as fast as he could. Although I could thus remove myself physically from the surrounding of the beggars it was not so easy to free my mind of the entreaties of the young child whose expectations I did not fulfil. Her beseeching words haunted me for quite a long time thereafter and I fervently wished I had

not been so miserly particularly with that child:

I had been worried in the morning of that day, especially as it was raining heavily, because my car would not start. To me that was the most pressing problem. Yet running away from the world of the hungry in my own town of Patna a few hours later, I suddenly became alive to the fact that the real problem for the vast majority was much simpler: It was an all-consuming unsatisfied hunger. As I came back home in a highly distracted mood I picked up Myrdal's book and was struck by the following paragraph:

"Looking closer at what actually has been happening in undeveloped countries," Myrdal writes, "the increasing underutilization of the labour-force and the consequent mass poverty are caused by the combined effects of its rapid increase and the economic and technological changes, as they evolve in an inegalitarian economic, social and political system. A large and increasing part of the labour force is simply superfluous or becoming superfluous." In contrast, "the conventional economists and secretariats of the intergovernmental organizations, uncritically using the flimsy aggregate figures for 'growth' of the national income or the national product and taking no consideration of what is growing, whether it is real growth from a national point of view or merely costs caused by negative developments, of how the product is distributed, and, generally, of the 'non-economic' factors, may convince themselves and the general public the 'developing countries' are realiy developing." (P. 388.)

Those who feel concerned about social defence in this country must answer two questions at the beginning of their effort. What do they understand by 'social defence'? Is it the defence of society as a whole, or the defence of the upper, rich, propertied classes?

The police officer is unfortunately bound to the defence of the richer classes without in any way seeking to control the viciousness and exploitation by the social classes. Partly, this conduct of the police is determined by the social class origin of the police officers who generally come from affluent families. But mostly the police conduct is determined by law and the mode of administration over which they have no direct control. A police officer in his official capacity is not directly concerned with the formulation of laws or with pointing out the iniquities of particular laws. He is mostly the unthinking executive agent to enforce the discipline imposed by the ruling classes upon those whom they rule. A police action thus often serves the opposite purpose of social defence and creates a further problem in building up an effective social defence. It is not necessary to illustrate this by examples from practical life except to point out that in the very capital city of Patna persons accused of having misappropriated lakhs of rupees have not been arrested after months of the charge having been made, while hardly any thought is given while rounding up less affluent persons. "One of the most flagrant examples of bias in the post-war approach is the virtual taboo against including the important facts of corruption in the analysis of the development problems of

underdeveloped countries," writes Myrdal (p 229).

The second question that has to be answered is: Are we interested in a development which should lead to a diffusion of the gains of development? The dilemma of increasing poverty for the many and growing affluence for the few is in no small a measure due to the absence of adequate pressure from below for change. To quote Myrdal again, "People in the upper strata were the transmitters of the modernization ideals and in particular the egalitarian ideal. These new legal rights we're in early independence time handed down by the political elite in power. They were less eager, however, to give reality to these rights. To avoid doing so was the easier as there was no pressure from below" (p. 219.) The masses are illiterate, helpless, disorganized, but they constitute the overwhelming majority of the members of the society. It is they who require defence and it is the upper class which needs to make sacrifices voluntarily or under coercion for creating such a social defence. If this central truth is not recognized any effective move for crime prevention can only lead to a rise in the number of crimes, as has been the case so far. A crime prevention measure is as much dependent on reducing inequality in income and status as democracy and economic growth.



HOUSING CONDITIONS OF LANDLESS LABOURERS

B. K. KUMAVAT

"The problem of housing is, undeniably, he most central for efficiency and well-being of the rural working class."

—R. Mukerjee.

Housing is one of the three basic needs of a man, viz., food, clothing and shelter. A well kept house stimulates hope and ambition. It safeguards health and develops character among its inmates. Good citizenship can develop only when people are properly and adequately housed. Unhealthy atmosphere of a house will not allow the children to develop good physical and mental health.

Unfortunately, housing has been neglected very much in our country. The problem of rural housing is all the more serious. The Health Survey and Development Committee rightly observed, "Even less attention has been paid to village planning in our country than to town planning. Most of the villages have grown in a haphazard manner in far too many cases, it would be beyond the capacity of a planner to improve the existing conditions to any reasonable extent." Everybody talks a good deal about urban housing but little attention is given to the housing of rural labourers.

Existing Conditions

The present conditions of houses of landless labourers are extremely unsatisfactory and deplorable. Most of them are housed in oneroomed tenements where men and cattle have to live under the same roof. The labour-class live in straw-huts and 'kachha' houses of mudwalls and thatched roofs. These straw-huts are locally known as 'tapris' which are built of mud-walls and thatched with straw, stalks of 'Juwar' crop and 'Khodas' (date leaves). Some of the labourers use small fire-burnt tiles (which are often prepared by themselves during the idle season, particularly in the summer) for roofing the so called, 'kachha' houses. The huts are small and situated on elevated ground. The hamlets composed of irregular cluster of huts with mud-walls and thatched with straw or tiled roofs are a very common feature. One has always to bend himself down while entering these huts. ,

The landless workers do not get suitable sites for making their huts. Generally, they do not possess any land of their own with the result that they have to depend upon the tender mercy of land owners for small house-sites. They have to occupy, however, the worst places for making the huts, specially near the heaps of manures in a secluded and distant corner of the village. Consequently, shortage of living accommodation, dilapidated, insanitary and often wretched conditions are common features of the labourers' dwelling.

The average number of inmates of a house of a labour family is 5. Most of the families live in one-roomed tenements. Inside the

huts there is not much accommodation. A small open space and one or two stores, called 'Kothis' (of mud), are all that one can see for housing the aged, the young and the infants.

The rooms are small and without proper ventilation except what may be provided by one or two tiny windows which are instantly stopped up as soon as illness of any kind appears. They do not have any chimney and the whole house is full of smoke during a considerable part of the day. Doors are the only openings for light and air in most of the houses. Entrance to the huts is protected with a screen made of bamboo or 'arhar'-stalks or 'Khodas'. In the absence of the occupants, the wild animals, the dogs, and stray cattle, sometimes, get free access to the inner rooms, destroy and carry away things.

Mud-walls easily collapse during incessant rains which have to be repaired with great labour and cost, after each rainy season. 'Kachha' houses and huts are often found to be leaking during the rainy season when the members of the family have to huddle together in a small room. At times, the labourers (particularly the 'halis' and graziers) take shelter at the house of their employers. One and the same room is used as kitchen, storeplace and sleeping place.

The houses of landless labourers are the filthiest. All such houses are huddled together and the lanes are tortuous and narrow. Heaps of manure lie in front of each house, which, besides being the breeding place of hordes of flies, also emit a suffocating stench. The drainage system is so poor that during the rainy reason every house is provided with a large mosquito-breeding centre around it. The house-drains add their quota to the waste water which runs around the walls and make the lanes dirty. No wonder that the incidence of disease is the highest in these families. There is utter neglect of public

services like scavengery, light and water. While the upper classes generally have wells inside their houses, the lower class people get water from a common well, pond or stream It is not altogether unrunning nearby. common that in the same tank or pond the villagers take bath and wash their clothes, the peasants wash their cattle and the lower class people carry water from the same pond for drinking purposes. The progress made by the Community Development projects regarding construction of wells for drinking water in the villages has not touched the fringe of the problem. The lanes adjoining the house-walls of the labourers are also used as urinals and the children use them freely as latrines. The surroundings are never cleaned excreta remains there till it is dried up and thus gets mixed up with dust or is eaten by pigs, and other cattle. The cattle and poultry often accommodate themselves in and around the houses.

Such are indeed, the dwelling places of our rural labourers in which they are born, sleen, eat, live and die. This state of affairs has a definite bearing on their health and efficiency. The masses fall an easy prey to a number of diseases on account of bad housing conditions. "Planning from below" is an oft-repeated slogan of our planners in the campaign for socio-economic welfare of the Paradoxically enough, our economic plans for rural development have not been able to deliver the goods. The weakest section of our villages-landless labour-has not been given a square deal. To those who assert that we cannot afford to spend more money for rural housing, there can be one replythat we can no longer afford to delay such expenditure.

Suggestions

The foregoing discussion bears testimony to the fact that a high priority must be given

to rural housing schemes in our five year plans. To improve the disgraceful condition of labourers' housing is a primary responsibility of the State. The government should, with the help of P. W. D. experts, evolve a scheme for building cheap and airy houses, for the rural working class keeping in view the availability of local materials, i.e. bricks, tiles, timber, etc. An autonomous body should be constituted for building such houses. The States should contribute certain percentage of the cost in the form of subsidy. At Tehsil level, a rural housing committee should be constituted, which should advise the State government and the house building agency from time to time, which should act as a link between the State and the home building agency. The village panchayats and community projects can also be helpful in this respect. They should prepare a plan village wise for submission to the higher authorities.

They can undertake the responsibility of re-conditioning of the existing houses, rendering sanitary services and constructing drains, wells, roads and the like. The funds of house tax collected by village panchayats should be used exclusively for providing better housing facilities in the countryside. The nationalised banks and the cooperative organisations should also be called to advance interest-free loans to the labour class for building their houses. The loans may be recovered over a long period, say 20 or 25 years. The State governments can guarantee such loans. A special fund should be created by each State in the respective annual budget for rural housing for which special levy may be imposed on big cultivators on the basis of acreage. It should be collected along with the land revenue. The Central Government should also extend special subsidy to the States undertaking the schemes for housing in the villages.

PROGRESS OF BULGARIAN CULTURE AND THE ARTS

KOSTADIN POPOV

Culture and the arts carry the ideas, problems and aspirations of their times, the features of the national character and the force and originality of the people's creative genius.

Examining the period of 26 years of socialist development of Bulgarian jculture and the arts, one can see that they have enjoyed an extremely beneficial climate for their blossoming and gaining maturity.

Drawing from the centuries-long heritage

of the Bulgarian people all the cultural values which are a worthy part of the world treasure-house of culture, Bulgarian culture has remained true to the progressive popular traditions.

The Bulgarian socialist state has promoted new trends in culture, has democratized the educational system and placed along new lines the activities of the cultural institutions. It has shown great solicitude for the workers in the sphere of culture and the arts and provided them with ample opportunities for free creative activity. A most beneficial climate for artistic work has been created by the introduction of various forms of moral and material incentives.

The Bulgarians have always been known for their passion for learning, but this national characteristic has become particularly manifest in the last 25 years. In the 1968-1969 academic year there were 1,560,710 pupils and students (Bulgaria's population being 8,000,000) which means that every fifth person has been studying. Bulgaria ranks among the foremost countries in the world in the number of secondary school graduates in proportion to the population, while in the relative number of university students it ranks third after the Soviet Union and the United States.

The percentage of the specialists, graduates from higher of secondary schools, in the total number or those employed in the various sectors of the national economy is steadily growing.

The Bulgarian people have always shown great and lasting interest in literature in general, including scientific literature. This accounts for the growth of the number of public libraries in the country, which has now reached 11,109. Bulgaria holds one of the first places in the world for library facilities in the countryside. Almost all villages with a population of over 500 have their own libraries. Many kinds of activities which have been unknown in village life in the past have today become a reality. Hundreds of music schools and literary societies are working in the Bulgarian villages today, and art galleries have been opened in many of them. A number of villages have instituted their own literary prizes, which are awarded to the best talents from among the people.

Some comparative statistical figures concerning the development of book-publishing

testify to the role of the book in the life of the people and their close contact with culture. While in 1939, an average of one book per head of the population was published in the country, five books are published today. Bulgaria ranks among the foremost countries in the world in the number of books and periodicals published per capita of the population. Over 70,000 titles in a total circulation of 650 million copies have come out in the years of socialism and their number continues to increase.

The Bulgarian National Revival gave rise to an original national cultural institution—the library club. These clubs have been flourishing for more than 110 years now. There were 2,234 of them in 1944, and today they total 4,518. Lately some 110 library club buildings have been erected on an average every year.

In the 26 years of people's rule all means of the dissemination of culture and all cultural institutions have expanded and developed new forms of activities. The number of cinema theatres has increased several fold, having now reached 3,044, and so has that of the theatres, concert halls and museums. The radio and television have become part of the everyday life of the people. The keen interest in art is also evident from the fact that last year cinema theatres were visited by 115 million cinema-goers, and theatrical and musical performances by 12 million spectators.

The Bulgarian working people take an active part in the nation's cultural life and in the promotion of artistic progress. The amateur artistic activities, which have assumed a mass character, bear proof to this fact. The amateur artistic groups have a total membership of over half a million. Such companies and groups have been formed in every town and village. Those in the villages alone give an average of 40,000 performances every year.

Splendid opportunities are afforded for the development of opera and symphonic music and of the fine arts in general. Talented Bulgarian writers, artists, singers and actors have made the name of our country famous far beyond its frontiers.

Works of Bulgarian authors have been translated into 65 languages. The works of Georgi Karaslavov, Lyudmil Stoyanov, Dimiter Dimov and Emilyan Stanev, among others, are being read in 35 languages. In 1969 alone, 103 Bulgarian books were published in foreign countries.

Bulgarian theatre art has fine traditions. The reviews of plays—contemporary, historical, youth and children's—invariably turn into significant cultural events. There are 45 state theatres in the country today. Bulgarian theatre art has democratic, realistic traditions, maintained at all levels—in directing, acting and stage designing.

The arts have considerably contributed to socialist cultural progress. A vast number of general art exhibitions and one man shows are constantly organized. Many Bulgarian artists have shown their work abroad in one man shows too, or have taken part in international exhibitions. Over 200 exhibitions of professional and 100 of amateur artists are arranged every year on an average.

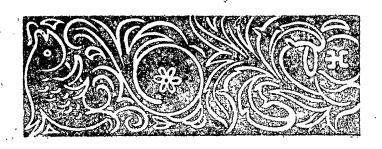
The Bulgarian film industry produces more

than 250 feature, short and popular science films every year. Bulgarian feature and documentary films are shown in about 70 countries. These have also participated in numerous international festivals (about 30). Many of them have won world acclaim. Over 130 prizes have been awarded so far to some 80 Bulgarian films.

Bulgaria plays host to some major international cultural events, such as the International Young Opera Singers' Competition held in Sofia, the International Festival of Chamber Music held in Plovdiv, the Ballet Competition in Varna and the Folk Art Festival in Bourgas. All these events testify to the rich cultural life in the country and the standards of an exacting public.

Special importance is attached to the discovery of art treasures and their preservation for the coming generations. Historical monuments and relics of the Old Bulgarian culture are constantly restored. All arrangements are made for the preservation of works which testify to the creative genius of the Bulgarian nation through the ages. There are 155 state museums and art galleries in the country today.

Bulgarian art has long transcended the boundaries of our country and revealed to other nations the artistic talent and skill of the Bulgarian people.



SMRITI AND BISMRITI

SIBNATH BANERIEE

Jean Lunge

I knew that Lunge was one of the sons of a daughter of Karl Marx. He was a member of the French Parliament and belonged to the Socialist Party. I was curious to meet the grandson of Karl Marx and did meet him in his small flat in Paris. I talked with him about Communism and Marx and Lenin, about Moscow and London and also Paris and India. He spoke English very well and was an intellectual. He was very much interested about Moscow and the Commintern (Communist International) and asked me many questions about them. I spent more than two hours with him. In the course of my talks, I told him that I had a plan to stay in Chandannagar or Pondicherry, which were French possessions then and continue my political work against British Imperialism, under the semi-potection of the French. I told him, that if my attempt to go to India, through Mr. MacDonald, the Labour Prime Minister of Britain failed, I would come back to Paris and seek his help to go to Pondicherry and from there to Chandannagar. He was not only sympathetic, but even enthusiastic about this plan and assured me of all help.

As will be clear from the following pages, it was not necessary to take his help to go to Pondicherry, as I succeeded, with much effort to come back to India from London after four months of trials and tribulations.

Calais

After spending about a week in Paris and completing my short program there, I decided to cross over and go to London. I took a ticket for London via Calais. Calais is a small and historic town on the North Western seacoast of France. This is the nearest port from Britain, across the English Channel. I took a day train so that I could reach Calais in the afternoon, to spend the last evening and night in Calais, the land's end of France.

Crossing the Channel

When I boarded the ship, the sea was calm, but soon a strong gale appeared and tossed the ship like a helpless raft. The waves were 10 to 15 feet high and when they broke on the ship, it was flooded with saline sea water. Now a days, crossing the English Channel by swimming has become rather common both by boys and girls. It was not so in those days, about 47 years ago. But crossing the channel in a ship, was just like travelling by train or even by bus or train. I was standing on the deck and was being drenched up to the knees, every few minutes. by the breaking waves.

First Voyage

This was my first sea voyage and really the very first real contact with the sea, about which

I had read or heard so much. I had not seen the sea at Puri, not to speak of Digha, which was not even heard of in those days. I had seen the sea of course in Leningrad and also at Riga but that was from solid terra firma.

I was reminded that for Indian Hindus even for the Bengalees, voyage on the seas was forbidden by the Shastras. I had been to Kabul, Bokhara-Samarkand, Moscow, Berlin, Vienna, Geneva and Paris etc., and though I had taken all kinds of food forbidden for a Findu, yet I was not punishable by orthodox society, unless I confessed. But sea voyage was a different thing. It was on record that I had this sea-voyage, even though for one hour only. That was the time usually taken to cross the channel of 19 miles. So after all I had defied the Hindu Shastras.

The sea was so rough that I felt that the small steamship might go under any moment. I was standing on the deck and looking towards Calais and the French coast which looked very beautiful from the sea. But it was becoming more and more indistinct and my eyes eventually rested on the boat itself, as there was nothing else to see, except the seething waters and high waves breaking on the ship and flooding the decks. I found passengers had started getting sick and the craw were quickly supplying aids to the sea sick passengers. The crew were walking about as if nothing was the matter, though they also tottered a little when going from one place to another.

One crew member came to me and asked whether I also needed any assistance. I thanked him and declined. He complimented me as a "good sailor" and said I must have been on board ships many times. When I told him that it was my very first voyage, he was very much surprised and complimented me again. Though I made a bold face and stood my ground, the sight of so many passengers getting

sick and making all kinds of sounds created some feeling in my system too.

As a result, I sat down on my suit case, which gave me the much needed relief and saved me from admission of defeat to the sea waves.

Dover

Soon the ordeal was over and the sea became calmer. I was now looking at Britain from the sea. "Britannia rules the waves". I admitted it within myself. The sight of Britain or Dover from the sea was not the same as was the sight of France and Calais from the sea. The high cliffs near Dover looked spotlessly white and I remembered that Britain was called Sweta Dwip or white island. At Dover the porters came running as soon as the ship was tied with ropes to the jetty. They behaved almost in the same manner, as the porters at Khulna, Chandpur or Goalanda which I was accustomed to see in my younger days.

One of them enquired where I would go, Learning that I was to go to London by the next train, I was told that the train was standing and waiting for us at the platform. He took out a long rope and started tying carefully my suit cases and bedding and also of 8 other passengers and slung the whole bundle on his back over his shoulder. They do not carry loads on head as in India. I asked him his porter number. He was surprised and even looked shocked. Other passengers, said that it was not necessary. One can trust them. He and other porters followed a different route than the passengers and I could not go along with him. However reaching the platform I found the porter with our luggage waiting there. He put our things in the train and this time I asked other passengers the rate of porterage and paid him 50% more and got a "Thank you" which is

asual, but also a broad smile, because of the extra tip.

At last London

The train reached London soon. Again a British porter took my luggage to a Taxi. I tipped him properly and again a "Thank you" and smile. On introspection, I felt it was really an inferiority complex. While living in Russia, Germany and France, this inferiority complex had practically disappeared, as was normal, but it re-appeared when Britishers, or our the then masters, were concerned. I went to the India Govt. Hostel in Cromwell Road, registered my name and my things were put in my room. I washed, rested for a while in the room and took final decision about what to do.

The Hostel was fairly good and cheap, the arrangements were to my satisfaction, only £1-15 for bed and breakfast per week, i. e. 5 shillings a day. Having locked my room and deposited the key in the Reception, I went out straight to the Labour Party Office and there on the advice of the International Secretary I went to India Office, to find out how to arrange my passport affair. I reported to the British Office where an officer took my statement and application to change my Afghan passport. Then I went out for lunch.

Lions' Restaurant

I went to one of the chain of Lions' Restaurants, for lunch. The Lions' Restaurants had nothing to do with the British Lion. It is one of the two chains of cheap and popular restaurants scattered all over the city, numbering hundreds and managed centrally. The other one was named A. B. C. Both supplied standard simple cheap meals. These are to be found almost at every street corner and patronised by millions, not only because it was cheap, a shilling only at that time, but it was also quick. You could get service almost instantly.

Bomb Shell

I bought one afternoon paper before lunch as is the custom with most people in London. I bought the usual "Mail". The Head Line was "Macdonald defeated in Parliament". Having ordered a standard shilling lunch, I opened the afternoon paper and found that Macdonald had not only been defeated but had resigned also. For coming back to India, I had depended very much on him and his Labour Govt. But now he and his Labour Govt. were gone and my head was already in the Lion's powerful jaws.

Evening Mail

I ordered lunch and before I could see the head lines, knife, spoon and fork, bread and butter and soup were already on the table. When I entered, the house was half full with a capacity of about 50, but before I finished lunch it was full and some were even waiting in queue. The evening paper said that Macdonald resigned after being defeated in Parliament. He was the first Labour Prime Minister of Great Britain. He had no majority of Labour Members in Parliament but due to the wonderful British people and their still more wonderful but unwritten constitution, he was allowed to run the Govt. because the Tory party had suffered many defeats though they still had a majority required to form Govt. Hence the Labour Party, the second biggest Party, having a strength of about 250 in a house of 615 (at that time) was called upon to form Govt. Liberal Party having a little over only one hundred members in Parliament was the third in strength. If Labour had made a Coalition with Liberal, they could form a fairly stable Govt. but Britain does not favour Coalition Govts., unless there is a National Emergency, particularly at wartime. This minority Govt. had been already defeated more than half a dozen times, but this time (I do not remember the issue) Macdonald declared in the House considered would that this vote be naturally of vote confidence and when he was defeated, he resigned. These were in bold head lines in the 'Mail'. The last hope of the support on which I relied to come back to India disappeasred. I had half a mind to return to France the same very day for safety. But this was also difficult, as I had gone to India Office and explained my predicament and, though a cent percent Indian I had taken an Afghan Passport in Moscow and applied for an Indian Passport. My Afghan Passport was deposited there.

The first thing I did, after taking a room in the Cromwell Road Hostel for Indian Students, was to go to the Labour Party Office and meet the International Secretary and totell him all about the situation in which I was and that I wanted Mr. Macdonald's help to go back to India. He advised me to apply to India Office for an Indian Passport. On his advice I went to the India Office and applied for an Indian Passport and I had to deposit with them my Afghan Passport along with my application for the Indian Passport. result was that I had no Passport with me to cross the Channel and to go back to France for safety. If this fall of the Labour Govt. and resignation of Macdonald had taken place just one day earlier, I would never have gone to London. I would have waited in France or elsewhere for developments in Britain, before going there. As I was then without a Passport, I could not leave Britain. On the Continent, one could sneak through national borders if one had no baggage, but between England and France there was a channel 19 miles broad and one could not swim accross it. I thought I had acted in great haste in going to the India office and in depositing my Afghan Passport. But who could have imagined that after being in office

for about one year and being defeated in Parliament six or eight times in the past Macdonald would suddenly resign.

I took my frugal lunch quietly and quickly and went to the river side on the Thames and sat on a bench to read the paper carefully. MacDonald's resignation was irrevocable. The cool breeze over the Thames with full view of Parliament in front of me, brought my thoughts to clearer perspective. I must stick it out in Britain and see the General Elections.

Labour Party

I went to the Labour Party office again after some time and I found all round confusion there. A large number of people had gone there emotionally moved, to find out what next? The Reception Room was full to the brim and the girls in office were busy making connections over the phone with people in the office. But invariably the reply was that the official concerned was busy in some conference or other. I got the same reply when I enquired about International Secretary but I loitered there a little longer to see the reaction on the Labour Party's rank and file. The usual British reserve was not much in evidence on this occasion there. They were discussing the subject of sudden resignation of MacDonald and its possible repercussions. Some were very indignant at the conspiracy of the Tories, others said that it was a golden opportunity for getting absolute majority for Labour in the coming General Elections. I sat in a chair in one corner and listened to the animated conversations and dialogue. It was late afternoon and many workers came directly from their workshops, some even in their working clothes. I talked with a few, picking up a coversation by asking how to reach my home. They also replied in a friendly manner. I did not venture to ask about their reactions to the resignation of the Labour Govt. On the whole, they were very

optimistic, as I found from their conversation, amongst themselves.

Back to the Thames

From the Labour Party office I went to West Minister Bridge on the Thames, by the side of the House of Parliament. Standing on the foot-path in the middle of the Bridge, I was looking at the brightly lit river side and the stream of men and women going on foot, on cycles. on public buses and cars.

I remembered that about 22 years back Lenin stood on the same bridge and said to one of his colleagues (Trotsky, Zinoviev or Stalin) derisively, looking at the Parliament House, "there is their Parliament". It was in 1902, when the Russian Social Democratic Party was splitting into two, Bolshevik and Menshevik. Lenin meant by"their Parliament" Parliament of the Bourgeoisie, not of the working class or of the Revolutionaries like him. But when two of the Communists, viz. Newbold and Saklatwala, were elected to Parliament for the first time, Lenin himself had sent telegrams of congratulations to them inviting them to come to Moscow. I was myself present when Newbold went to Moscow and I saw how he was lionised in Moscow. I also remembered what Lenin had said of the Labour Govt. in Britain. He said "we shall support the Labour Party (in office) as the rope supports a man hanged". After supper in a restaurant I decided to go back early to the Hostel and sleep away the uncertainties and worries and wait for the morning newspapers, to get a clearer picture. I slept soundly as usual. It was my first night in Britain.

Newspapers

As I was disturbed in mind I awoke at 3 A. M. earlier than usual. The newspapers came on the streets not till 5 A. M. My inner voice told me to stick to Britain. It was clear that the issue would be decided by a General

Election. MacDonald was a shrewd Politician and he could have continued for many months. as Prime Minister, in that precarious manner. He had already done so for about one year and could choose his own time to face a General Election after he had shown some ameliorative result and introduced some measures. But the Tories felt that they were losing ground and it was they who forced the issue before it was too late. In the few months in office he could not bring forward any socialistic measures, being in hopeless minority. Whatever might be the result, I was keen to see through the General Election, which would give me an invaluable opportunity to watch and observe the British people. So, I decided to stay on in London, come what may.

I went out and bought 3/4 newspaper... The resignation by Labour Prime Minister was irrevocable and the dissolution of the Parliament immediate and General Election in 6/8 weeks would follow. The press was cautious but the trend was clear. Times and other capitalist papers predicted more losses for Labour, while the Herald predicted Labour gaining a substantial majority. In the plethora of opinions expressed it was difficult for one to assess the real trend. I thought, let opinions take a proper shape and then I would consult Labour Party members and other friends to come to my own conclusion about the election results. In the meantime, I decided to see the Wembley Exhibition, which had really made it easy for me to come to London.

Wembley Exhibition

It was a very big affair, built in one of the suburbs of London on a vast piece of land, may be 100 acres or even more. More than 2 million people already had seen the Exhibition from all over the world. It was a World Exhibition and there were pavilions of most

countries of the world. It showed what Britain can make or was manufacturing at that time. I was delighted to see a beautiful and novel transport system to go from one place to another. The carriages were moving on screws without any drivers. The shaft which drove those vehicles had spiral grooves, near the platforms, where one got on or off, the spiral was very close and so the begies moved very slowly but never stopping and then the spirals became elongated, giving more speed to the cars.

I spent the whole day there, took my meals in one of the large number of restaurants, including the A. B. C. and Lions. There were pavilions of many different countries of the world, including all countries of the for-flung British Empire. There was also an Indian Pavilion run mostly by Indian men and women, living in Britain. It was a fairly big attraction of the Exhibition.

I had seen one exhibition in Moscow only a few months back in the summer of 1924. It was mainly an Agricultural Exhibition in rural setting, the houses being made of wood, walled with Bamboo planks and thatched with straw. It was on and around Lenin Hill and looked like an extended Indian village market in improved style.

The contrast between the Exhibitions in Mossow and London was naturally most marked. Wembley showed all the products of Industries of Britain, which since the Industrial Revolution was the workshop of the world for over one century. Wembley was a big attempt to find overseas customers. In Mossow, the attempt was to show the progress mostly in agriculture in Russia during the first 7 years of the October Revolution. As long as the Wembley Exhibition lasted, I had sisited it once a week, spending the whole day there. The weekends had naturally more visitors both from Britain as well as from

the Continent. Britain got contracts of business of millions and millions of pounds. The British, the nation of shopkeepers, maintained their tradition. After the great devastation of the first world war, it was a big attempt by Britain to be on her feet again.

Mr. & Mrs. D. P. Sinha

In London, one of my habitual companions was Shri D. P. Sinha, Advocate and his wife Mrs. Sinha, a vivacious lady of small size but full of life. Shri Sinha was a big landlord himself and had a very lucractive practice. He was also a member of the Central Legislative Assembly and a hot favourite of Sri Motilal Nehru. In London, their stay was most helpful to me, as most of the expenses of transport and also of meals in the sight seeing or political excursions were borne cheerfully by Shri Sinha. Shri Sinha was also a good companion and we became almost inseparable. They had gone to see Britain and enjoy life with no shortage of funds and I had very little money, but with my experience became their "friend. philosopher and guide". Shri Sinha was also very helpful in giving me all possible help and introduction to political leaders to get me Our friendship' became back to India. lifelong and lasted through all his successes and misfortunes including the death of Mrs. Sinha.

Shri S. K. Lahiri

Another person, who became my lifelong friend, was Shri S. K. Lahiri. He was a Brahmo, a near relative of Shri Heramba Maitra. A bachelor of un-impeachable character and gentle and sympathetic to a fault, he became deeply interested in me. We two were of two opposite temperaments; he was very gentle and cautious and moderate in politics, while I was just the opposite. He was not rich and could not help me much with money, except inviting me to some meals. He

paid me £ 2/- once most apologetically saying that he could not pay more, but assured me that if I were at the point of starvation, I could always approach him. But respecting his feelings for me and his difficulty I never approached him, though he often enquired whether I needed any help. Actually, I had resolved to keep a balance of a minimum £ 5/- in my pocket which I would not touch even if I had to miss a meal or take "hotdogs and tea" for a meal. This was for extreme emergency. I had this "Reserve" with me even when I came back to India and rejoined my family and it was very helpful.

Rathindra and Pratima Tagore

Through Shri Lahiri, I was introduced to Shri Rathindra Nath Tagore, the only son of the Nobel Prize winner Gurudev Rabindra Nath, Rathi Babu and his beautiful and talented wife Pratima were in London for a holiday or perhaps for arranging some tour for Gurudev. Their adopted daughter Nandini, about 2/3 years old at that time, was also with them. They were staying in Regina Hotel, one of the two Hotels owned and managed by one Shri Majumder. I was received with exceptional warmth by both Rathi Babu and Pratima Devi, as they had heard exaggereted reports of my exploits in Kabul and Moscow etc. through Shri Lahiri. The first meeting was a very pleasant one, they being eager to know more about me and my travels. I told them of my travels and troubles also.

In the next meeting, over a meal, I think, there was a serious proposal made to me by Rathi Babu. The Poet had a great admirer in Brazil, who invited the Poet to stay with her for sometime and offered 50 or 100 thousand acres of land, to the Poet to build a colony or another Shanti Niketan there. Rathi Babu strongly felt that I with all my dash and initiative would be the ideal person to undertake this task. It was a very tempting offer no

doubt. Rathi Babu argued persuasively and elaborately, in which Pratima Devi and Mr. Lahiri joined.

Going back to India, if I succeeded to do so, would mean at least four years in jail and then hard work, like thousands of others trying to earn bread for the family. The alternative was to build a colony for Gurudev where many Bengalees would also be employed and rehabilitated. I shall acquire experience of large scale farming, dairy, poultry etc., builc a name for me and go back to India with a reputation and also a big purse of my own of 15 or 20 thousand rupees. I could take my family there to live with me in the meantime as long as I wished to live there. It would be a patriotic act and enhance the prestige o' Bengal and of India. It was a very tempting proposition. It would incidentally be an alternative home for Gurudev, and also of a thousand Bengali families in South America.

I was reminded of colonel Suresh Biswas who had gone to Brazil and married and settled there and also played a heroic part in the Revolutionary Military Campaigns there. He became a colonel and then rose to higher cadre of the army there. He rose from the team of a circus party. All these allured me but I felt the Indian National Revolution was round the corner and Social Revolution would follow suit, if not in ten months as ir Russia, but at the most within ten years. How could I bind myself in a contract for four years, doing farming, dairy, etc., in a distant land?

I took much time to consider all aspects and after a few days told Rathi Babu and Pratima Devi, that if I failed to go back to India easily, I might accept their offer. In the meantime 2 or 3 others might be sent there immediately to make preliminary survey and preparations and I might join later. This

naturally did not create much enthusiasm in them.

The owner and manager of the Hotel where Rathi Babu and Pratima Devi were living, Shri Majumder was an interesting and enterprising man. He knew very little English, managed to go to London, worked as a dish washer in a hotel and made his way unwards and was then the owner of one hotel and then of two hotels.

He married one waitress of the hotel and was in a very affluent financial position. Poet Fabindranath, whenever he was in London,

used to stay in his Hotel Regina and so did his son and daughter-in-law. Shri Lahiri had approached him to give some financial help to me. He gave me a closed envelope containing £1/-. I never approached him again. But he offerred to make me Manager of one of his Hotels on decent remuneration and of course free board and lodging. The offer was tempting, specially due to the prospect of getting delicious food, but my mind was restless to come back to India. Therefore I could not accept the offer.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THAT NECESSARY EVIL

S. K. ADHIKARI

Ours is a sovereign democratic republic. Democracy can stand on a firm footing if and when the people at large are fairly educated and intelligent enough to understand the true implications of democratic rule. The people needs must appreciate the virtues of nationa-Lsm and inter-nationalism. Eternal vigilance, the foundation of liberty, can be expected only from people that have received a good general education. Hence the importance of education or mass education has been earnestly scressed by all men of patriotic zeal, by the shapers of destiny of a nation. Liberty coupled with education has always been and should always be given top priority by the people who pilot the ship of state. Education, as a rule, should be broad-based. The aim is not to commit to memory a few pages, not to read something of everything and never to get a

pass in the examination or to obtain a degree. The planners of a democratic government or an under-developed country will be doing a distinct service if they can do away with the idea of the growing generation that a degree obtained by hook or by crook is a passport to employment. They have also to make the community understand what happens in other progressive countries where collegiate and university education is meant for the selected few. The doors of higher education should be thrown open to only such students as bid fair to make a definite and distinguished contribution to the arts and sciences. Our sub-continent has got immense resources to be tapped and harnessed. Those at the helm can make or mar this ancient land of ours by their selfless or selfish motives. The population problem, the refugee

problem, the destructive methods adopted by the so-called revolutionary parties, lack of employment opportunities, absence of private enterprise and the activities of the fifth column and the like have brought in their train the growth of anti-social elements in the country in geometric progression. The government in power can start from the bottom. And the first step or measure that they can take is the reformation of the educational structure and re-orientation of the examination system.

The term 'examination' has been aptly described as a necessary evil. It is as old as civilization itself. It has almost run parallel to human knowledge and expansion of ideas and spread of education. And, it is in the fitness of things that education and examination go hand in hand. Our knowledge in a subject is accepted only when we can make a threadbare analysis of it and form the capacity of explaining the why and wherefore of it in a /lucid way and speak fairly on any and every question based on the subject. It also implies close study and scrutiny and the power to grasp any ideas connected with it. By and by, an intelligent interest in the subject will lead the learners to know more and more and then to carry on researches. There is, therefore, nothing like "thus far and farther" in studying a subject. An examination in a subject has far-reaching consequences in the sense that it helps the learners extend their boundaries of knowledge of the subject under study.

Leaving aside the philosophical nature of examinations let us think of its practical aspect. A learner must attain certain norm or standard to prove his grasp of the subject. To make an assessment of it we must have recourse to examination of some kind. The system of holding oral and written examination has been long in vogue. With the spread of education on a mass scale, the oral examination has been long in vogue.

nation system has been practically eclipsed by the written one. In almost all countries of the world written examinations are being conducted to test the students' mastery or skill in a subject. Sometimes written examinations are supplemented by oral and practical tests.

While higher education is not for the general masses, a pass in an examination, or a degree of a university has become a must for some suitable provision or employment. • By and by corruption has crept in the examination system. The uncongenial environment brought about by causes-social, economic and political—has degraded the society to a great extent; and being brought up in such an atmosphere the major section of students consider it to be no disgrace to openly adopt dishonest or unfair means to gain their ends. The present unrest among students is not an accident; it is, rather, a natural consequence of prevailing circumstan-Now mass copying has become the order of the day in examination halls. Misguided young learners now try to obtain a degree or diploma by fair means or foul only with the hope that it will qualify them for a Unemployment makes them an easy prey to so-called leaders wedded to selfish motives. Naturally patriotic feelings have been given the go-by by the mis-guided section. Undigested political catch-words and phrases, ideas foreign to those of indigenous growth have been eating into the very vitals of the country, Hence indiscipline, disregard of and disrespect to elders and chaos and disorder, crimes and excesses have gained ground. In class rooms the teachers and professors are being heckled; in examination halls the invigilators are being threatned. In public and private life everything unholy has set in. We are rather living in an undeferential age. No one knows when one mental rehabilitation' will take place.

Our primary task is re-orientation in the examination system. Adoption of the Semester Process has proved successful in many an institution. Eminent thinkers and educationists highly recommend New-Type Objective Tests, Oral Tests or Viva Voce. General Intelligence Tests like Binet-Simon Tests, Standardised Tests, Cumulative Record Cards etc. to assess the merit and ability of z candidate. All examinations will be of such a nature as will test the real merit of a candidate. There must remain no chance or loop-hole for copying out an answer; and this can be arrested when a lot of care is taken to frame questions. The paper-setters must be men of experience and imagination. Whatever is stereo-typed should better be discarded. The standard of examination should be very high and stiff. Those at the h∋lm of educational affairs in the country will seek the help of psychologists as they alone can select the right man for the right job. Psychologists can guide educationists in

the matter of selection and rejection students hankering after higher education. The Radha Krishnan Commission rightly diagnosed the malaise in the examination system prevailing in our country. It hinted at the maintenance of several conditions of a good examination by adhering to the characteristics of validity, adequacy, objectivity, easy administrability, marking and interpretation. All tests and examinations must have to be designed with educational ends in view. In short, the temptations of cheating, corruption and favouritism should have no place in future examination system. intellectual ability tests, achievement tests, measurement, testing and appraisal should immediately be made the essential elements of educational procedure.

The standardised tests may be supplemented by teacher-made tests. Objective testing does not rule out the Essay-type examination. A happy synthesis of Essay-type tests and objective tests may help the educators reach their goal.



THE UNITED NATIONS 25TH ANNIVERSARY ITS CONTRIBUTIONS AND FAILURES

BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

United Nations' 25th birth celebrations got under way with the recognition that the atomic bomb is atmost of the same age. And the generation of mankind born after the United Nations was founded is more than half man kind. The festivities ended, with the completion of business of the General Assembly on December 15th, 1970 and officially closed on 17th January, 1971.

United Nations, unlike the old League of Nations, has become a permanent institution. The functioning of the United Nations is hampered, however, due to its charter defects and also due to power rivalry of the two super powers, who often flout the will of mankind and ignore the United Nations existence whenever their selfish interests serve them best.

When the United Nations was founded it had 51 members; all were industrialized and potentially rich nations. Today it has 127—a majority of them young, underdeveloped and poor. Therefore the activity in the post 25th anniversary period of the United Nations will never be the same as before. The super powers no longer command immovable blocks. Besides, the issues have become global in nature. The cold war issues between the super powers are gone and replaced by matters of common interest to all mankind-such as economically advanced and backward nations (rich and poor) population explosion, pollution of air, rivers and seas, international drug traffic, universal education, technical aid, etc.

One of the factors that many fail to recognise is that 15 specialised agencies have

become the chief dispenser of multilateral, unilateral and unselfish technical assistance to the underdeveloped nations. When one speaks of the failures of the United Nations, as pointed out earlier, due to the selfish activities of the super powers, one must point out that the noble and unselfish efforts of these organizations such as UNICEF, UNESCO, W. H. O., W. F. & A. O., etc. have to be recognized.

The United Nations is doing pioneering work on a whole new body of international law that will bring greater measures of order into man's activities in space, at the sea bottom, etc.

A set of legal principles to regulate relations between states has been formulated by the United Nations as a basis for a future code of international law. It was approved without objection early this year by the 121-member Legal Committee of the General Assembly in a resolution sponsored by 64 delegations.

The document entitled "Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Gooperation among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations" eontains the following principles:

- 1) "The principle that states shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations."
- 2) "The principle that states shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means

in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered."

- 3) "The duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any state, in accordance with the (U. N.) Charter."
- 4) "The duty of states to co-operate with one another in accordance with the Charter."
- 5) "The principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples."
- 6) "The principle that states shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assessed by them in accordance with the Charter."

The United Nations organization assured of one per cent, of its national income by a super power. This was in keeping with the demands of the poorer lands from the wealthier ones to contribute one per cent of their annual national income to aid poorer lands. The United States did a great service to mankind by the announcement in the 25th anniversary session of the United Nations. Some diplomats felt that U.S. was not too serious about this declaration. Yet it is a step in the right direction, with the assumption that if the super power the United States of America take this crucial step, other rich nations will follow her footsteps.

Another achievement of the United Nations 25th anniversary session was the overwhelming endorsement by the General Assembly Political Committee of a draft treaty to bar weapons of mass destruction from the seabed. This is a positive achievement for the United Nations. The significance lies not so much in the treaty itself as in the manner in which it was negotiated.

The pact does nothing to reduce the current balance of terror, since it does not cover submarines armed with nuclear weapons or any other existing seabed weapon. But there are elements in the draft and in the manner in which it reached final form that offer encouragement for future negotiations on more urgent disarmament issues.

The United States and the Soviet Union entered discussions at the 26-nation Geneva Disarmament Conference two years ago with widely disparate positions on the seabed question. Under strong pressure from the smaller powers, the Big Two resolved their own differences and finally accepted significant modifications in a draft they jointly tried, without success, to pass through the General Assembly last year.

In a more formal touch, the 25th anniversary declaration was adopted, reaffirming the principles of the Charter, although the Africans wanted to name Rhodesia, South Africa and Portugal as the main colonial masters of today. Racism of these lands was the deep concern of all mankind.

A search for peace in the Middle East has been elusive since the State of Israel was founded in 1948. The new cease fire has been extended to February 1971. This is a good omen for all humanity. In consequence the possibility of a global war has receded a bit, as one super power is backing the Jews while the other the Arabs.

The super powers and members of the United Nations have reaffirmed to carry over the "Resolution 242 of November 1967, as a guide to a Middle East settlement".

A permanent peace in the Middle East demands the establishment of a secular Palestinian Democratic State, where Jews, Arabs and Christians—all semetic-speaking peoples—may live in peace and brotherhood. All other kinds of settlements will be temporary expedients devoid of an honourable settlement for all segments of the people who inhabit this region.

Although the perennial resolution on seating Communist China at the United Nations failed to gain the necessary two-shirds majority, this year's General Assembly vote on the issue represented a breakthrough for

Peking and its supporters and is therefore of

major significance.

For the first time the resolution to seat mainland China and expel Nationalist China (Taiwan) won a simple majority—by 51 votes to 49, with 25 abstentions. However, the Assembly had decided to consider the resolution an "important question," requiring a two-thirds majority for adoption.

The growing trend in favour of its admission greatly enhance Communist China's prospects of gaining acceptance next year.

The United Nations cannot function effectively by ignoring the existence of one-forth of mankind who live in the mainland of China.

The nations of the world spent a total of \$180.1 billion for their military establishments during 1969, with the United States leading the way, according to a yearbook issued by the Stockolm International Peace Research Institute.

The Institute, set up as an independent foundation in 1966 by the Swedish Government, said expenditures were about the same last year as in the year before. They will be lower this year by about 2 per cent, the yearbook added, after an increase of 30 per cent from 1966 to 1968.

The Institute said the United States spent \$79.8 billion of the \$105.1 billion paid by members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the Soviet Union paid out \$42.1 billion of the Warsaw Pact's total of \$49.2 billion.

Budgeted military expenditure by the United States will be 7.5% lower this year, compared with a Soviet outlay that will be 0.9 per cent higher, the yearbook added. It also added that NATO's budget would show a decrease of 5.5%, while the Warsaw Pact's will increase by 1.8%.

In the Middle East, the yearbook said, Egypt spent \$982.1 million in 1969 and planned to raise that figure by 19.9% this year. Israel spent \$790 million and budgeted an increase of 26.7% for 1970. If this money

were spent on mankind there would be no poverty in the world. There would be social justice and possibly no war, and the hard of the United Nations would be strengthened.

The United Nations persistent inability to keep the peace is the central issue of the World Organization. It was created to keep peace and successes of its subsidiary organizations will be dwarfed by this failure. Mankind has given the United Nations a mandate to establish peace-keeping machinery. The Specia Committee on Peace-keeping, which has beer studying the subject for five years, came before the General Assembly this year with a report of no progress. Both the Middle East and Indo-China need some kind of United Nation peace force. Mankind has to hope that ar international peace force will be established by the United Nations General Assembly in the near future.

For over 25 years mankind has, with the use of the world body, pressed hard for ways to make it more effective and to broaden its scope for good. With all its drawbacks it has provided an international forum for world leaders to gather to exchange views privately and publicly.

It has provided a forum for critical and complex issues of peace and war in the Middle East, Congo, Cyprus, Indian subcontinent.

The United Nations in the annals of markind is the most inclusive international body. Notwithstanding the multitude of unsolved problems the World Organization is surely overcoming its obstacles to serve mankind better

What divides mankind? Greed, hatred, racism, inherited prejudices and so on. The United Nations is a forum to overcome these maladies of fellow men and mankind as a whole.

The United Nations today is more mature than at its birth. An international body like this is an imperative need and crucially desirable. Let it grow into a larger, nobler and activist organization in this atomic, supersonic and inter-planetary age, to serve and preserve the heritage of mankind.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE UN

NIRMALENDU BIKASH RAKSHIT

Human Rights in Bangladesh

If the primary objective of the UN is the promotion of human well-being, the question of human rights necessarily assumes paramount importance. The history of yesteryears shows that more often than not international disputes have originated in the planned oppression of the national minorities or racial groups. There are glaring examples of such so-did incidents in the annals of human civilization. In the nineteenth century, the brutal tyranny of the white masters over the poor Africans shocked the conscience of humanity at large. In more recent years, Nazi persecution on the Jews had horrified all morally conscious people.

So, the UN seeks to achieve international co-operation in 'promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion [Art. 1(3)]. Eichelberger observes that no part of the Charter better illustrates the obligations that the members undertake for individual and collective action than the human rights provisions. Art. 55 imposes upon the UN obligations to promote human rights. Then, Art. 56 declares: All members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the organisation for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Art. 55'.

Art. 62(2) of the Charter enjoins upon the Ezonomic and Social Council the task of making recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for and observance of human rights for all. It may prepare draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly with respect to these rights [Art.

62(3)]. Again, Art. 68 stipulates that it shall set up commissions for the promotion of human rights.

Commission on Rights:

The task of drawing up a declaration of general principles and a treaty containing binding obligations was, however, entrusted to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. After laborious work, it has produced an international bill of human rights. It is divided into three parts. The first part contains the declaration, the second has a covenant and the third provides for an enforcing machinery.

The Assembly adopted the Universal Declarations of Human Rights on December 10, 1948. Before its adoption, the Chairman, Mrs. Roosevelt, stated that it was first and foremost declaration of the basic principles to serve as a common standard for all nations. It might well become, she added, the Magna Carta for mankind.

As far as the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights is concerned, ratifying nations are to report to the UN on the progress towards the achievement of these rights. Human Rights Committee has also been set up to which state parties can complain against other powers.

Violation:

The military junta of Pakistan had unleashed a barbarous attack on the masses whose only fault was the choice of their trusted representatives in the last national election. History, however, records a number of sordid examples of entrenched tyranny of governments over their own people. But the recent brutality perpetrated by the army in Bangla-

desh had meanwhile surpassed the worst in the catalogue of human crime. While several lakhs of people had laid down their lives, about a crore of unfortunate evacuees had taken refuge inside Indian territory. Yet, the freedom-fighters were holding their ground with undefeated spirit. This marks the epic struggle for freedom of an aggrieved people against the might of a political usurper.

The heroic suffering and death of the martyrs are not, however, discernible from outside. Even the proofs of indiscriminate massacre of the civilian people can largely be wiped out by the Pak authorities. But the uprooted refugees of Bangladesh who could be regarded as the casualties of civilisation, had to be convinced that the Makers of the Charter desired that the people of the world should enjoy some Fundamental Freedoms without any infringements whatsoever.

Thus, it is evident that the following rights had been infringed by the Pak authorities:

- 1. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights (Art. 1).
- 2. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion etc. (Art. 2).
- 3. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person (Art. 4).
- 4. No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (Art. 6).
- 5. All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law (Art. 8).
- 6. Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law (Art. 9).
 - 7. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile. (Art. 10).

- 8. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law. No one shall be held guilty for any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence; nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed (Art. 12).
- 9. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his family, home or correspondence nor to attacks upon a honour and reputation (Art. 19).
- Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. (Art. 19).
- 11. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression. (Art. 20).
- 12. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association. No one can be compelled to belong to an association (Art. 21).
- 13. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country directly or through freely chosen representatives (Art. 22).
- 14. Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to the realisation, through national effort and international co-operation, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality (Art. 23).

Genocide :

The Genocide convention was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly on December 9, 1948. The word genocide was obviously coined to describe what the Germans attempted to do—to destroy a whole people on the basis of race, culture and religion. The convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of Genocide makes provie

sions for punishing persons committing genocide, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private persons (Art. IV). Under the convention, genocide or conspiracy to commit genocide should be punishable by national courts or by an international criminal court.

But, the people of Bangladesh had been subjected to a relentles persecution by an attack on their inalienable right of self-determination. A total people had thus been persecuted and gruesome treatment was meted out in order to destroy a culture, a tradition, a race and a nation. History has obviously repeated itself. The horrible genocide perpetrated by the Nazis during the forties had once again inspired a malignant ruler.

Disquieting:

It is evident that neither the UN nor any of its specialised organs can enforce these rights by any legal mechanism. Lauterpacht thinks that certain factors are playing in favour of these rights, yet the Declaration of Human Rights has now become a dead-letter. Kelson correctly observes that the rights cannot create any binding obligations upon the states. And, as Quincy Wright points out, the growing tendency is to assume that the obligations accepted by the members in respect of Human Rights are very much limited. This is why Schwarzenberger has taken a very pessimitic attitude. Of course, it is agreed that the nations would have a right to proceed under chapters VI and VII of the Charter if the continuance of a violation of human rights is so serious as to threaten the peace of the world. As Eichelberger puts it, this has been the basis of the African damand for sanctions against apartheid. Yet he observes: 'The charter of the United Nations provides for the enforcement of peace. It falls short in providing for the enforcement of human rights'.

So, Goodrich rightly concludes that the difference as to what these rights are and the relative importance attached to them by individual states practically vitiates their general acceptance. Thus, even the states which had been so vociferous to condemn any alleged contravention of Human Rights or perpetration of genocide, had become silent onlookers of human degradation in Bangladesh.

Conclusion:

The insolent brutality in Bangladesh and the calculated inactivity of the UN thereupon have proved that the UN, after twenty years of its existence, has become fully ineffective. Though the Makers have registered their respect for Human Rights and the UN has subsequently established specialised agencies for the codification and promotion of such rights, yet, people in some parts of the world are still the helpless victims of the ambition of their autocratic rulers.

Bangladesh is a fresh example of such ruthless tyranny. Neither the Security Council nor any specialised agency has so far raised its voice against this monstrous repudiation of Human Rights. The legal experts may think whether the Bangladesh Government can profitably seek redress in the International Court. But, meanwhile, we may only remind the UN that Dag Hammarskjoeld, once said: 'We know that the question of peace and the question of human rights are closely related. Without recognition of human rights we shall a never have peace.....'

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON CO-OPERATIVE MARKETING OF FARM PRODUCTS

H. MAHABALESHWARIAH

Indian agriculture presents varied problems in the marketing of farm products. In the present context of the country's agriculture where heavy marketable surplus is recorded in many areas of the agricultural field, the distribution of surplus products for marketing calls for urgent attention of the policy makers. According to mid-term appraisal of the Fourth Five Year Plan we have produced 107.82 million tonnes of food grains, 9.12 million tonnes of oilseeds, 13.19 million tonnes of sugarcane (gur), 5.56 million bales of cotton and 4.91 million bales of jute in 1970-71 and the anticipated achievements for 1971-72 are 112,00 million tonnes of food grains, 9.50 million tonnes of oilseeds, 13.70 tonnes of sugarcane (gur), 6.20 million bales of cotton, and 6.40 million bales of jute. The area under High Yielding Varieties has increased from 11.41 million hectares in 1969-70 to 14.61 million hectares in 1970-71 and the anticipated area under High Yielding Varieties in 1971-72 would be 18.00 million hectares. The strategy adopted to produce more in the field of agriculture has resulted in increased production in general. Increased production naturally will result in more marketable surplus. As a part of strategy adopted in the Fourth Five Year Plan, improvement in the agricultural marketing system in the interest of the producer along with assurance of minimum prices for major agricultural commodities has been initiated. Establishment of regulated markets in all important marketing centres has been one of the measures proposed for the development of the marketing infrastructure in the country. In the beginning of the Fourth plan, the number of regulated markets and sub-

market yards were 1844, and about 1300 markets and sub-market yards are yet to be brought under regulation in the country during Fourth plan period.

Even after having regulated markets all over the country the voluntary associations like Co-operative Institutions play an important role in the orderly marketing of agricultural The functioning of co-operative produce. marketing societies within the frame work of regulated markets occupies an important place in the promotion and development of regulated markets and help to achieve the objectives of the regulated markets. Marketing of agricultural produce through co-operative institutions is the solution to overcome the defects in the marketing of farm commoditities. The farmer is conscious of economic interests and marketing of his produce is a matter of great importance for him. Marketing is part and parcel of the production. Merely raising a good crop is not sufficient for the farmer, he should also get fair price for his produce. The private marketing agencies who perform the function of marketing are not desirable as the farmer is found to be at a great disadvantage in dealing with them. It is observed that the private agencies have certain defects in their system. They indulge in a lot of malpractices such as arbitrary deductions from the sales proceeds, multiplicity of market charges, unauthorised deductions, manipulation weights and measures, collusion with brokers and buyers, absence of grading and standardization of agricultural produce, defective sorting and adulteration of produce, superfluous middlemen, lack of storage facilities.

forced sales, etc. To overcome all these defects effectively marketing of farm produce through co-operative institutions was introduced. Co-operative Marketing of farm produce is an important feature of the co-operative movement and it has played a prominent role in the country where 10 per cent of the marketable surplus has been handled by the co-operative institutions during the Second plan period as envisaged in the plan. With the increased emphasis on co-operative marketing in subsequent plans, it assumes still greater significance in advancing facilities to farmers in the country.

Benefit of co-operative marketing

Fair price: The main and foremost advantage of the co-operative marketing system is to have fair price for the farmers' produce. It is found that the farmer gets a very small share from the consumers' money. The cooperative marketing of agricultural produce, if efficiently carried out, should help to reduce the price spread between the producer and the consumer, thereby ensuring a better return to the primary producer. Fair price for the farm produce is also ensured by checking all malpractices and by reducing the number of middlemen who take a major share of the profits. This can be ensured effectively only in co-operative institutions. Recent Tempirical studies have shown that small.farmers sell?all their marketable surplus in order to meet their other consumption needs even at the cost of their necessary consumption. The big farmers retain certain portion of marketable surplus and they release their stocks only when they get higher prices. To ensure a fair and better price for small farmers who form the major bulk of the farming population and who have not got the benefit of new technology, the co-operative marking societies can play a positive role.

Stabilization of prices: In an ordinary market the profit motive on the part of middle-

men leads to price manipulations and the consequent fluctuation of prices is the result. If the co-operative marketing develops on a larger scale, it can help in the stabilization of prices over long periods by adjusting the supply according to market demand.

Ancillary services: The co-operative marketing societies can undertake the functions like decorticating, dehusking, ginning of cotton, grinding, and such other processing activities. It is possible for a co-operative marketing society to undertake such items because it will have large supply at its command, whereas ordinary farmers can not do so because of the small quantity of farm produce with them.

Grading and standardization of products: Grading and standardization of farm commodities can be undertaken by the co-operative societies very efficiently and graded and standardized products will naturally fetch better prices in the market. This function can not be easily taken up by an ordinary cultivator because of the small produce at his command.

Scientific storage: The marketing societies can have godowns of their own and store their commodities in a scientific way, protected against store pests, rats and rodents, etc. Suitable measures could be taken to protect the produce from loss due to dampness or excess of moisture.

Weights and measures: The co-operative institutions will ensure correct weights and measures to farmers whereas private agencies will not do so. This is because a private agency will have a profit motive behind its actions.

Co-operative credit: The promotion of cooperative marketing in India should receive a high priority, not merely because co-operative marketing is desirable as such but also because it is an essential pre-requisite for the large scale expansion of co-operative credit. The linking of credit with marketing scheme envisages the recovery of the loans due to the village credit societies from the value of the members' produce sold by the marketers. The co-operative marketing societies are expected to ensure better return to the members on the produce raised by them and they will act as agents for the recovery of loans advanced by co-operative credit societies and thereby bring about the necessary link between credit and marketing. Apart from this, the marketing societies will have better bargaining power inthe market compared to private individuals and they can ensure better returns for the farmers.

No unauthorised deductions: In a cooperative society there will not be any unauthorised deductions (which are found with private merchants) since it will be an organization of producers.

Open auction:

Open auction of the commodities is ensured in a co-operative society. The produce is auctioned in front of farmer and if a farmer wishes to sell at the price that is offered he can do so, otherwise he can postpone the marketing of his commodity. Whereas in private agency the price is fixed without the knowledge of the farmer and the farmer is at a great disadvantage. In many markets in India fixing of price is done under This also does not give any idea about the price in the market to the farmers. The private merchants in many markets form rings and manipulate prices, which could be checked effectively through co-operative marketing.

Disputes settled through a committee :

If there are any disputes between the farmer and the buyer it can be settled fairly through a committee, whereas in case of private merchants the disputes will be settled always in favour of the buyer and not the farmer.

Even in regulated markets where official committees work to settle disputes, the cooperative institutions can play an important role in providing leadership and help to settle the disputes favourably to the producer.

Market news:

Market news regarding prices prevailing in the market can be supplied to the members of the society and thus keep them informed about the market situation. This is possible for a co-operative society as against individual merchants.

Helps in change:

The regulated markets always found it difficult to enforce new development measures in the markets. The private agencies always resist change. To overcome this, co-operative marketing societies can give a lead so that people take the development in good faith. This takes a long time, but when one takes the lead all others would follow one by one. There is, therefore, a need for a party that could initiate acceptance of such measures and co-operative marketing society could be the best party for this.

Progress of co-operative marketing in the country.

In the First Five Year Plan the need for the development of co-operative marketing along with co-operative credit was emphasized. After the publication of the Rural Credit Survey report the need for an integrated development of the co-operative structure The report envisaged the growth of co-operative marketing societies various levels. Ιt also recommended financial assistance to co-operative marketing initial societies at the stages. assistance was to cover State participation in the share capital, loan and subsidy for godowns and subsidy for managerial staff when the co-operative societies were at the formulative stage.

The Second Five Year Plan envisaged the organization of 1800 marketing societies at important mandis as against which over 1869 societies were organized or reorganized. Further, that in each State Apex Marketing Societies have been set up as was the target. During this plan the co-operatives handled ten per cent of the marketable surplus as envisaged in the plan. It was estimated that 190 societies handled goods worth Rs 2000 crees of agricultural produce in the country. "in the course of the Second plan, about 1670 gocowns and 378 processing units were set up--84 cotton ginning and pressing units, 109 rice mil's and hullers, 20 oil mills, 17 jute baling plants, 26 groundnut decorticator plants, and 122 other units besides 30 co-operative sugar factories," "At the end of June 1968, there were 3280 primary marketing societies, in addition to over 1000 societies which had sprung up outside the programme under the There were also 161 district-level marketing marketing societies, 24 Apex societies, 3 state-level commodity federations and one national co-operative marketing federation. The total value of agricultural produce handled by co-operative marketing someties rose from Rs 53 crores in 1955-56 to Rs 170 crores in 1960-61 and to Rs 209 crores in 1965-66, and to Rs 580 crores in 1968-69. The figures show that, there has been substantial increase in the operations of marketing socreties at various levels".

During the Fourth plan period steps will be taken to strengthen the existing co-operative marketing structure, especially at the primary level. The marketing federations at the State and National level will be strengthened to enable them to reach optimum efficiency and to provide the requisite leadership, financial support and guidance to their affiliated institutions.

Conclusions:

To help the farmer to derive the benefit production. development · of of increased co-operative marketing institutions at village level is essential. As has been pointed out from different studies most of the small farmers dispose of their small surplus at village level, the benefit of deriving maximum returns for his effort should be provided to him. Man resists change. No regulated markets have got their role to play in providing better returns to farmers. The element of compulsion creates more time lag in having better marketing practices to follow. In this context co-operatives have got wide scope to develop and can bring in the desired change in much shorter time. Apart from this, to provide more facilities and benefits of better marketing to a majority of farming population at village level who are economically not sound, the co-operative is the effective answer.

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Current Affairs

Union Budget 1972-73

Mr. M. R. Pai, secretary, Forum of Free Enterprise, says in a Press Release:

We should...judge the Budget from its long-term consequences for the general public.

As soon as we view the Budget from this angle, we...find this Budget continues the tradition of all Budgets since 1957—inflation which is harmful to the general public and the national interests from a long-term viewpoint.

Inflation, or a steady and sustained rise in prices all round, arises from mismanagement of economic affairs.

Mismanagement of the economy results in an undue increase in money supply without a proportionate increase in goods and services which people want to buy.

In the 1972-73 Budget, the Revenue and Capital Budgets present the following picture.

	Reven u e Budget	Capital Budget		
	(in crores of rupees)			
Incomings	4,476	2,095		
Outgoings	4,124	2,689		
	-			
	+ 352	 594		

Cumulative result: Deficit of Rs. 242 crores

The real deficit will be much bigger. The Budget has been cleverly structured to conceal a much larger deficit as otherwise there would be a public hue and cry against a large dose of deficit financing. The deficits concealed are as follows:

(a) Credit has been taken for Reserve Bank of India profits transferred to the Government. These are not real profits arising from the banking activities of the Reserve Bank. They are fictitious profits because they arise from the deficit financing activities of the Central Government whereby the Reserve Bank becomes a supplier of fresh currency notes to the Government, earning a "profit" on that activity!

- (b) The Finance Minister has spoken of "borrowings from financial institutions". What he means is Government borrowings from the nationalized banks. These, generally result in creation of fresh monies.
- (c) Unauthorised overdrafts of State governments on the Reserve Bank of India result eventually in deficit financing. These were to be stopped from 1st April, according to the Planning Minister. The Finance Minister has allowed their continuance. Already these deficits have mounted up to nearly Rs. 450 crores.
- (d) The transactions with regard to PL 480 funds may also result in creation of fresh monies.

Thus, it will be seen, there will be a much bigger deficit than Rs. 242 crores indicated by the Finance Minister.

The other inflationary factors are in the excise duties levied in the Budget...

There is a ... set of indirect taxes which will give a spurt to inflation. They are duties on steel, cement and tyre. These are basic items in our process of industrialisation. An additional levy on them will push the entire cost structure of our economy.

It is, however, no use merely complaining against these harmful effects of the Budget proposals without understanding the basic economic philosophy of the Budget and the government. That is summed up in the phrase "mobilisation of resources". This turns out to be more and more direct and direct taxes, and deficit financing.

The real problem of our economy is different: proper utilisation of scarce resources. Here, the governmental machinery fails the country completely. for instance, in the the Government had set 1971-72 Budget, aside Rs. 75 crores for creating jobs for the unemployed. This was a high priority item. The Government has not been able to use this budgetary allocation to create jobs. "Economic Survey" According the to presented to Parliament, only Rs. 3.1 crores had been used. The Finance Minister also admitted this deficiency in his Budget speech, and observed that "timely preparation and selection of projects and speedy implementation are equally important,"

All along the line, the Central and State Governments have lost their capacity to use public funds in the best possible economic manner. Partly, this is due to Government's increased commitmen ts and partly because by training and temperament politicians and government officers are not suited competent to run business and industrial activities. This is graphically illustrated by the operation of the Public Sector. investment of about Rs. 4,000 crores, end of March 1971, the return was negative—a loss of about Rs. 30 crores.

There should be a radical departure in the present economic ideology if the Budget is to become an instrument for promoting economic growth with social justice. Ideology should give way to pragmatism. Government should attend to its basic functions, allow people to create wealth, regulate the process of wealth creation and take away a reasonable proportion of such wealth through taxes and use it for public welfare. If this path is not chosen

voluntarily, after many more years of wandering in the dreary sands of ideology, some day the country will have to take that path of pragmatism and progress.

The "Hare Krishna" International

Blitz published a strongly worded analysis of the Iskcon movement which is American aided and has brought to India many white American "Vaishnavas" who are trying to develop Krishna consciousness among Indians. These Americans appear obnoxious to many Indians and are, perhaps, lowering the spiritual level of India's religious institutions. Blitz writes:

. Revolting parody of religion

They literally shout HARE RAMA HARE RAMA, RAMA RAMA HARE HARE: HARE KRISHNA HARE KRISHNA KRISHNA KRISHNA HARE HARE at the top of their voices, with no rhythm or correct intonation or bhava.

Far from evoking any spiritual feeling they give the impression of ridiculing Lord Krishna. Lord Krishna never wanted any outward display of devotion. The quintesscence of his teachings is "Remember me, love me."

Never was a more revolting and obnoxious parody of religion witnessed than in the antics of a set of alien buffoons in their recent "transcendental drama", as their nightly pranks are styled in the posters, enacting Krishna's fight with the serpent demon Kaliya. It was a horrible farce. The typical Yankee script and accent only served to underline the mockery that was made of religion............

Rich sinners and tax-dodgers are coming forward with large donations hoping to wash away their sins. Even in India the chanting tamasha is staged by the foreign Munis.......

These presumptuous pranksters led by one of the band of get-rich-quick gurus, are mock-

ing at our traditional beliefs and at the head of it, is an Indian.

It is time the Government and people called a halt to this money making humbug.

Miraculous Economic Growth of Japan

J. H. Doshi, a past President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, has published in a booklet of the Forum of Free Enterprise, a concise account of the growth of Japanese economy since after the Scond World War. We are giving some excerpts from this booklet:

The economic progress of Japan during the past decade has been described as a miracle by

several authorities from many countries. Considering the tremendous progress of Japan in doubling her Gross National Product (GNP) every five years and reaching a phenomenal figure of nearly \$200-billion in 1970, it is worthwhile to have a look into this economic miracle of Japan for such guidance as we can get for improving and revitalising our own economy. It is the great success story among nations and a story of achievement of objectives clearly laid down and dutifully executed.

Briefly stated, the tremendous progress of Japan between 1959 and 1969 is reflected by the following figures:—

Details	Japan		India		
	1959	1969	1960-61	1969-70	
GNP Japan real Terms (in Billion US\$)	49.900	145.30	18.705	25.640	
			(at 60-61 prices)		
GNP per capita (in US\$)	408	1697	40.8	45.2	
Index of Industrial prodn.	100	401.5	109.2	180.3	
	(base y		(base year	ear 1960-100)	
Exports (in billion US\$)	3.456	15.990	.891	1.871	
Imports (in billion US\$)	3.599	15.029	1.329	2.110	
Gold & foreign exchange reserves					
(in billion US\$)	1.322	3.496	.637	. 976	
Wholesale price index	100	110	100	181	
Consumer price index	100	170	100	184	
Labour productivity index 100		291	Comparable data not		
			_	available	
Wage increase	100	295	100	° 300	
			(approx)		

With these achievements, Japan has a big trade surplus and has accumulated nearly \$7,000-million in foreign exchange reserves as at end of 1970, inspite of her having to import practically all major raw materials for industrial production. With the recent rush for yen, this reserve is estimated to have gone much higher to \$12,500 million as at end of August 1971.

Mr. Kewal Varma, Special Correspondent of "Financial Express", recently covered

Japanese Economy in a series of articles and concluded that the difference between Japan's success and India's comparative failure may lie in the Japan's adoption of a road to private enterprise and that of India's road towards socialism.

Japan has been able to achieve a remarkable rate of investment of the order of 20 to 40% of her GNP as against a conventional 3-4% elsewhere. This is largely due to the

very high savings rate. High rate of savings promotes high rate of growth and this in turn maintains the high rate of growth as a beneficial cycle. The savings from personal disposable income have remained at between 20 and 30%, because as a class Japanese are thrifty, hard-working and lead an austere life and have recognised the need to save for the ccuntry's economic recovery. India's savings are estimated to be below 16% having steadily gene down from a figure of 22.7% in 1951. There are no significant old-age pension schemes or welfare schemes so that the tendency towards providing for the future is in-built. It is said that many Japanese Companies pay a large portion of the annual wages as a lumpsum bonus, which in turn promotes savings and investment. The savings are invariably deposited in the Banks and the Banks in turn have gone all out to support industrial development. Thus the momentum of investment on average of \$28 bill. a year has been kept up.

Japan's success on the economic front is a composite of development both in the agricultural and industrial fields. As against an employment level of nearly 40% of the work force in agriculture, 15 years ago, the present level is less than 20%. It has been her aim to increase the production of agricultural procucts with the lowest possible additional investment on mechanical equipment. The mechanisation of agriculture has proceeded systematically without any debate on the necessity for tractors or the size and type of tractors to be used. Japan has more or less standardised on sizes of multi-purpose tractors and associated machinery, suitable and consistent with her scale of agricultural operations by individual farmers.

The most important contribution towards development is the role of labour in Japan. Mr. G. Gregory, Special correspondent of

"Far Eastern Economic Review", has described Japan's economic growth as a national sport in Japan in which every Japanese was a player. This described the complete team spirit, love of work, dedication and discipline which are the basic features of Japanese labour. It also reflects the mass-based nature of growth with the contribution of finance from savings and of personal hard work by almost everybody. Apart from having available a ready supply of skilled technicians, Japanese industry has greatly benefited by the dedicated approach of its labour force who considered themselves as a vital part of the organisation.

In Japan employment is more or less on permanent basis but this permanence and security has not bred inefficiency as in other countries, but promoted a spirit of identity with the organisation and a sense of belonging. In Japan discipline is in-born and this has been greatly reinforced by the team spirit displayed by the labour force of industrial units. Awards are for achievements of a group and rarely for individuals—thus promoting the team spirit.

The unions are organised unit-wise for the industries and disputes are settled between unions and management without any intervention of political affiliates from outside. Japan has developed and exploited a joint consultation system in respect of labour. Consequently, the productivity of labour has always moved ahead of wage increases and thus helped to maintain the competitiveness of Japanese production. The loss due to strikes is reckoned in man-hours and not man-days lost. The wage levels are also such that there is disparity and the ratio of payments between the lowest and the highest paid employees is not more. than 5 times. This has further helped the development of a middle-class society which functions as an integrated unit without any class problems or social and economic tensions.

A New Town in USSR

Mendeleyevsk is another town built in Tataria, Volga Region. As its principal occupation is chemistry, the town was named after the great Russian chemist Mendeleyev. Already last year a chemical plant was put up here. Today it is one of the biggest chemical works in the Soviet Union. Not a single Soviet laboratory can do without reagents produced in Mendeleyevsk.

In 1973 Mendeleyevsk will turn into a vast construction site. Plans are afoot for a sizeable expansion of the chemical plant and for the construction of a compound minor fertiliser factory and a large-panel house-building complex. Direct railway links will bind the town with Naberezhniye Chelny and Nizhnekamsk, a new centre of Soviet automobile industry. So, Mendeleyevsk will automatically be incorporated in one of the largest industrial complexes to be built in the USSR during the Ninth Five-Year Plan (1971-1975).

Reemployment of the Jobiess in Bengal

Due to the combined efforts of politicians, trade unionists and the scared capitalists numerous factories had suspended operation in West Bengal during the last few years. Some reopened after remaining closed for a few months, but others kept their gates locked much longer. The recent deseat that the leftist forces faced in the State put new heart in the employers and many of them began to arrange for the reopening of their closed establishments. The Government also came to their assistance with finance and supply of other resources. Governmental sources have given out the news that by the 15th of April 50,000 men and women who were jobless had been re-engaged. One must say that this was good work and if followed up by a continuation of the happy process of reopening more closed units, as well as by the creation of new centres of production; the unemployment problem of the State should be brought under control and would be largely solved. It may be suggested that the creation of desk jobs of a non-productive type should be limited to as small a number as possible. The production of goods which will be readily purchased by consumers and which are in short supply should be given first priority. The distribution of such goods, and their transportation and storage would also employ a large number of persons. All this can be arranged in a well planned manner as long as the forces that disrupt healthy economic development are held in check.

China's Foreign Trade

We have taken the following account of China's foreign trade from Current Developments which has published the summary of an article written by Audrey Donnithorne of the National University in Canberra.

Communist China, despite its size, cuts a minor figure in the commerce of the world. In 1970 it accounted for only some 0.7 percer t of total international trade. Chinese expo s and imports together in that year are estimated to have reached US\$4,225 million, the highest level recorded for Chinese trade except for 1959. Yet this was equivalent to only 73 percent of the total trade of the small colon? of Hong Kong, or to 43 percent of Australia's international trade, or to 11 percent of that of Japan. On a per capita basis the smallness of China's trade is even more striking. Its value in 1970 amounted to US\$5 per head of the population, compared with US\$7 per heac for India, US\$369 for Japan, US\$789 for Australia, and US\$1,355 for Hong Kong.

The smallness of this foreign trade stems from the fact that China is a large, underdeveloped and inward-looking country with an economic system that has strong autarkic leanings. The vast size of China and the variety of natural resources it encompasses

facilitate a higher degree of self-sufficiency than would be possible for smaller lands. Its poverty-China has a per capita income of around US\$100 per annum—means that both productivity and purchasing power are low. Although the planners of China's foreign trade are not unmindful of comparative advantage, this concept is allowed only a limited sphere of Both national and local selfoperation. sufficiency is strongly encouraged.

Japan is China's largest trade partner, taking 12 percent of China's exports and supplying 26 percent of the country's imports, Chinese exports to Japan comprise foodstuffs

Direction of Exports

raw silk and other fibers, and miscellaneous raw materials. Over 80 percent of Japanese exports to China in 1970 consisted of steel, machinery and equipment (including some 4,500 trucks), and chemicals (fertilizers, synthetic fibers, plastics, organic chemicals). Trade and politics have been closely enmeshed in Japanese commercial dealings with China. Some 90 percent of Sino-Japanese trade is conducted on the Japanese side by "friendly firms" which, at least overtly, support Chinese politics. The rest of the trade is governed by the semiofficial Memorandum Trade Agreement.

Direction of Imports

CHINA'S INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Direction of Exports				Direction of imports			
	Total	To Communist Countries	To Non- Communist Countries		Total	From Communist Countries	From Non- Communist Countries
•	US\$m.	%	%		US\$m.	, %	%
1952	875	, 69	31	1952	1,015	70	30
1959	2,205	72	28	1959	2,060	66	34
1966 .		27	73	1966	2,035	25	75
1967	1,915	24	76	1967	1,945	17	83
1968	1,890	24	76 .	1968	1,820	19	81
1969	2,020	24	76	1969	1,835	15	85
1970	2,060	25	7 5	1970	2,165	15	85
Composition of Exports			Composition of Imports				
US\$m.			US\$m.				
		1969	1970			1969	1970
Foodstuffs 615		645	Wheat		260	290	
Crude materials, fuels		Iron & steel · 265		265	315		
and edible oils 450		n.a.	Machinery & equipm		pment 240	360	
Textiles 305		300	Non-ferrous metals		ls 170	110	
Clothing 195		195	200	Rubber		145	n.a.
Other	•	455	915		al fertilizer		170
			•	Other		550	920
Total	•	2,020	2,060	Total		1,835	2,165

RAMMOHUN ROY AND MODERN INDIA

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

[This monograph was written as an introduction to the second edition of the English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy, published by the Panini office, Allahabad, in 1906. Subsequently, in 1918, it was published as a booklet, which, however, is now out of print. The text here has been taken from that booklet, partially revised by the Author, and somewhat abridged.]

All earnest attempts at reform, whether religious, social, political, or of any other description, are based on faith in the ultimate triumph of truth and justice and humanity, which is synonymous with a belief in the moral government of the Universe. This is an essential element in religious belief. One therefore. expect to find Raja Rammohun Roy, the first all-round reformer in modern India, "above all and beneath all a religious personality. The many and farreaching ramifications of his prolific energy were forth-puttings of one purpose. The root of his life was religion. He would never have been able to go so far or to move his countrymen so mightily as he did but for the driving power of an intense theistic passion.1

As in his life so in his writings, religion occupies the foremost place. His writings on religious subjects are the most important and most voluminous. But their very extent and variety are apt to puzzle those who may strive to find out the exact nature of his religious faith. The late Babu Rajnarain Bose had it from his father, a disciple of the Raja, that the latter, before his departure for England, had foretold that after his death various sects would claim him as belonging to their own particular ranks, but he declared that he did not belong to any particular sect. What the Raja foresaw has actually taken place. "It

has been said that Rammohun Roy delighted to pass for a believer in the Vedanta with the Hindus, for a Christian among the adherents of that creed, and for a disciple of the Koran with the champions of Islamism.2 The truth is that his eclecticism equalled his sincerity."3 It would be out of place here to enter into a discussion of the question of his religious belief. Suffice it to say that he believed in pure theism, as his Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhiddin on the one hand and the Trust-deed of the Brahmo Samaj on the other, in addition to many of his other works, prove conclusively. He did not reject any truth to be found in any scriptures or in the teachings of any prophet or saint; he revered and accepted truth from all quarters: but at the same time he did not accept any book or teacher as infallible. It should not, however, be forgotten that though he was thus cosmopolitan in his acceptance of truth, there are reasons to think that he believed in what may be called national or racial manifestations or developments universal theism.

At the time when he established the Brahmo Samaj, he meant it to be simply a meeting-ground for peaple of all sects who wished to unite for divine worship, "a place of public meeting of all sorts and descriptions of people without distinction as shall behave and

conduct themselves in an orderly, sober, religious and devout manner for the worship and adoration of the Eternal, Unsearchable and Immutable Being who is the author and preserver of the Universe but not under or by any other name, designation or title pecularly used for and applied to any particular Being or Beings by any man or set of men whatsoever".4

It seems to us, that the Raja may have thought that Theism, though at bottom one all over the world, has yet found various expressions among different races; and though abstract truth is thinkable, yet as it finds actual manifestation in some concrete shape, it is the part of wisdom to allow the abstract universal theism in all countries and among all races to keep its native shape and colour, in which it is embodied, freed, of course, from all that is base and impure, with a broad spirit of toleration for other shapes and colours; and that the future unity of the numan race in religion is not to be realised by all mankind following the creed of this or that sect, but by each nation or race giving up all such erroneous and superstitious beliefs and pernicious customs and lifeless rituals as clash with pure Theism, but in every thing else keeping all that is racy of the soil, all that distinctively belongs to the religious genius of that nation or race, in a spirit of discriminating reverence for its own past and of respect and toleration for others.

Professor Monier Williams speaks of him as the first really earnest investigator in the science of comparative theology, which the world has produced.

Position of Women

Social customs and practices have been and are in all countries more or less connected with the religious beliefs of the people. It is, therefore, only natural that Rammohun Roy's programme of religious reform should.

lead on to and embrace social reform. In all countries, and specially in India, social reform consists chiefly in doing away with the disabilities or sufferings incident to difference of sex or the accident of birth. Or, in other words, social reformers have chiefly to fight with the spirit of caste and its evils and the subjection of women to the selfish interests and pleasures or supposed interests of the male sex.

Abolition of the "Suttee"

Rammohun Roy's chief claim to the gratitude of Hindu womanhood is the courageous and devoted part that he played in the movement for the abolition of suttee. He may or may not have been the central figure in that movement, but it must be admitted by all that but for his exertions that inhuman custom would not have been put down by law so soon as it was.

Women's Right to Property

But to prevent the murder of widows was only to create another problem, namely, the amelioration of their condition. It is even now a question as to how we can best better their lot. Many solutions of the problem have been proposed and attempted: their re-marriage, giving them such training as to enable them to lead honourable, useful and independent lives, so changing the Hindu law of inheritance as to make the means of living of Hindu widows less precarious, etc. His Brief remarks regarding modern encroachments on the ancient rights of females, according to the Hindu law of inheritance was intended to attain the last object. That the condition of helpless widows deeply touched his heart appears also from No. VI of the Sambad Kaumudi, which contained "an appeal to the rich Hindus of Calcutta to constitute a society for the relief of destitute widows upon the principles of the Civil and Military Widows' Fund established by order of Government."

His estimate of Women

That he was earnestly in favour of the education of women and did not hold the prevalent low opinion of the character of woman, is quite clear from many passages in his writings, such for instance, as the following, taken from his Second Conference on the Practice of Burning Widows Alive:

. How then can you accuse them of want of understanding? If, after instruction in knowledge and wisdom, a person cannot comprehend or retain what has been taught him, we may consider him as deficient; but as you keep women generally void of education and acquirements, you cannot, therefore, in justice pronounce on their inferiority. On the contary, Lilavati, Bhanumati, the wife of the prince of Karnat, that of Kalidas are celebrated for their thorough knowledge of all the Shastras: moreover in the Vrihadaranyaka Upanishad of the Yajur Veda it is clearly stated that Yajnavalkya imparted divine knowledge of the most difficult nature to his wife Maitreyi, who was able to follow and completely attain it!

Secondly. You charge them with want of resolution, at which I feel exceedingly surprised: for we constantly perceive, in a country where the name of death makes the male shudder, that the female, from her firmness of mind, offers to burn with the corpse of her deceased husband; and yet you accuse those women of deficiency in point of resolution.

Thirdly. With regard to their trustworthiness, let us look minutely into the conduct of both sexes, and we may be enabled to ascertain which of them is the most frequently guilty of betraying friends. If we enumerate such women in each village or town as have been deceived by men, and such men as have been betrayed

by women. I presume that the number of the deceived women would be found ten times greater than that of the betrayes men. Men are, in general, able to read and write, and manage public affairs, by which means they easily promulgate such faults as women occasionally commit, bu. never consider as criminal the misconducof men towards women. One fault the have, it must be acknowledged; which is, by considering others equally void of duplicity as themselves, to give their confidence too readily, from which they suffer such misery, even so far that some of them are misled to suffer themselves to be burnt to death.

In the fourth place, with respect to their subjection to the passions, this may be judged of by the custom of marriage as to the respective sexes; for one man may marry two or three, sometimes even ten wives and upwards; while a woman, who marries but one husband, desires at his death to follow him, forsaking all world y enjoyments, or to remain leading the austere life of an ascetic.

Views on Child-marriage, Polygamy, etc.

It may be safely said that had he lived to return home from England and work here for a few years more, his contact with the comparatively enlightened womanhood of the West would certainly have borne fruit in the establishment of educational institutions for Indian girls and women. That Miss Mary Carpenter came out to India to labour for the good of Indian women is due mainly to her contact with the Raja. Regarding the -emarriage of child-widows, his biographer, Babu Nagendranath Chatteriee, says:- "We have heard that Rammohun Roy used to express a desire to his friends that the remarriage of child-widows should become prevalent. When he went to England a rumour

spread everywhere that on coming back home he would introduce the custom of the remarriage of widows."

It will appear from a study of his Brief Remarks regarding the Ancient Rights of Females that he was opposed to polygamy, Kulinism and the practical selling of girls in marriage. He showed from the Shastras that second marriages were authorised only under certain circumstances, and observed:

"Had a Magistrate or other public officer been authorised by the rulers of the empire to receive applications for his sanction to a second marriage during the life of a first wife, and to grant his consent only on such accusations as the foregoing being substantiated, the above law might have been rendered effectual, and the distress of the female sex in Bengal, and the number of suicides, would have been necessarily very much reduced".

We have no indication in his works of his views on child-marriage. Perhaps in his days in Bengal, though such marriages must have been customary, their consummation was postponed to a maturer age, thus minimizing the evil to some extent, as is still the case in some parts of India. But one can only speculate as to what he would have done had he lived to come back from England. For, a man who had such innate chivalry in his nature that he would never take his seat if any woman of what rank so ever remained standing in his presence, could not have failed to observe the evil effects on women of such a custom.

It is related that he gave his grand-daughter in marriage when she was 15 or 16.

Views on Caste system

That Rammohun Roy had not failed to observe the evil effects of caste will appear from the extract from one of his letters printed below:

"I regret to say that the present system of religion adhered to by the Hindus is not well calculated to promote their political interest. The distinction of castes, introducing innumerable divisions and sub-divisions among them, has entirely deprived them of patriotic feeling, and the multitude of religious rites and ceremonies and the laws of purification have totally disqualified them from undertaking any difficult enterprise........It is, I think, necessary that some change should take place in their religion, at least for the sake of their political advantage and social comfort."

No. VIII of his Sambad Kaumudi, too, prints the plea of a philanthropist (probably himself) who, observing the misery caused by prejudices of caste, urges the Hindus not to debar themselves thereby from mechanical pursuits, but to cultivate "such arts as would tend to their comfort, happiness and independence." By crossing the ocean, dining with Europeans, and in other ways, the Raja, to a great extent, broke through the unreasonable and injurious restrictions imposed by caste. He published with a Bengali translation the first chapter of a Sanskrit work against caste, named Vajrasuchi, by Mrityunjayacharyya.

Among the causes of the political subjection of India, he mentions caste in the following passage taken from The Brahmunical Magazine:-

"We have been subjected to such insults for about nine centuries, and the cause of such degradation has been our excess in civilization and abstinence from the slaughter even of animals; as well as our division into castes, which has been the source of want of unity among us."

While civilization produces culture, refinement and sociability, its excess enervates and makes men too mild.

In recent years various means have been

suggested for bringing about the fusion of castes and sub-castes and sects by facilitating, inter-marriage among them. The means proposed by Rammohun Roy was the adoption of the Salva form of marriage prescribed in the following sloka of the "Mahanirvana Tantra":

Vayojati-vicharo'tra S'aivodvahe na vidyate. Asapindam bharttrihinam udvahecchambhus' asanat.

"There is no discrimination of age and caste or race in the Saiva marriage. As enjoined by Siva, one should marry a woman who has no husband and who is not 'sapInda' that is, who is not within the prohibited degrees of marriage."

Rammohun contended that orthodox Hindus ought to consider Salva marriages as valid as Valdik marriages. Had his views prevailed, widow-marriage, inter-caste and inter-racial marriage, and post-puberty marriage would all have been considered valid according to Hindu usage.

Pioneer and Promoter of Education

It is well-known that Rammohun Roy himself founded and helped others in founding schools. He took a prominent part in the great educational controversy between the "Orientalists" and the "Anglicists" and sided with the latter. But for his opposition the clamour of the former for the exclusive pursuit of Oriental studies would most probably have prevailed. His Letter on English Education to Lord Amherst is a remarkably convincing production5. For the direct and indirect beneficial results of Western education we are indebted to Raja Rammohun Roy as much as to Lord Macaulay, Lord William Bentinck, David Hare and others.

Father of Modern Bengali Prose

Raja Rammohun Roy wrote textbooks in Bengali on Grammar, Geography, Astronomy, and Geometry. He may be considered as practically the father of modern Bengali literary prose. He taught his people the use of marks of punctuation. There was in his nature a deep vein of genuine poetry too, as his Bengali hymns show. He was the first to theistic . hymns in Bengali. Pandit Ramagati Nyayaratna, a well-known Hindu historian of the Bengali language and literature, truly observes that they appear to possess the power of melting even stony hearts, of making the most irreligious devoted to God and of making hearts sunk in worldliness detached from the world."

The Raja as a Journalist

His Bengali journal, the Sambad Kaumudl, first appeared in 1821. He is practically the founder of native journalism in India. The Sambad Kaumudi⁶ was not exclusively or chiefly a political publication. It, as well as his Persian newspaper, Mirat ul Akhbar or Mirror of Intelligence had an educational purpose, too. Besides politics, subjects of a historical, literary and scientific character were treated of therein⁷.

His legal writings

Lawyers of eminence have declared that the legal writings of the Raja, such as his Brief Remarks on Ancient Female Rights, The Rights of Hindus over Ancestral Property according to the Law of Bengal, would do credit to jurists of the highest standing⁸.

As A Political Reformer

To the public Rammohun Roy is best known as a religious and social reformer. To many he is also known as literateur and educationist. But he is not so well-known as a political reformer and agitator. A brief account of his politics may not therefore be out of place here.

Raja's Love of Freedom

Mr. William Adam, a Baptist Missionary,

whose association with Raja Rammohun Roy led him to adopt Unitarian opinions, bears the following testimony to his love of liberty:-

"He would be free or not be at all....

Love of freedom was perhaps the strongest passion of his soul,.....freedom not of action merely, but of thought.....This tenacity of personal independence, this sensitive jealousy of the slightest approach to an encroachment on his mental freedom was accompanied with a very nice perception of the equal rights of others, even of those who differed most widely from him."

It was this love of liberty that was the source of all his political opinions and the mainspring of all his political activity. It made him take interest in and deeply sympthise with all political movements all over the world that had for their object the advancement of popular freedom. Some instances may here be given of Rammohun's cosmopolitan sympathies in the region of politics.

"When the intelligence reached India that the people of Naples after extorting a constitution from their despotic king were crushed back into servitude by the Austrian troops, in obedience to the joint mandate of the crowned heads of Russia, Austria, Sardinia, and Naples, Rammohun felt it (so) keenly."

that in a letter to Mr. Buckingham, dated. August 11, 1821, he wrote:—

"I am afraid I must be under the necessity of denying myself the pleasure of your society this evening; more especially as my mind is depressed by the late news from Europe.....From the late unhappy news I am obliged to conclude that I shall not live to see liberty universally restored to the nations of Europe, and Asiatic nations, especially those that are European colonies, possessed of a greater degree of

the same blessing than what they now enjoy."

"Under these circumstances I consider the cause of the Neapolitans as my own, and their enemies as ours. Enemies to liberty and friends of despotism have never been, and never will be, ultimately successful."

"These noble words", says Miss Collet, "reveal how profoundly Rammohun felt with the Late James Russell Lowell that "In the gain or loss of one race all the rest have equal claim" and that

"Wherever wrong is done To the humblest and the weakest, 'neath the all-beholding Sun, That wrong is also done to us."

Rammohun's Persian weekly Mirut-ul-Akhbar contained an article on "Ireland, the causes of its distress and discontent." In this he dwelt on the evils of absenteeism and the injustice of maintaining Protestant clergymen out of revenues wrung from the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Ireland. He said:—

How admirable is the observation of Saadi (on whom be mercy!):

"Do not say that these rapacious ministers are the well-wishers of his Majesty;

For in proportion as they augment the revenue of the State, they diminish his popularity;

O statesmen, apply the revenue of the King towards the comfort of the people;

Then during their lives they will be loyal to him."

When the news of the establishment of constitutional Government of Spain reached India, he gave a public dinner at the Town Hall⁹. Some months before his departure for England, news reached Calcutta of the latest French Revolution, and, "so great was his enthusiasm that", we are told, "he could

think and talk of nothing else." He viewed it as a triumph of liberty and rejoiced accordingly. On his voyage to England he landed at the Cape for only an hour or two. "Returning on board he met with a nasty accident. The gangway ladder had not been properly secured, and he got a serious fall, from which he was lame for eighteen months afterwards and indeed never finally recovered. But no bodily suffering could repress his mental, ardour. Two French frigates, under the revolutionary flag, the glorious tri-colour, were lying in Table Bay, and lame as he was. he would insist on visiting them. The sight of these colours seemed to kindle his enthusiasm, and to render him insensible to pain."

During the days of the Reform Bill agitation in England, he considered the struggle between the reformers and anti-reformers as a "struggle between liberty and tyranny throughout the world; between justice, and injustice, and between right and wrong." He publicly avowed that in the event of the Reform Bill being defeated, he would renounce his connection with England.

There are other indications, in his works, of what in our day is known as the spirit of non-co-operation. It is not difficult to believe that, had he lived now, this would have found expression in some movement of national self-assertion.

Attitude Towards Muhammadans

The attitude of Rammohun Roy towards Mussalman rule, society, character and culture was entirely unprejudiced and fraternal. He wore in public the dress worn in Muhammadan courts. In his "Judicial system of India", to the question—

Q. What is your opinion of the judicial character and conduct of the Hindu and Muhammadan lawyers attached to the courts?

He replied :-- ',

A. Among the Muhammadan law yers I have met with some honest men The Hindu lawyers are in general no well spoken of, and they do not enjoy much of the confidence of the public.

In the "Condition of India", he writes :-

I have observed with respect to distant cousins, sprung from the same family, and living in the same district, when one branch of the family had been converted to Mussulmanism, that those of the Muhammadan branch living in a free manner, were distinguished by greate bodily activity and capacity for exertion, than those of the other branch which had adhered to the Hindoo simple mode of life.

Again :--

- Q. What is the state of industry amore them?
- A. The Muhammadans are more active and capable of exertion than the Hindus, but the latter are also generally patient of labour, and diligent in their employments, and those of the Upper Province not inferior to the Muhammadans themselves in industry.
- Q. What capability of improvement do the possess?
- A. They have the same capability of improvement as any other civilized people.
- Q. What degree of intelligence exists amore the native inhabitants?

A. The Mussulmans, as well as the more respectable classes of Hindus, chiefy cultivated Persian literature, a greanumber of the former and a few of the latter also extending their studies likewise to Arabic. This practice has partially continued to the present time, and among those who enjoy this species of learning, as well as among those who cultive e

Sanskrit literature, many well informed and enlightened persons may be found, though from their ignorance of European literature, they are not naturally much esteemed by such Europeans as are not well versed in Arabic and Sanskrit.

Raja's Fight for a free Press in India

Raja Rammohun Roy believed that a free Press is one of the best safeguards of liberty. This conviction found expression in his Petitions against the Press Regulation (1) to the Supreme Court and (2) to the King in Council. The Press Ordinance prescribed that thenceforth no one should publish a newspaper or other periodical without having obtained a license from the Governor-General in Council, signed by the Chief Secretary. The memorial submitted to the Supreme Court" "may be regarded as the Areopagitica of Indian History. Alike in diction and in argument, it forms a noble landmark in the progress of English culture in the East."

This Memorial proving fruitless, Rammohun and his co-adjutors appealed to the King in council¹⁰ says Miss Collett:

"The appeal is one of the noblest pieces of English to which Rammohun put his hand. Its stately periods and not less stately thought, recall the eloquence of the great creators of a century ago. In language and style for ever associated with the glorious vindication of liberty, it invokes against the arbitrary exercise of British power the principles and traditions which are distinctive of British History."

This Memorial too proved unavailing. The Privy Council declined to comply with the petition.

Raja's Demand for Political Rights The Jury Act of 1827.

A new Jury Act came into operation in the beginning of 1827. On August 17th 1829. Rammohun wrote to Mr. J. Crawford and

entrusted to him petitions against the Act for presentation to both Houses of Parliament, signed by Hindus and Muslims. He thus concisely stated the grounds of grievance:

"In his famous Jury Bill Mr. Wynn the late President of the Board of Control, has by introducing religious distinctions into the judicial system of this country, not only afforded just grounds for dissatisfaction among the Natives in general, but has excited much alarm in the breast of every one conversant with political principles. Any Natives, either Hindu or Mohamedan, are rendered by this Bill subject to judicial trial by Christians, either Europeans or Native while Christians including Native converts are exempted from the degradation of being tried either by a Hindu or Mussulman juror, however high he may stand in the estimation of society. This Bill also denies both to Hindus Mohamedans the honour of a seat in the Grand Jury even in the trial of fellow Hindus or Mussulmans. This is the sum total of Mr. Wynn's late Jury Bill of which we bitterly complain."

Rammohun went on to suggest a possibility "which is by no means so remote now as when he wrote":-

"Supposing that 100 years hence the Native character becomes elevated from constant with Europeans acquirement of general and political knowledge as well as of modern arts and sciences is it possible that they will not have the spirit as well as the inclination to resist effectually any unjust and oppressive measures serving to degrade them in the scale of society? It should not be lost sight of that the position of India is very different from that of Ireland, to any quarter of which an English fleet may suddenly convey a body of troops that may force its way in

the requisite direction and succeed in suppressing every effort of a refractory spirit. Were India to share one-fourth of the knowledge and energy of that, country, she would prove from her remote situation, her riches and her vast population, either useful and profitable as a willing province, an ally of British empire or troublesome and annoying as a determined ehemy."

The letter quoted above is remarkable for the far-sighted glance into the future which it reveals. Here in germ is to be found the national aspiration which is now breaking forth into demands for self rule". Rammohun's English biographer Miss Sophia Dobson Collet observes that:-

"The prospect of an educated India of an India approximating to European standards of culture seems to have never been long absent from Rammohun's mind: and he did, however vaguely claim in advance for his countrymen the political rights which progress in civilisation inevitably involves. Here again Rammohun stands forth as the tribune and prophet of New India".

- 1. Miss Sophia Dobson Collet, the Raja's English Biographer, writes "Rammohun made no secret of the theistic passion which ruled his life. A favourite disciple remarked that, whenever he spoke of the Universal Theism, to the advocacy of which he had devoted himself, he was moved even to tears".
- 2. His habit, in his religions controversies with various sects, of taking his stand not merely upon pure reason but mainly upon their scriptures led some people to think that he was all things to all men. This, of course, is a mistake. His controversial method was meant to convince the followers of different faiths that even their scriptures, which they professed implicity, to follow, enjoined the worship of the one true God.

- 3. The Contemporary Evolution of Religious Thought by Count Goblet d' Alviella. P. 233.
- 4. The passage quoted above is from the Trust-deed of the Brahmo Samaj, of which the late Mahadeva Govind Ranade said: "The spirituality, the deep piety and universal toleration of this document represent an idea of beauty and perfection which may yet take many centuries before its full significance is understood by our people".
- 5. Rammohun's of advocacy modern learning in his letter to Lord Amherst (1832) for "an enlightened system of embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy. Chemistry, Anatomy, with other sciences", was written 12 vears before Macaulay wrote his famous minute (1835). But whereas Rammohun laid emphasis on the teaching of Western sciences, Macaulay pleaded for the establishment of schools "in which the English language might be well and thoroughly taught."
- 6. Some of the contents of the earlier numbers of the Samad Kaumudi may be given here:

No. i.—An appeal to the Government for the establishment of a school for the gratuitous instruction of the poor but respectable Hindus. No. ii.—Humble address to the Government soliciting the extension of trial by jury to Mofussil Zila and Provincial Courts of Judicature.

No. iii.—An appeal to the Government to relieve the Hindu community from the inconvenience consequent upon there being only one Ghaut for the burning of dead bodies whereas an immense space of ground has been granted for the burial of Christians.

Appeal to Government for the prevention of the exportation of the greatest part of the produce of rice from Bengal to foreign ports.

Appeal to Government to enable the middle class of native subjects to avail them-

selves of the treatment of European physicians.

Appeal to the Calcutta Magistrates to resort to rigorous measures for relieving the Hindu inhabitants of Calcutta from the serious grievances of Christian gentlemer driving their buggies amongst them and cutting and lashing them with whips, without distinction of sex or age, while they quietly assembled in immense numbers to see the images of their deities pass in the Chitpore Road, when many of them through terror and consternation caused by the lashing inflicted on the spectators, fell down into drains, while others were trampled underfoot by the crowd.

- 7. The contents of the first issue of the M rat ul Akhbar will prove of interest:—
- i. The Editor informs the public that although so many newspapers have been published in this city to gratify their readers, yet there is none in Persian for the information of those who are well versed in that language, and do not understand English, particularly the people of Upper Hindusthan. He has therefore undertaken to publish a Persian Newspaper every week.
- ii. Government Regulation respecting the period Company's Servants can be absent from their duty on account of their health.
- iii. Difference with China.
- iv. Trial of John Hyes, Esq., Judge of Tipperah.
- v. Release of prisoners on the 23rd of April: King's Birthday.
- vi. Shipping Intelligence,
- vii Cause of Enmity between Russia and the Sublime porte.
- viii Exploits of Rungeet Singh.
- ix. Plentiful crop of corn this year in Hindoostan.
- x. Pair of Elephants for sale.
- xi. Price of Indigo and Opium.
- xii. Proposal sent to inhabitants of

Shajuhanabad, by an officer of the Honourable Company, pointing out the advantages of having an English School instituted in that City, to which however the Natives paid no attention.

Welcoming editorially the advent of this Persian Weekly started by Rammohun, the Calcutta Journal (20th April, 1822, p. 561) of Mr. James Silk Buckingham wrote:—

"The Editor is a Brahmin of high rank, a man of liberal sentiments and by no means deficient in loyalty, well versed in the Persian language, and possessing a competent knowledge of English: intelligent, with a considerable share of general information and an insatiable thirst after knowledge."

- 8. The late Sir Gooroodas Benerice,' a judge of the Calcutta High Court and Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, in a speech that he delivered as Chairman at Rammohun Roy's Death Anniversary Meeting in 1889, said:—"His (Rammohun's) essays—one on the rights of the Hindoo females and the other on the rights of a Hindoo over ancestral property-show at once his deep erudition as a lawyer and his broad views as a jurist; and it is to the latter of these two essays that is due in no small measure the advanced state of the law relating to the free alienability of property in Bengal. concluding paragraph of that essay is well ' worthy of Rammohun Roy and will do honour to any lawyer or any jurist in the country. Every one who belong. perceive here the rudiments of that discussion, which in the writings of Sir Henry Maine, have shed such lustre over his name. And Rammohun Roy was no professional Lawyer."
- 9. The dinner referred to above was given by the Raja, it appears, on receipt of the news of the successful rising of the Spanish colonies in South America against the authority of Spain. In a letter written apparently by an English

riend of the Raja then living in Calcutta and appearing in the issue of the Edinburgh Magazine (Constable), for September, 1823, we read:

"But the lively interest he (Rammohun) took in the progress of South American emancipation, eminently marks the greatness and benevolence of his mind, and was created, he said, by the perusal of the detestable barbarities inflicted by Spain to subjugate, and afterwards continued by the Inquisition, to retain in bondage that unhappy country.

'What'! replied he (upon being asked why he had celebrated by illuminations, by an elegant dinner to about sixty Europeans, and by a speech composed and delivered in English by himself at his house in Calcutta, on the arrival of important news of the success of the Spanish patriots), "ought I to be insensible to the sufferings of my fellow-creatures wherever they are, or however unconnected by interests, religion or language?"

This letter was reproduced in "The Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature", Vol. XVIII. pp. 575-788 and has been unearthed by Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerji, who published it in the Modern Review for March 1932.

- 10. A few passages from this memorable document are reproduced below:—
 - 31. Men in power hostile to the liberty of the Press, which is a disagreeable check upon their conduct, when unable to discover any real evil arising from its existence, have attempted to make the world imagine that it might, in some possible contingency, afford the means of combination against the government, but not to mention that extraordinary emergencies would warrant measures, which in ordinary times are totally injustifiable, your Majesty is well

aware, that a Free Press has never yet caused a revolution in any part of the world, because while men can easily represent the grievances arising from the conduct the local of authorities to the supreme Government, and thus get them redressed, the grounds of discontent that excite revolution are removed; whereas, where no freedom of the Press existed, and grievances consequently remained unrepresented and · unredressed, innumerable revolutions have taken place in all parts of the globe, or if prevented by the armed force of the Government, the people continued ready for insurrection.

that despotic 36. It is well known Governments naturally deserve the suppression of any freedom of expression which might tend to expose their acts to the obloque which ever attends the exercise of tyranny or oppression and the argument they constantly resort to is, that the spread of knowledge is dangerous to the existence of all legitimate authority, since, as the people became enlightened, they will discover that by a unity of effort, the many may easily shake off the yoke of the few, and thus become emancipated from the restraints of power altogether, forgetting the lesson derived from history, that in countries which have made the smallest advance in civilisation anarchy and revolution are most prevalent, while on the other hand, in nations the most enlightened against government, revolt which have guarded inviolate the rights of the governed, is most rare, and that the resistance of a people advanced in knowledge, has ever been-not against the existence,-but against the abuses of the governing power. Canada, during the late war with America, afforded a memorable instance of the truth of this argument. The enlightened inhabitants of that colony, finding that their rights and privileges had been secured to them, their complains listened to, and their grievances redressed by the British Government, resisted every attempt of the United States to seduce them from their allegiance to it. In fact, it may be fearlessly averred, that the more enlightened a people became, the less likely are they to revolt against the governing power, as long

as it is exercised with justice tempered with mercy, and the rights and privileges of the governed are held sacred from any invasion.

1. That Rammohun looked upon the British domination of India as a period of political tutelage, will be amply born out by what he said (29th June, 1828) to Mr. Victor Jacquemont, the French man who has left his impressions of India, in his Voyage Dans L'Inde (Paris, 1841):— "India requires many more years of English domination so that she might not have many things to lose while she is reclaiming her political independence." [See Mr. N. C. Chaudhuri's translation of the interview in the Modern Review for June, 1926].



Indian and Foreign Periodicals

On Raja Rammohun Roy

Yoganda Das writes in The Indian Messenger:

Rammohun, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, was a realist and a practical man, and not a mere visionary or a theoretician. One feature of his life and teachings has generally escaped notice. He never wrote on any subject which was not connected with his contemporary national or international affairs. His "multiple personality" was organically connected with multiple phases of contemporary social life, and was real and effective. In the language of journalism, his subjects were all "topical", including religion.

When the Charter of 1813 permitted Christian missionaries to propagate their religion, the missionaries started attacking Hinduism viciously as idolatrous. Rammohun's religious reforms were directly connected with this new development, in reply to the Christian missionaries.

His writings on the Suttee were directly topical. When the Governors-General hesitated to abolish the custom for want of public opinion to back their decision, Rammohun came forward to supply that want and to organise public opinion.

His tract on the Hindu law of inheritance was occasioned by his contemporary legal procedures and decisions by the British judges, and his tract deeply influenced all subsequent verdicts.

His writings in English were directed towards educating the rulers of India who were not closely acquainted with the life and culture of India. His Bengali writings were for the purpose of forming public opinion on current affairs and practices, and not mere theoretical discussions.

This practical feature of Rammohun's life and teachings is important because it is also a prominent feature of the Brahmo movement throughout its history. The spiritual worship of the samaj always went hand in hand with social reform—from the anti-Suttee movement of Rammohun to the Harijan uplift movement,—i. e., was always connected, as movements, with the social and moral evils actually prevalent in society.

The Brahmo Public Opinion, the first English organ of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj was full of topical subjects. The editorial notes were mostly on topical subjects which concerned contemporary society.

Lessons from the history of the Brahmo Samaj and from the lives of great men, like Mahatma Gandhi, teach us that spiritual worship is linked with God on the one hand, and simultaneously with society and social problems on the other. Spiritually isolated from the material basis of society living social problems become theoretical and hence lose all vitality.

Rammohun's religion was a practical and social religion. Brahmoism as revealed in history was a practical and social religion which provided adequate answer to all the problems of the day, including political.

Mme Curie Discoverer of Radium

Polish Facts on File publishes a short biography of Madame Maria Sklodowska Curie which is reproduced below.

Maria Sklodowska was born in Warsaw in 1867. Her father taught mathematics and physics and it is to him that she owed her interest in science.

In 1891 Maria Sklodowska realized her dreams and left to study in Paris. She lived in poverty concentrating all her effort on her work. In 1893 Maria obtained a licentiate in physics, taking first place, and in 1894 a licentiate in mathematics in which she took second place. She wanted to return to Poland and applied for the position of an assistant at the Institute of Physics, Jagiellonian University. But there was no room for a woman scientist, so Maria Sklodowska remained in France.

At first alone and then together with her hus and, Pierre Curie, Maria Sklodowska-Curie studied the phenomenon of radiation of uranium ore. In 1898 the two scientists discovered two radio-active elements: polonium (named after the native country of Maria Sklodowska-Curie) and radium. The next stage of work was to isolate the two elements in their pure form from the uranium ore. The method developed then became one of the fundamental methods used in radio-chemistry.

During these years the only source of income for both was Pierre Curie's post at the School of Industrial Physics and Chemistry in Pa-is. Their financial situation was alleviated in 1900 when Pierre Curie was appointed Associate Professer at the Sorbonne, and Maria Sklodowska-Curie began to teach physics at the Higher Normal School for Girls at Sevres near Paris.

In 1903 Maria Sklodowska-Curie received her doctorate in physics and together with Pierre Curie, the Nobel Prize for their work in radioactivity. After her husband's death in 1906, Maria Sklodowska-Curie succeeded him to the Chair of physical science at the Scrbonne, as the first woman to ever hold this post. She continued her research on radioactivity and her effort was again recognized by the award of the Nobel Prize in 1911.

During the First World War Maria Sklodowska-Curie organized a travelling radiological service for the armed forces. Maria Sklodowska-Curie also had the distinction of propagating the use of X-ray in diagnosis. In 1918, her daughter Irene joined the group of her associates.

Maria Sklodowska-Curie remained in constant touch with Poland during the years she lived in Paris. In 1912 when the Scientific Society of Warsaw established a unit which would devote itself to research of radioactivity, Maria Sklodowska-Curie helped in its organization. In 1921 the scientist visited Warsaw and proposed that a Radium Institute be founded, to which she made a gift of a gram of radium.

The research conducted by Maria Curie laid the foundations for the development of knowledge of the construction of matter and were continued by her daughter Irene and her husband Frederic Joliot-Curie. Maria Curie died in 1934. She was one of the most eminent scientists in the history of humanity.

Lawless Laws

Peter Evans, Barrister-at-Law, writes in The Review of the International Commission of Jurists about the laws made by certain states for the internment of persons without trial. He opens his discussion as follows:

Arbitrary imprisonment is an offence against human dignity, is criminal and poisons civilization...' states the second Vatican Council in para 27 of its report 'The Pastoral Constitution of the Church in the modern world', an admirable statement in its directness and unequivocability.

Internment, detention, administrative imprisonment, call it what you will, on suspicion without trial or legal protection is arbitrary imprisonment, is an immoral procedure and can only rarely be justified and when so justified only in the context that there are extensive safeguards against indiscriminate and unreasonable use of such powers. Yet such powers are widespread in the contemporary world and their use would seem to be

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increasing. It is paradoxical that democratically appointed legislatures seem all too often to find no difficulty in arming their executives with powers which are a fundamental breach of the Rule of Law.

The use to which such powers have been put in some of the newer democracies have often bordered on the scandalous, mere opposition to the existing government being often a ground for locking up whole parliamentary oppositions as 'subversive persons'. On the other hand it must be admitted that the boundary between legitimate opposition and conspiracy to displace such a government by coup d'etat has been all too often blurred, giving apparent justification for what is basically objectionable.

The power for the executive to use such powers has in general in the older democracies been restricted to war-time, e.g. the famous English Defence Regulation 18b, or to situation of widespread violence, as in Norther Ireland, but in some of the newer states the derive from the constitution itself.

Art 22 of the Constitution of India permitlegislation governing internments (called Preventive Detention) to both state and central governments, the new and unlawful constitution of Rhodesia does likewise, while in South Africa such powers are part of the normal police powers in day to day use.

And concludes by the remark:

It only remains to be said that all such legislation is objectionable and when looked a long after the events which have given rise that, appears to the historian to have been doubtful benefit—when not actually mischievous—in the solution of the civil disturbance which have at the time been said to justify it.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

The Course of American Economic Growth and Development by Prof. Louis M. Hacker, published by Wiley Eastern Private Ltd. J41 South Extension 1, New Delhi-49. Demy Oct Pp 382+XVII Tables 44, Cloth gilt illust. jacket Price Rs, 10/-. Prof. Hacker is a well known authority on American Economic History and he has given in this book a clear and precise picture of America's economic growth and development. His presentation of the historical background of the material progress achieved by the Americans enables the reader to understand the outlook and aspirations of the leaders who fought the War of Independence and thereafter went all out to build a land of free and prosperous men through hard work and intelligent handling of foreign relations. People who are interested

in American economic history will find the book informative in a well written and perposeful manner.

The Green Revolution and the Weaker Section: by Prof. G. Parthasarathy, published by Thacker and Co. Ltd. Rampart Row, Fort, Bombay-1. Demy Oct Pp 46 Paper cover Price Rs. 6.00. This brochure is a revised version of two lectures delivered by Prof. Parthasarathy. one at the V. L. Mehta Institute of Cooperative Management, Poona, and another at the Motilal Nehru Institute of Business Management, Allahabad. The lectures were delivered during the academic year 1967-70.

India Speaks: being selected speeches of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi during her tour abroad in Sept.—Nov. 1971 in various

countries. Published by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Pp 126 Paper board illust cover Price Rs. 3.00. The speeches were delevered with a view to give out a correct picture of the Bangla Desh crisis to the world at large.

Fourth Five Year Plan 1969-74: A summary published by the Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India. Pp 152 Paper cover, Price Rs. 200. A very useful little booklet in which students and the general public will find facts and figures for ready reference in hancy form.

Crises in Indian Universities: Edited by Dr. G. S. Mansukhani, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. Development Officer University Commission, New Delhi. Other contributors are Dr. S. C. Goel, Dr. Sushila Mehta, Dr. Santokh Singh Anant and M. Balakrishnan. Published by Oxford and IBH Publishing Co. Oxford Building, N-88. Connaught Circus, New Delhi-1 and Park Hotel Bulidings 17 Park Street, Calcutta-16, Demy Oct. Pp 212+XVI cloth bound, illust jacket, one map Price Rs. 25.00. The management of the educational system in India; or, for that matter in almost all countries, has been found to be a difficult task with endless problems that crop up at all levels from the highest University classes down to the primary In India there is political interschools. ference with the Universities and the Colleges. Students have affiliations with political parties and corruption in state departments are reflected in the appointment of teachers and other matters connected with the universities. The question of employment after obtaining degrees also looms large and much of student unrest can be traced to the failure of the social organisation to absorb the qualified persons in gainful employment.

The Rubaiyat of Abu Sa'id bin Ab'il-Khair: Done into English verse by D. C. Datta

published by the International Library P. O. Box 149 Jaipur, Rajasthan crown oct Pp 74 paper cover, Price Rs. 3.00. The mystic poet Sheikh Abu Sa'id bin Ab'l-Khair was born in Khawaran in 967 A. D. His original poems are in Persian and are considered to be of very high standard in the field of mystic poetry.

Sonnets to Islam and the Arabs: by D. C. Datta, published by the International Library, P. O. Box 149 Jaipur, Rajasthan Crown Oct. Pp. 56 Paper Cover Price Rs. 2.00. There are 110 sonnets.

Woman Saints of Karnatak (Biographical Sketches) by Dr. S. M. Hunashal M. A., Ph.D. (Luck.), B. T. published by Taranath Prakashana, Raichur (Mysore). Crown Oct. Pp 46+X, plates paper cover Price Rs. 3.00. There are 44 lives of woman saints in this booklet.

Return From Enlightenment: by Forest K. Davis, published by Adamont Press, Adamont, Vermont, Demy Oct. Pp. 160 paper cover. There are several essays which deal analytically from the psychological angle with many matters of common experience. In one article the author compares Christianity and communism and points out how in both, though the objects of worship differ, the prophets, priests or leaders preach to the people for their enlightenment and guidance, assuming as an irrefutable truth the people can never locate their own path of progress nor determine their ideals of conduct or standards of behaviour.

Under Your Sky: by Djordje Kostic, Printed and published by the Indian Institute of Speech and Languages, obtainable from Bengal Art Printers, 7 Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta-13. A book of surrealistic poems written in India by the poet who is an internationally reputed scholar and had come to India as a visiting professor. Previously

Professor Kostic had exhibited some of his paintings at the Academy of Fine Arts which were greatly appreciated by art lovers. His poems have a natural and direct appeal and communicate his emotions to the readers by suggestions made through imagery created with the help of a complex composition of ideas. The book is attractively printed on hand-made paper.

Siraj-ud-Daulah

"Siraj-ud-Daulah" by Kalikinkar Datta, Printed by P. B. Roy at Prabartak Printing and Half-Tone Ltd, and Published by Orient Longman Ltd, Calcutta, (Price Rs. 7.50).

In this book, the Author Dr. Kalikinkar Datta has given a detailed account of the life . and activities of Siraj-ud-Daulah, the Nawab of Bengal, whose exploits have been the source of much controversy among historians for years. Dr. Datta's sources of information he states are mostly original contemporary ones. Beginning with the early career of the Nawab, the author has proceeded to analyse the causes of the Nawab's conflict with the East India Company which subsequently resulted in the capture of the Kasimbazar factory, the controversial Fort at Calcutta, and the incident of the Black Hole of Calcutta. Siraj-ud-Daulah's expeditions against Shaukat Jang as well as the means by which the English recovered Calcutta, forcing a treaty advantageous to themselves have been described in detail, as well as the prevailing politics in Bengal at that time. Of interest to all students of history also are the sections dealing with the Battle of Plassey, Siraj-ud-Daulah's defeat and his very tragic end.

The Author attempts to give an objective study of the Nawab's character and personality about which there have been many opinions. For example Dr. Datta quotes the following opinion of Dr. Jadunath Sarkar who describes Siraj-ud-Daulah as being a cruel tyrant, that had been "given no education for his future

duties; he never learnt to curb his passionate impulses; none durst correct his views; and he was kept away from manly martial exercises, dangerous to such a precious life. Thus the apple of Old Alivardi's eye grew up into a most dissolute, haughty, reckless and cowardly youth." Undoubtedly, Dr. Datta maintains Siraj-ud-Daulah had the vices and weaknesses of many members of the demoralised aristocracy of those days, but he also had a few redeeming features as well. He showed vigour and ability for the first few months of his reign, and by fighting the English proved that he was no coward or traitor. On the other hand he was surrounded by traitors and so much opposition and intrigue necessarily made him indecisive and vacillating.

Futhermore Siraj-ud-Daulah retains an important place in history because he lived during a most critical period of India's history, as also because he featured in the Battle of Plassey, which "decided the fate of India", as it brought in a new era by making the English virtual masters of Bengal, and thereafter enabled them to establish their supremacy over the whole of India. What complete degeneration and demoralisation existed in those times has been expressed by Clive in his statement before a committee of Parliament in 1772, and the Author quotes the following extract to prove that we cannot judge Siraj-ud-Daulah except in his own background......"Consider the situation in which the victory at Plassey had placed me. A great prince was dependent on my pleasure; an opulent city lay at my mercy; its richest bankers bid against each other for my smiles; I walked through vaults which were thrown open to me alone piled on either hand with gold and jewels! Mr. Chairman, at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation." (The Life of Clive.)

Placed in his correct background one agrees with Dr. Datta that Siraj-ud-Daulah

lived in very critical times, and therefore all students and lovers of History will appreciate his character and career more sympathetically. And for this reason also this biography will be of interest to many.

-L. Chatterii

Jamsetji Tata

"Jamsetji Tata", by B. Sh. Saklatvala and K. Khosla, Published by the Director, Publications Division, Patiala House, New Delhi, and Printed by the Manager, Government of India Press, Coimbatore (Price Rs. 3.50).

This biography of Jamsetji Tata forms one of the series entitled "Builders of Modern India", the object of which is to bring to the reader information regarding eminent Indians connected with the Political, Economic or Cultural revival in India. Jamsetji Tata was certainly one such and his biographers attempt to analyse his life and career in a manner whereby Mr. Tata's connections with various movements in India can be appreciated. It is interesting to note his background for he was born in a middle-class Parsi family in 1839, and till the age of 13, received no formal education. Following this he went to Bombay, and having obtained a scholarship at Elphinstone College, was provided with a liberal education there, despite the fact that these were very disturbed times politically.

Messrs. Saklatvala and Khosla have gone into great detail regarding Jamsetji's business ventures, some of which could perhaps have been more interestingly presented. It is true however, that without a resume of these achievements, it is not possible to understand the character and career of Jamsetji Tata. At the beginning of his career, India was virtually an Agricultural country, the British Government were yet to encourage any local Industries, and the political climate was far from stable. However, due to improved communications such as the Railways, Telegraph lines, Trade and Industry had been given a stimulus. There was obviously great scope for business in many lines, but there were very few businessmen who understood the Industrial needs of the country. It is perhaps Jamsetji's greatest attribute that no venture was considered improbable by him, whether it be the promotion of Cotton and Textile industries, or Land Reclamation in Bombay, Educational and Technical research projects, or the possibility of founding Steel Industries in India.

Of all these ventures, these last mentioned are perhaps of greatest importance. These are namely Mr. Tata's connections with the foundation of the Research Institute at Bangalore. and the Steel Industry at Jamshedpur. Regarding the former, it must be mentioned that Mr. Tata had great foresight regarding the importance of developing a centre in India for research in technical and scientific matters which particularly affected local problems, and he made untiring efforts to organize the Bangalore Institute. Institute was actually established in 909, a few years after Mr. Tata's death, but this in no measure detracts from his contributions towards its formation.

Jamshetji has often been called the "Father of the Steel Industry"in India. Some people query this contention on the grounds that at that time everything was favourable to Mr. Tata investing in this manner. Because after all P. N. Bose had discovered the exactly suitable site for a Steel factory, the Government wanted Private investment in this line, while American technical knowledge was also available. But the point to remember is that there were many businessmen with plenty of money for investing in this line but none except Jamshetji Tata did so. It was this bold, courageous spirit in him that distinguished him from other businessmen of his times. And as in all endeavour it is this spirit of adventure that makes all the difference between the ordinary plodding individual and the unusual, so also in the history of industry we find the unusual man being responsible for the starting of new and original ventures,

In conclusion it may be said that this brief biography will interest many for the Authors have befittingly described Jamshetji Tata's career and achievements as being "the synthesis of visionary outlook and practical sagacity....., his achievements, the result of an enterprising mind and great business acumen," and thus place him firmly as one of the founders of modern industry in India.



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DIBD: 30th SEPT 1943



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THE MODERN REVIEW

JUNE



1972

Vol. CXX-X No. 6

1

Whole No. 786

NOTES

From Different Angles of Vision:

Points of view are various, contradictory to one another and apparently very full of meaning and political-philosophical significance. In fact clear thinking people quite often fail to discover the fundamental differences that the supporters of the different points of view claim existence for. For instance, whenever there are any attempts made by ruling political parties to curb the growth of revolutionary organisations; the people on whom restraint is applied immediately refer to such arrangements for the control of their growth as fascistic efforts to usurp the power that rightfully belongs to the general public. Fascism historically means a military autocracy which manages and organizes the economy of the country for the militaty domination of the people. One cannot call a political system fascistic which permits the operation of private enterprise for a non-military and individual profit

making purpose. But the term fascist has apparently acquired a meaning which simply means autocratic domination by Governments of all socio-political and economic institutions for a purpose which may be vague, changeful and quite non-military. This is really not the historical meaning of fascism. In fact fascism was introduced by Benito Mussolini as a counter to socialism of a communistic type. But that does not mean that all attempts at countering power grabbing by the Communists in any country can be rightly called establishing fascism. If democratic institutions are left undisturbed and no attempts are made to establish a military autocracy, one should not refer to measures for the prevention of the growth of autocratic Communism as fascistic. For, quite often, Communism becomes utterly fascistic in the sense that it seeks to establish a military autocracy with a purpose which is entirely militaristic. All industries and most

social institutions in a Communist state can have a military purpose and, so, that sort of organization can be called fascistic quite correctly. Some Communist states have programmes of "liberation", which is a name given to conquest for establishing imperialistic overlordship. The Chinese "liberation" of the Tiletans is a good example. The Americans say that Hanoi's efforts to "liberate" South Vietnam are definitely for forcing the people of that region to accept Communist overlordship. The Communists say that Americans are trying to impose their overlordship in South Vietnam and the purpose of this military aggression by the Americans is imperialistic and fascistic as the Americans wish to establish themselves in South East Asia as all powerful conquerors. They ultimately wish to destroy the military supremacy of China and, perhaps, of Russia too. That America may have such designs is a definite possibility.

That the Russians and the Chinese also have militaristic plans is evident from their activities in various places during recent years. The Russians have imposed their will upon weaker nations on many occasions in order to make them to the so-called Marxist line. case of the Asiatic Russian states and the iron curtain countries of east Europe, viz. Hungary and Czechoslovakia can be cited as examples. Theoretically Communist countries have the right to secede if they so desire; but in fact no country has ever been allowed to secede se far and all attempts at separatist moves have been suppressed with an iron hand whenever there had been any moves from any quarters for "revision" of political rights or obligations on the part of any members of a Communistic assembly of nations. No one really knows what goes on in China where the minorities of the Peoples' Republic are concerned. The people who are of the Han or Chinese race dominate the State. Those who

are non-Han have to lump it wherever their language, way of life or regional interests clash with those of the people of Han China. We suppose they have the right to secede too but a right which cannot be exercised cannot be called a right unless in a farcical sense. The terms fascist, imperialist, liberation, conquest, democracy, human rights, etc., etc. have no clearly defined meaning in modern politics. They are used freely to signify anything or nothing. The old time meanings have lost their rigidly fixed significance. Communism does not, any longer, signify abolition of individual privileges or the prevention of exploitation. Workers, soldiers and peasants no longer rule Communist states. Coteries which successfully carry out their intrigues rule all states, more or less. The methods used by the persons who plan out the details of achieving their designs of domination, always destroy human rights, freedoms and praiseworthy aspirations. The people at large are bamboozled and bluffed in a shameless manner; and they fall into the traps laid for them by the political leaders with a simple lack of carefulness which shows how effective psychological attacks on the mass mind can be when carried out by unscrupulous persons of ability in a dangerously subtle manner. In democracies the voters think they are voting their representatives into governmental power. But quite often they merely do what the political party leaders want them to do. And the goveruments that are set up are found to be of little advantage to the people. of the "people's representatives" are merely agents of the political parties which would sell the people every time for their own advantage. The representatives often indulge in floor crossing, that is changing sides, for their own benefit, which further proves that they are not representatives of the voters but are self-seekers or the mercenaries of the highest bidders. All these facts go to show

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how difficult it is for people to be self-governing, free and the true possessors of fundamental human rights. The world is full of injustice, criminal dealings, political destitution and economic exploitation. Politicians and scheming exploiters do what they like and one cannot do much to prevent them from acting as they do.

More Talk about Black Money:

Ad nauseum is a good description of the manner of useless talk that impractical people indulge in when expressing their ideas about black money, its origin, socially dangerous uses and about methods of stopping its growth. We all know and the Wanchoo Committee have confirmed our belief, that black money has come into existence in India as a result of the extortionate nature of the Taxation system that our government have adopted with a view to raise funds for public expenses. The Wanchoo Committee have suggested that at no stage should Taxes exceed 65% per cent of any income. But people quite often pay more than 100% per cent of their incomes in India, when all expenses in connection with Taxation are taken into account. Income Tax, Super Tax, Surcharges, Wealth Tax, Gift Tax, payments made to auditors, accountants and lawyers. etc., etc. can easily total up to something more than 100% per cent. But the Government of India is going along the same dangerous path as before and taxes are being collected in a manner which more or less creates a very favourable breeding ground for black money and black transactions. various schemes that the Government are formulating for the control of black dealings are royal roads to a fool's paradise. Nothing may come of these schemes excepting creation of grainful opportunities for those who specialise in matters connected with making out tax returns.

A Rs. 20 Currency Note

There is a press' notice announcing the government's decision to issue a twenty rupee currency note. Of course all changes in the monetary system of the country nowadays make people think whether any proposed change aims at the control of the growth of black money. If so, in what manner? The issue of a twenty rupee currency note will however not help to restrict the earning and hoarding of illicitly acquired money. Many profiteers and black market operators make their transactions in ten rupee notes for the reason that the people still look upon higher denomination currency as traceable by their serial numbers. A twenty rupee currency note will enable one to transact the same business with lesser number of paper currency legal tenders. It will also enable hoarders or handlers of large quantities of cash to keep twice as much money in the same secret safes, cabinets or vault space compared to what they kept before there in ten rupee notes. There will no doubt be a move to change old ten rupee notes into new twenty rupee notes and if a close watch is kept on the circulation of the new notes, it might help to discover the persons who keep large stocks of paper money of small denomination. But that may only be a fond expectation; for tax evaders and participants in illicit trade are canny and cautious in the extreme. They will always make their old money flow out in a thousand narrow streams, get converted in small quantities in numerous deals and reassemble eventually as gigantic hoards of secret cash funds. There are millions of persons with bank accounts who can come to the assistance of black market dealers, knowingly or without even suspecting that they are doing anything that will help tax dodgers. The twenty rupee note will benefit government definitely by reducing

the cost of maintaining their paper currency system. They will now have to print half as many currency notes per crore of issued currency as they had to do previously in ten rupee notes. The demand for hundred rupee notes will also fall to some extent in so far as the use of twenty rupee notes will become popular. Generally speaking, this new token of value will not affect illicit trade or tax evasion in any noticeable manner. There will be increased banking activity for sometime following the release of the new currency notes in the market. But that will slowly ease off and banking will revert to normal as soon as the use of the twenty rupee notes assumes its natural economic size and velocity of crculation.

Going Back to Bangladesh

When the Pakistan army surrendered in Bangladesh at the end of 1971 there began much speculation regarding the return of the pre 1971 refugees from that region whom the Indian government had settled in various places within their territory. The most important centre for such settlement was the one managed by the Dandakaranya Development Authority. About 15000 families had been settled in this area in a large number of village groups. As news of the freedom of Bangla Desh spread, about 30% per cent of the families began to pack up with the idea of returning to their home country. They sold off all that they could sell and began their homeward jouney. But as their old homes had already been taken over by other people who showed no inclination to vacate the same for reoccupation by the original owners; these returning refugees had to trek back to India, which they did reluctantly but with no choice in the matter of becoming Bangladesh citizens. Most of the families which started their move to return to East Bengal had to retrace their steps back to-

India. People who had escaped to India after March 25, 1971 in order to save themselves from the organized killings by the Pakistan army; could go back and did go back after the Pakistani surrender. The people who had come to India before 1971 found it quite impossible io retun to their home country. We have no idea what attitude the Bangladesh Government adopted in this connection, but we think that they found it well high impossible to rehabilitate the old time displaced persons.

Statue of Rammohun Roy

Admission of indebtedness for intellectual, political, economic and general social progress is a good thing from more than one point of view. Such admissions help to record history correctly and give proper weightage to facts of human progress without allowing interlopers, falsifiers of realities and misinterpreters of history to carry out their plans of putting a wrong colour on everything to fulfil their desire to put propaganda above truth. There have always been detractors of the great men of history and it has therefore been necessary to commemorate the makers of progress in a manner which could resist and negative the activities of propagandists. The bicentenary of the birth of Raja Rammohun Roy is being celebrated everywhere by publication of books and articles and by holding meetings and melas in order to let the people of all countries know how Raja Rammohun Roy was the first Indian of modern times who introduced western education in India and worked fearlessly for the removal of evil social practices as well as for the revival of the intellectual glory of ancient India. The Raja was the first Indian of high caste to cross the "black waters" and go to Europe in order to acquaint himself, first hand, with Western civilization and to let westerners know the truth about Indian civilization and speculative

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philosophy. A great scholar and linguist, Raja Rammohun Roy made such an impression on the intellectuals of Europe that he was compared by them with Aristotle, Plato, Socrates and Erasmus.

The bicentenary celebrations include certain plans to build institutions which will arrange for the study of the life and work of Raja Rammohun Roy. The Sadharan Brahmo Samaj of Calcutta have also set up a committee which will raise funds and arrange to have a large size bronze statue of the Raja made by a competent sculptor and to have it erected in a prominent place in Calcutta. Calcutta has several statues of important persons in various places; but somehow no attempts have been made upto now to have statues of Raja Rammohun Roy, Rabindranath Tagore, Swami Vivekananda, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and many other great Indians erected in the city. The bicentenary is a good occasion for erecting a statue of the Raja and we hope all Indians will send their contributions to the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, Calcutta in order to make the plans of their statue committee successful.

To Good Too Be True

The conference held by Presidents Nixon Brezhnev to establish the political relations of the USA and the USSR on a firm foundation of peace and mutual good will went off with such speed and smoothness that one wondered how there ever were any clashes of interests between these super powers. It appeared that the two countries were eagerly awaiting an opportunity to establish brotherly relations and that there were nothing that really stood in the way of establishing a mutual fellowship on a firm foundation of brotherly love and amity. Pakistan, Vietnam. the Middle East and the Nuclear and Space competition just vanished like morning mist in the strong light of the ascending sun.

Peaceful and friendly co-existence was a mere matter of signing one or two Flavishly worded documents which were now signed by Presidents Nixon and Brezhnev and the world no longer had any fears of a nuclear war or any war for that matter.

It all sounds too good to be true. Some continental political speculators have expressed suspicions that the USA and the USSR must have signed something more than what they announced have to the world press. Mr. Chou-en-Lai, the Chinese Prime Minister has spoken without any appreciation about this great treaty or agreement which guarantees peace to the world. The Prime Minister of India thinks that there are no real guarantees in this agreement upon which one can depend for total prevention of nuclear war. In fact Mr. Nixon's handling of international relations is something like scheduled tourism as practised by Americans. Short cuts, summary arrangements, hustle and bustle as the driving force behind all movements were the essence of "doing", the world in three months. Net result a complex medley of sensory impressions worth nothing in point of knowledge or human experience. Nixon is dealing with international relations in a manner which will fill up his sphere of political achievements with colourful bubbles of hopes, expectations and possibilities. It may help him to win his election: but will definitely not change the face of the world nor create any great immunities for humanity against the fears and threats that mankind faces at the present moment.

Right of Conquest

In olden days kings claimed the right of conquest as something that came to them naturally. It was a part of kingly virtue to mobilise vast armies and to go out in search of lands to conquer. Or a horse would be released and the royal armies would follow

the horse. Whosoever stopped the horse threw a challenge to the soldiers that came behind it and fights ensued to determine who would rule by right of conquest. Nowadays ideologies, instead of horses are sent out and the armies attack all who try to stop the free much of the ideologies. Thus Pakistan claimed to send armies to establish Pakistani theocracy in territories chosen for inclusion in the Islamic Republic. The wars over Eashmir are expressive of the right of conques t that Pakistan felt she had in regard to all territories with an Islamic majority. communists feel they have a right to conquer (liberate) other lands and to set up communist governments in those lands. China's conquest of Tibet is a good example and the fight now going on in Vietnam also expresses the same feeling which justifies the spreading of a cult by force in other people's territories. people defend their territories against advancing armies they also feel that they have a right to destroy those who attack them. They seek assistance from all who choose to help them to defend their land. That is how India was called in to help in the defence of Kashmir and America was invited to defend South Vietnam. This matter of right to conquer or to defend has led to warfare in the Near East. Pakistan is still busy trying to regain lost territory in Kashmir and the USA, China and Russia deploy soldiers in many places to defend or to conquer.

The Farakka Fraud or Fiasco

Economic planning made by competent men after careful examination of all pertinent facts can sometimes be reduced to a farcical caricature of what was originally planned when the execution of the plans are left in the hands of incompetent and unscrupulous persons unconscious of their moral obligations and possessing little knowledge of economic realities and their ultimate values and signifi-

cance. The Farakka Barrage Project which was a top priority plan for securing proper flow of water for the effective maintenance of the Calcutta Port and assuring the easy and efficient movement ships up and down the Hooghly river along which are situated the docks, moorings and wharves of the Port; has been allowed to degenerate into something completely different from what was originally planned until, in its present shape and effectiveness, 'it will no longer serve the purpose for which it was drawn up. The reasons which have brought about this fundamental change in the actual development of the project are mainly to be found in the sanctioning of 34 major and 170 medium irrigation projects for the upper regions through which the Ganges flows before it comes to Farakka. The Farakka Barrage Project has cost the nation about 200 crores of rupees. ministers who have spent this large sum of money had known all the time that the project was not developing according to plan and that the Calcutta Port will not get its extra water supply as needed for the free movement of ships throughout the year. The 40000 cusecs. planned for progressively got reduced and the Ministers began to talk about 20000 and 15000 cusecs instead of 40000; knowing full well all the time that the reduced quanta of water would not save the Calcutta Port. The major and medium irrigation projects which were swallowing the 20000 cusecs originally meant for Farakka, were not of any great importance from the overall point of view of economic planning for India. If the Calcutta Port suffered due to water shortage in the Hooghly the losses would be reflected in the economy of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and other states. losses thus suffered might exsily far exceed any gains made by the major and medium irrigation projects in the upper reaches of the Ganges. Calcutta also provides thousands of

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persons with a living who originally belonged to Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. If these people had to move out of Calcutta the losses suffered by them would also exceed the gains that their parent states would make by use of the increased irrigation facilities created at the cost of the Farakka Project.

Calcutta serves as the principal port of a very large area in Eastern India. The trade and commerce which the people of this area carry on have a value of hundreds of crores of rupees annually. If this work is interfered with and the services of ports other than Calcutta have to be utilised by the people of the area, economic difficulties will crop up which may lead to great losses to millions of persons directly and indirectly. The politicians who had been handling the Farakka project were not unaware of these facts and their silent acquiescence with the various local irrigation projects which has made Farakka a expensive fraud has been an act of criminal negligence. The persons also knew that the project was being torpedoed by these irrigation schemes and their silence therefore had an element of malice and mischief in it too.

What can the people of West Bengal do to counter the mischief that has been done to this great project to save the port of Calcutta? The first thing that they should do is to take over Farakka and make it a state project and not keep it any longer a part of National planning. If the other states can do things to sabotage a National Plan West Bengal too should exercise the right to handle her own affairs to suit her own limited purpose. central ministers should be relieved of their responsibilities in respect of Farakka, responsibilities which they have not carried out with any degree of consciousness of their real purpose. How West Bengal can save Calcutta should be now considered by the people of West Bengal. The Farakka project appears

to have misfired. One may however consider whether the project can be used to any purpose. Other plans should be made to give back to Calcutta her time honoured position of importance as the greatest port of Eastern India.

Rabindranath Tagore

Rabindranath was the youngest son of Maharshi Debendranath Tagore and was brought up by him in a very strictly moral and scholarly atmosphere. Maharshi Debendranath Tagore was very well versed in Vedantic philosophy and his knowledge of the Upanishads was profound and thorough. Rabindranath Tagore studied Sanskrit and classical Bengali literature from his early youth. When he was quite young he was taken to England by his elder brother Satyendranath Tagore who was the first Indian member of the British-Indian civil service. In England Rabindranath Tagore acquired a very good knowledge of English literature. But he did not join any school in England for a regular course of studies. On his resurn to India he devoted himself to writing in Bengali. He wrote poems, dramas and composed songs to which he set tunes himself. His literary work of this early period is remarkably flawless and express his genius with perfection. His inspiration was by and large of Sanskritic origin though he also appeared to draw emotional nourishment from the medieval Bengali and Maithili writers. Rabindranath Tagore wrote short stories and novels of great excellence. His allegorical dramas can be cited as some of the greatest compositions of world literature. His patriotic songs and poems inspired millions to fight the imperialist oppressors of India. India's stuggle for independence was greatly strengthened by the contributions Rabindranath Tagore. He began to write in

English after the turn of the century and he also translated many of his Bengali poems into English. His translations however were not strictly literary. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1913. The book for which he got this prize was the Gitanjali a book of English poems which were translations from Bengali originals.

Rabindranath Tagore worked hard to create understanding between the nations of the world. It was only through the appreciztion of the culture of other nations that all nations could work for the ideal of a universal brotherhood of man. That was why Tagore started the Viswa Bharati University where all nations could send their scholars with a view to enable everyone to understand one amother. Somehow of course this idea could not be kept alive in the Viswa Bharati after the poet's death; though it did become a centre of world culture during his life time. Poets, philosophers and humanistic thinkers from many countries chose to come to Santinikatan and many an unknown became intimately known by residing in that "abode of peace". The poets heart was large enough to accept everything in it that was worth emotional integration. He was at once a poet, composer of songs, a dramatist, a novelist, a philosopher, a political thinker an educationist, a master of the theatrical arts, an artist,, a satirist, a giant in the field of thought who could deal with the most complex problems in a simple and effective manner. He had the genius of many men in him and a parsonality which expressed all that was great and good with a grace that had no parallel. We have not said what a great religious Teacher he was. His sermons delivered from the Brahma Mandir at Santiniketan were superb in their spiritual content and they made one feel that the Rishis, of yore could still come to life in India.

Death of Edward Duke of Windsor

Edward VIII, later Duke of Windsor' was king of England and Emperor of India for a

few day more than ten months, from January 20, to Dec. 11, 1936; succeeding to the throneafter the death of his father GeorgeV and abdicating in order to marry Mrs. Wallis Warfield (Simpson) an American divorcee. Hemarried this lady in France on June 3, 1937 and made his home in that country. He died in Paris recently. As an act of renunciation achieving a romantic objective Edward's abdication has perhaps no parallel in history. That it was a case of true love has also been proved by the fact that the Duke and Duchess of Windsor have lived the life of a loving couple for 36 years. Edward's abdication was fully in keeping with his character and outlook. He was at heart a full fledged democrat, a believer in scientific truths as opposed to the superstitions that clouded man's vision in all spheres of life. The divinerights and obligations of kings left him cold and he tried to humanise everything in a manner which appalled the masters of protocal and proprieties like Prime Minister Baldwin. He was a realist and liked to go by facts rather than by accepted valuations of things. He tried to go into the firing lines in France during the first World War ratherthan do some decorative staff job. He went to Glasgow as Prince of Wales and tried to visit the slums with a view to see whether anything could be done to relieve the livingconditions of the working classes. People who knew him when he was an undergraduate at Oxford or a Naval cadet found him much moreof an ordinary mortal with human urges and aspirations than a prince out of the pages of a story book. When, therefore, he found hisroyal Prerogatives were bonds that bound him down rather than gave him greater opportunities to realise his ideal and aspirations; he renounced his royal inheritance and chose of his own free will to become an ordinary man. He was made the Duke of Windsor by Royal decree later on; but that did not in any manner change his outlook or way of life. He published his autobiography-A Kings Story in 1951.

INDUSTRIAL DECLINE OF EASTERN INDIA AND BIHAR'S UNDERDEVELOPMENT

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

The time has come to realize that Bihar's industrial backwardness is intimately related to the backwardness of the eastern region as a whole. West Bengal at one time was the leader in industry among the States. It had yielded that position long back. Perhaps that fact by itself would not have been of so much concern as it has in fact become, if the investors leaving West Bengal had turned to the States bordering West Bengal. not happened. The investors have given up West Bengal all right, but have not turned to the neighbouring States. Bihar is the most eligible State to the investors who are unwilling to invest in West Bengal. But investors have not come to Bihar. Investment in new companies in West Bengal came down from Rs. 19.68 crores in 1967-68 to Rs. 8.96 crores But this investment did not in 1968-69. come to Bihar, where investment in the share capital of new companies in fact declined from Rs. 6.38 crores in 1967-68 to a more Rs. 36 lakhs in 1968-69.

This decline was by no means confined to these two States of the eastern region but was to be noticed in every State of the region. In Assam investment in the share capital of new companies came down from Rs. 77 lakhs in 1967-68 to Rs. 28 lakhs in 1968-69; in Orissa the figures for these years were Rs. 89 lakhs and Rs. 43 lakhs respectively; in Tripura Rs. 20 lakhs and nil. Manipur, where a sum of rupees four lakhs was invested in 1968-69 as against nil in the previous year, could be

said to be the only exception. But this did not at all alter the general picture of the decline of the eastern region as a whole in the field of investment.

It was thus possible to discern the decline of the eastern region as a whole, where the investment in the share capital of new companies came down from Rs. 27.92 crores in 1967-68 to Rs. 10.57 crores in 1968-69. This decline was the peculiarity of the States in the eastern region, as can be seen by a reference to the situation in the States in the other regions-in all of which investment in the share capital of new companies registered an increase during this period. northern region (comprising Haryana, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Chandigarh, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir), the improvement was marginal, the investment in new companies having gone up from Rs. 15.97 crores in 1967-68 to Rs. 16.25 crores in 1968-69. But in the other two regions there was remarkable increase in investment. In the southern region (comprising Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Tamilnadu, Mysore and Pondichery), investment in the share capital of new companies rose from Rs. 13.41 crores in 1967-68 to Rs. 24.78 crores in 1968-69. In the western region (comprising Goa, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh) investment in the share capital, of new companies increased more than two and a half times during the same period, having gone up from Rs. 50.19 crores to Rs. 128.99 crores.

Investment in New Companies

The economy, which had begun looking up in 1968-69, maintained its progress in 1969-70 so that investment in new companies in the country as a whole went up from Rs. 180.59 crores in 1968-69 to Rs. 216.26 crores in 1969-70. Although there was a decline in the investment in the western region from Rs. 128.99 crores in 1968-69 to Rs. 58.36 crores in 1969-70, the eastern region cid not get the benefit of this decline of investment in the western region. The investment in the share capital in the States in the eastern region went up from Rs. 10.57 crores in 1968-69 to Rs. 18.70 crores in 1969-70 but fell short of the figure (Rs. 27.92 crores) of 1967-68. Whereas the western region's investment in 1969-70 (Rs. 58.36 crores), although lower than in 1968-69 (Rs. 128.99 crores), was still higher than that of 1967-68 (Rs. 50:19 crores). There was an impressive rise in the investment in the northern region where new investment in 1969-70 was of the order of Rs. 62.08 crores

compared with Rs. 16.25 crores in 1968-69 and Rs. 15.91 crores in 1967-68. Similarly in the southern region the new investment (Rs. 77.12 crores) in 1969-70 was more than three times that in the preceding year (Rs. 24.78 crores) and nearly six times that in 1967-68. point is that investment in the eastern region has been the lowest in two successive years 1968-69 and 1969-70. Out of a total investment of Rs. 180.59 crores in 1968-69 the share of the different regions was as follows: Western region Rs. 128.99 crores; southern region Rs. 24,78 crores, northern Rs. 16.25 crores and the eastern region Rs. 10.57 crores. In 1969-70 the figures were: Western region Rs. 58.36 crores; southern region Rs. 77.12 crares; northern region Rs. 62.08 crores and the eastern region Rs. 18.70 crores. In fact in each of the three years 1967-68 to 1969-70 the investment in one State in the western region (Maharashtra) has exceeded that in the entire eastern region comprising the seven states of Assam, Bihar, Manipur, Nagaland, Orissa, Tripura and West Bengal.

TABLE I
New non-Government Company Registration: Regionwise Distribution.

Authorized Capital (in crores of rupees)

`	Northern Region	Western Region	Southern Region	Eastern - Region	Maharashtra
1967-68	Rs. 15.91	Rs. 50.19	Rs. 13.41	Rs. 27.92	Rs. 40.69
1968-69	Rs. 16.25	Rs. 128.99	Rs. 24.78	Rs. 10.57	Rs. 119.00
1969-70	Rs. 62.08	Rs. 58.36	Rs. 77.12	Rs. 18.70	Rs. 36.74
Grand Total	Rs. 94.24	Rs. 237.54	Rs. 115.31	Rs. 57.19	Rs. 196.43

Investment in Government Companies

This picture of decline of the importance of the eastern region as an area of investment is not altered even if the investment in the new government companies is taken into account. During the three years 1967-68 to 1969-70 the new investment in the share capital of the

government companies totalled Rs. 197.07 crores of which the eastern States got only Rs. 6.82 crores or about 3.5 percent of the total, compared with Rs. 108.30 crores received by the northern States, Rs. 31.45 crores by the southern States and Rs, 50.50 crores by the western States.

TABLE II

New Government Company Registration: Regionwise Distribution.

Authorized Capital in crores of rupees.

Year	Total	Eastern	Northern	Southern	Western
	Investment	Region	Region	Region	Region
1967-68	Rs. 71.02	Rs. 0.52	Rs. 50.50	Rs. 20.00	Nil
1968-69	Rs. 69.30	Rs. 2.20	Rs. 17.50	Rs. 2.10	Rs. 47.50
1969-70	Rs. 50.75	Rs. 4.10	Rs. 40.30	Rs. 9.35	Rs. 3.00
Grand Total	Rs. 197.07	Rs. 6.82	Rs. 108.30	Rs. 31.45	Rs. 50.50

TABLE III

New Company Registration Government and non-Government: Regionwise Distribution of Authorized Capital (in crores of rupees)

Year	Total	Eastern	Northern	Suthern	Western
	Investment	Region	Region	Region	Region
1967-68	Rs. 178.45	Rs. 28.44	Rs. 66.41	Rs. 33.41	Rs. 50.19
1968-69	Rs. 249.89	Rs. 12.77	Rs. 33.75	Rs. 26.88	Rs. 175.49
1969-70	Rs. 273.01	Rs. 22.80	Rs. 102.38	Rs. 86.47	Rs. 61.36
Grand Total	Rs. 701.35	Rs. 64.01	Rs. 202.54	Rs. 146.76	Rs. 288.04

The total investment in the eastern region was only Rs. 64 crores during the three years 1967-68 to 1969-70 out of a total investment of of over 700 crores of rupees; the shares of other regions were: Southern Rs. 146.76 crores, northern Rs. 202.54 crores and western Rs. 288.04 crores.

Long-term Trend of Decline

It would be wrong to think, as many in this country tend to do, that the decline of the eastern region in new investment is of recent origin. In fact this downward trend has been persisting over a long period. An analysis of the industrial licences issued by the Government of India during the ten years 1956-66 shows that the States in the eastern region received only 24.75 percent, of the approved licences, compared with 38.62 percent by the western region, 19.89 percent by the southern region and 16.74 percent by the northern region. In fact one State—Maharashtra alone claimed a higher share (27.37 percent) of the

approved licences than the entire eastern region which got only 24.75 percent, (Assam 0.94 percent, Bihar 5.16 percent, Orissa 1.18 percent and West Bengal 16.47 percent). A study of the production concentration of industrial licences made by the Licensing Policy Inquiry Committee shows that more than 45 percent of the production of machine tools was concentrated in the two States of Maharashtra and Gujarat. The concentration in these two States of some other selected industries was of the following order: Industrial machinery 47.19 percent; metallurgical industries 28.31 percent; non-metallurgical industries 35.34 percent; road transport 40.38 percent; bicycles and miscellaneous transport equipment 21.21 percent; rubber and leather products 24.83 percent; and fruit products and vegetable oils 31.05 percent.

"Regionwise distribution of industrial licences for the dyestuff industries shows", the Licensing Policy Inquiry Committee notes, "that 31 out of 51 licences issued during the

period of our study went to Maharashtra and 14 to Gujarat, thus further accentuating the concentration of the industry which already existed. Similarly, in regard to the plastics industry, out of 145 licences granted 73 (over 50 percent) went to Maharashtra....." None cene to Bihar. In the paper and pulp industres the western region got 90 licences, nerthern region 80 licences, eastern region 72 licences and the southern region 57 licences. In the pesticides industry, of the licences iscued during 1956 to 1966, 61 percent went to the western region, 19 percent to the southern region, 13 percent to the eastern region and 7 percent to the northern region. The Licensing Palicy Inquiry Committee found that 65 percant of the licensed capacity for the fertiliser industry was in the southern States (Andhra Pradesh 29 percent, Kerala 20 percent and Wadras 15 percent), 9 percent in UP, 5 percent each in Rajasthan and Goa, 4 percent in Assam, 2.6 percent in West Bengal, 2.4 percent E Bihar, 2.3 percent in Gujarat, 2.6 percen in Maharashtra and 1.18 percent in Madhya Eadesh.

Position of Bihar

Bihar, being in the eastern region, has unavoidably suffered in the matter of new investment and licensing. In the three years 1967-68 to 1969-70 fortyfive new government ompanies were registered in the country as a whole with a total authorised capital of Rs. 197.07 crores. Bihar accounted for only ene such company with a paltry authorized capital of rupees two lakhs (see the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Annual Reports Vorking and Administration of the Companies Lct 1956). During the same period three tousand six hundred and twentyfour (3624) new non-Government companies were registered involving an authorized capital of 3. 504.28 crores. Bihar's share was fiftyseven companies involving an authorized capital

of Rs. 9.27 crores. In other words Bihar accounted for a little over 1.5 percent of the new companies registered during the period and about 1.71 percent of the authorized capital. In 1967-68 only 22 companies (three public and nineteen private) were registered in Bihar with a total authorized capital of Rs. 6.38 crores (Rs. 5.15 crores public and Rs. 1.23 crore private companies). In the following year the number of companies registered was even smaller—only 17 as a matter of fact (2 public and 15 private companies) involving a total authorized capital of Rs. 96 lakhs. (Did the ministerial uncertainties during 1968-69 have anything to do with this sudden decline in investment in Bihar in that year?) In West Bengal, where also there was a similar governmental instability investments in new non-government companies came down from Rs. 19.68 crores in 1967-68 to very much less than half of it—Rs. 8.96 crores—in 1968-69. It is interesting that during the same period investment in new companies in Maharashtra had gone up from Rs. 40.69 crores in 1967-68 to nearly three times the figure (Rs. 119.00 crores) in 1968-69. 1969-70 only eighteen new companies were registered in Bihar involving a total authorized capital of Rs. 2.03 crores. In 1969-70 Bihar accounted for a little over 1.2 percent of the registration and less than one percent of the authorized investment!

Licences issued and Bihar

Turning to Bihar's share of licences issued during the twenty years 1952-1971 we find that Bihar had no share in the 2046 licences issued for one hundred and nine industries A list of these industries has been provided in Appendix 'A' to this article. The non-issue of licences for some of these industries is indeed the most puzzling. For example, in view of the programme of rural electrifica-

tion a unit should have been set up for the manufacture of transmission towers. It is strange that none of the twentyone licences issued for the industry was meant for Bihar. A lot of hullabaloo is made about developing agriculture in Bihar. Yet the extraordinary fact remains that none of the thirtyeight approved licences for agricultural implements was meant for Bihar. Similarly extraordinary was the fact that none of the thirtyfour approved licences for tractors, harvesters and the like was meant for Bihar. There has been a rapid increase in the number of radio receivers all over the country including Bihar. Yet none of the 150 approved licences for the manufacture of radio receivers was meant for Bihar. One licence was issued to M/s Hindustan Malleables and Forgings Private Ltd, Jalan House, Jharia on 10 October 1960 but it was revoked on 8 December 1962. Similarly no licences were obtained for Bihar for the manufacture of motor cycles and scooters (13), autocycles, mopeds (9), chemical mechinery (78), X-Ray equipment (13), electronic equipment (20), scientific instruments (33), aluminium products (48), electric irons and heaters (32), tape recorders (5), electrical fans and ancillaries (42), loudspeakers (23), record players (3) which are being used more and more. (The figures in brackets signify the total number of approved licences.) In another fortyfive industries with a total of 3278 licences listed in Appendix 'B' Bihar's share was 128 licences or less than four percent of the total. Half the licences were accounted

for by licencees having their offices outside Bihar—45 licencees were based in Calcutta, 16 in Bombay and three in New Delhi, providing a poor commentary on the initiative of the residents of Bihar in investment and industrialization.

Lack of Initiative from Bihar

The Industrial Licensing Policy Inquiry Committee appointed by the Government of India in July 1967 noted in its report submitted in July 1969 that it was the lack of initiative from entrepreneurs in industrially backward States, rather than any fault in the operation of the licensing policy that retarded industrial development in the industrially backward States. The Committee analysed the total of 17310 applications for industrial licences issued during the ten years 1956 to 1966. It was found that 10,016 applications were approved and 7,294 applications were rejected. Out of the rejected applications. information about Statewise distribution was not available in the case of 3,225. On the basis of these figures it was found that applications for licences from Bihar totalled 4.89 percent of the total. The percentage of approved applications was higher at 5.16 percent of the total of approved applications. Rejections for Bihar formed 4.20 percent of the total of rejected applications. Many of the approved applications were for new units. The following table summarises the position in respect of implementation of licences in a few selected states.

Ŧ	ABLE	IV	
Implementation	of Lice	aces	1956-1966.

(1)	(2) Total	(3) Licences	(4) Col (3) as	(5) Percentage	(6) of Licences	(7)
States	Applica- tions	Issued	percentage of Col. 2	fully implemented	partially implemented	non-imple- mented
£ssam	152	95	62.5	43.2	5.3	51.3
Eihar	688	517	75.1	62.7	12.2	25.1
Crissa	198	118	59.6	50.4	9.4	4.2
Funjab	1051	632	60.2	60.3	8.1	31.6
Maharashtra	3645	2741	75.2	67.5	4.3	28.2

Source: Report of the Licensing Policy Inquiry Committee 1969.

The Committee observes: "To some extent, the licensing system could not assist the incustrially backward States much because the number of proposals for locating industrial units in these States was much smaller than that for location in other States. Thus, the number of applications received for location ir Assam was only 152 in the whole period of our enquiry as compared with 3645 for Maharashtra. It is true that the proportion of approved applications was only 62 percent Assam compared to 75 percent in Maharashtra, but there were relatively backward States such as Kerala where the proportim of approvals was as high as 82 percent. It may be noted that in no States was the proportion of approvals less than 58 percent and in the case of most States it varied between 60 and 75 percent. One cannot say that it was the rejection of applications that was mainly responsible for the licensing system nor assisting the less industrialised States". Report of the Industrial Licensing Policy Inquiry Committee, Government of India, Department of Industrial Development, Ministry of Industrial Development, Internal Trade and Company Affairs, July 1969 Main Report Pz 109-110.

Need for a Regional Approach

Economic development is possible only through adequate investment. Bihar has got ten percent of the population of the country. Proportionately about ten percent of the total investment of the country ought to be made in Bihar. But what obtains in fact is quite different—Bihar accounted for only 398 of the total of 28,948 limited companies at work on 31 March 1970 which worked out at less than 1.4 percent of the total. True, the number of companies does not automatically indicate the magnitude of investment; but it is equally true that only a fraction of the nation's investment is in Bihar. During the three years 1967-68 to 1969-70 the total investment of the Government and non-Government companies was Rs. 701.35 crores out of which Bihar got only Rs. 9.29 crores or about 1.4 percent. Without investment there cannot be employment; without employment people are bound to remain poor. Since investment in Bihar is so low, it is no wonder that Bihar has the lowest per capita income among the States in India.

To reduce unemployment and poverty, to improve the per capita income, more employ-

ment opportunities have to be created in Bihar through accelerated inveslment. The opening of rural branches by the nationalized banks would undoubtedly require organiza-One of the most potent forms for channelising savings for investment in productive enterprises is the joint stock companies. Therefore active measures will have to be adopted for starting more new companies as well as for expanding the capital base of the existing companies. It is not reasonable to rely entirely on the companies from other States coming forward to carry the primary burden of the industrialization of Bihar. To achieve that end initiative has to be taken within Bihar. Active efforts will have to be made to obtain licences for starting many more industries-modern industries. Already valuable ground has been lost through lack of initiative so that a large number of modern industries has gone to the western region, particularly Maharashtra, some of which could have easily thrived in Bihar.

It is clear, however, that in addition to intensive efforts to float new companies in Bihar, efforts will also have to be made simultaneously to attract companies from other States to invest in Bihar. This necessary because these companies have the know-how of many products and would be in a better position than new ones to achieve quicker results. They may like to tap the new market of Bihar which has immense potentialities for expansion. Such a programme of of action cannot meet with any great success if the most harmful campaign mounted by some self-seeking and short-sighted persons against what has been called "non-Biharis" is not given up. The stupidity of this slogan is to be seen in the fact that many outsiders have not felt secure to come to Bihar to invest. Such a meaningless slogan can have the only result of deterring prospective investors further. The utter harmfulness of such a

slogan for the future of Bihar would be immediately realized once one tried to visualize what would have happened if the 64 licences obtained for Bihar by the companies from outside Bihar had gone to other As the Licensing Policy Inquiry Committee mentioned, rejections of applications did not stand in the way of the nondeveloped States. During the twenty years 1952-1971 only 64 successful applications were made for industrial licenecs from Bihar. This works out at about 1.2 percent of the total successful applications. Should any genuine lover of Bihar consider this a satisfactory rate? Can one realistically hope that this rate can be improved immediately with the efforts of the people of Bihar alone? Is it not in Bihar's interest to induce more and more "non-Biharis" to come and invest in Bihar? sad fact that few Bihari intellectuals have come forward to decry this pernicious campaign which is vitally hurting the interest of Bihar's economic development.

Licensing Committee's View

In view of the almost complete centralization of economic decisions in New Delhi, the efforts within Bihar cannot achieve a major success unless the outlook of the decision makers in New Delhi also changes. The Industrial Licensing Policy Inquiry Committee criticised the absence of an "overall regionwise plan for licensing of different industries" which in the Committee's view "was a part of the overall deficiency of licensing policy." (Main report p 108). The Committee's criticism of the working of the licencing authority in New Delhi is to be seen in its following observation: "It is sometimes said", the Committee observed, "that licensing as an instrument of regional dispersal has an important limitation in that, being merely a negative instrument, it can prevent certain industries from developing in particular areas or States.

but it cannot possibly assist the location of industries in others. This is not entirely correct. Licensing authorities could advise applicants that the applications would be favourably considered if locations were proposed in some States or regions as against others. That licensing was not so used was largely due to the fact that no clear policy and no overall guide-lines were laid down regarding the pursuance of this objective". (Main report p. 109). Thus sustained efforts-both through the official and non-official channels -have to be made to bring about a change in the orientation of the decision-makers in New Delhi so that licensing policy does continue to be an instrument of discrimination against the States in the eastern region.

Inter State Migration

Even a cursory glance at the trend of economic development in the country over the quarter of a century since Independence makes one conscious of the urgent need to develop an area consciousness. Although Bihar had sufficient political and bureaucratic representation in New Delhi (at one time four Union Cabinet Ministers were from Bihar in addition to a number of Ministers of State Deputy Ministers and departmental secretaries) as contrasted to Assam, Orissa and West Bengal (which have had very little political or bureaucratic influence in New Delhi after Independence), Bihar's gain has been only marginal and quite insufficient from the point of view of the impact on the standard of living of the people. True, as a result of political and bureaucratic influence in New Delhi, Bihar was the second largest recipient of central investment among the States, but in view of the absence of an area consciousness Bihar did not gain what it could have gained otherwise. The fact has to be borne in mind that for a long time to come

no " single State can attain a state of ecoa nomic autarky. For many things including employment the States will have to be mutually dependent on one another. States developing particular types of industries would attract qualified personnel from other States as well. Similarly other States developing other industries would attract investors and employees from outside their State This inter-State migration is boundaries. neither unnatural nor undesirable. Once the inevitability of inter-state migration is kept in mind, the virtues of a regional approach would become fully evident.

That Bihar, in particular, stands to gain from a regional approach can be better understood with reference to the statistics on migration. Over 97 percent of the emigration from Bihar, and 85 percent of the immigration into Bihar, takes place from the five adjoining States of West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, MadhyaPradesh and Assam. It is seen that Bihar sends out 1,260,637 more persons (959,272 men and 301,365 women) than it receives. According to the 1961 census report Bihar had sent out 1,988,530 persons (1,263,635 males and 724,895 females) and received 727,893 persons (304,363 males and 423,530 females) from the five States of West Bengal Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Assam. Except for Uttar Pradesh from where Bihar receives more persons than it sends to that State, Bihar has been sending out more persons to the other States than it has been receiving from them. Bihar sent out to West Bengal three times more persons than it received in 1961. Bihar received a little over three lakhs of persons from West Bengal (120,729 males and 188,503 females) but sent out over thirteen lakhs of persons (944,714 males and 405,885 females) to West Bengal—losing in the bargain no fewer than over a million persons (823,985 males and 217,382 The following table sums up the females). matter.

 ${\bf TABLE} \quad {\bf V} \\ {\bf Migration \ between \ Bihar \ and \ adjacent \ States \ 1961.}$

Stare (1)		Immigration to Bihar (2)		on from Bihar	Balance of Migra- tion+gain for Bihar -loss for Bihar (4)	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
West Bengal	120,729	188,503	944,714	405,885	-823 ,9 85	-217,382
Uttar Pradesh	133,607	170,222	60,542	166,636	+73,065	+ 3,586
Orissa	24,931	35,685	39,179	56,290	- 14,248	- 20,605
Madhya Pradesh	20,228	24,955	31,946	25,606	- 11,718	- 651
Assam	4,868	4,165	187,254	70,478	- 182,386	- 66,313
Total	304,363	423,530	1,263,635	724,895	- 959,272	- 301,365

Source: Census of India 1961 Vol IV, Bihar Part IA(1)P 318.

If these 1,260,637 persons who represent the net migration had stayed in Bihar undoubtedly they would have caused some additional strain on the State's economy. Although the best thing for them would have been if they could have stayed in Bihar, since Bihar did not afford them adequate opportunities for making a living they went out. When people migrate they generally go to the

neighbouring districts and States. Thus regional development indirectly contributes to the welfare of States in the region which might not be directly developed. While the utmost exertion should be made to accelerate the pace of industrialization of Bihar, it is in Bihar's own interest, as in the interest of all the States in the eastern region, to uphold the cause of regional development.

Appendix "A"

Bihar's Share of Licences Issued 1952-1971

(Industries in which No Licences were issued for Bihar)

	Name of Industry	Total Licences Issued 1952-1971	Bihar's Share	Remarks
1.	Iron and Steel (Metal) Pig Iron	25	Nil	
2.	Ferro Alloys	23	Nil	One licence was issued to
		,		M/s. Ram Bahadur Thakur & Co. in 1954 but was revoked on 10 October 1956.
3.	Steel shots and grits	14	Nil	
4.	Iron and Steel Pipes (Fittings)	13	Nil	
5.	Welded Steel Pipes and Tubes	16	Nil	
6.	Conduit Pipes	. 9	Nil	
7.	Other Products of Iron and S	Steel		
	Box-strapping	- 8	Nil	· ·

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8.	-Do- Bright Bars and Shaftings	16	Nil	
9.	-Do- Expanded Metal	3	Nil	
10.	-Do- Welding Electrodes	28	Nil	
11.	-Do- Building Material etc.	7	Nil	
12.	-Do- Transmission Towers	21	Nil	
13.	-Do- Screws (Wood and Machine)	46	Nil	
14.	Aluminium Ingots & Billets	16	Nil	•
15.	Semimanufactures and Manufac-			
•	tures (Nonferrous Alloys & Castings			
	etc.)	22	Nil	
16.	-Do- Collapsible Tubes	5	Nil	
17.	-Do- Aluminium Rods and Bars etc.	19	Nil	
18.	-Do- Aluminium Sheets and circles	9	Nil	
19.	-Do- Aluminium Foils etc.	6	Nil	
20.	-Do- Aluminium. Miscellaneous			
	Products	14	Nil	
21.	-Do- Brass Sheets and circles	18	Nil	•
22.	-Do- Utensils	_. 54	Nil	
23.	Boilers and Steam Generating Plants	30	Nil	·
24.	Electrical Furnaces	5	Nil	
25.	X-Ray Equipment	13	Nil	•
26.	Electronic Equipment	20	Nil	
27.	Household Appliances such as			
	Electric Irons, Heaters and the Kiln	32	Nil	
28.	Storage Batteries	15	Nil	
29.	Dry Cells	12	Nil	
30.	Telephones	7	Nil	
31.	Telegraph Equipment	1	Nil	
32.	Wireless Communication Apparatus	4	Nil	•
33.	Radio Receivers including Amplify-			
	ing and Public Address Equipment	150	Nil	One licence was issued to
	• •			M/s. Hindustan Malleable
				and Forgings Pvt. Ltd., Jalan
				House, Jharia on 10 October
				1960. It was revoked or
1	•			8 December 1962.
34.	Tape Recorders	5	Nil	
35.	Loud Speakers	23	Nil	
36.	Record Players	3	Nil	
37.	Microphones	2	Nil	
38.	Television sets	2	Nil	
39.	Teleprinters	2	Nil	

40.	Aircraft	8	Nil	
41.	Ships and Vessels	15	Nil	
42.	Auto Cycles, Mopeds etc.	9	Nil	One licence was issued to M/s. Dharam Singh & Co. (P) Ltd., Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi on 29.8.61 but was revoked on 20 April 1963.
43.	Jeeps and Rovers etc.	4	Nil	
44.	Motor Cycles, Scooters etc.	13	Nil	
45.	Automobile Cars	2	Nil	
46.	-Do- Trailers etc.	15	Nil	
47.	-Do- Springs, Laminated Leaf, Coil			
	etc.	21	Nil	
48.	-Do- Wheels, Rims etc.	9	Nil	
49.	Bicycle-Hubs	12	Nil	
50.	-Do- Rims	12	Nil	•
51.	-Do- Steel Balls	8	Nil	
52.	-Do- B. B. Fittings	15	Nil	
53.	-Do- Free Wheels	11	Nil	
54.	-Do- Frames	6	Nil	
55.	-Do- Saddles	11	Nil	
56.	-Do- Spokes and Nipples	11	Nil	,
57.	-Do- Chains	16	Nil	
58.	Industrial Machinery	2	Nil	
59.	Jute Mill Machinery	31	Nil	
60.	Rayon Machinery	6	Nil	
61.	Sugar Mill Machinery	32	Nil	
62.	Tea Processing Machinery	13	Nil	
63.	Chemical Machinery	7 8	Nil	
64.	Pharmaceutical Machinery	6	Nil	
65.	Conveying Equipment-Hoists Pulley,			
	Blocks, Winches etc.	40	\mathbf{Nil}	
66.	-Do- Conveyors etc.	31	Nil	One licence was issued to Kamani Brothers Pvt. Ltd., Ballard Estate, Bombay on 22.6.63 but was revoked on 5 December, 1964.
67.	Size Separation Units Screens,			
	Classifiers and the like	11	Nil	
68.	Mixers and Reactors	12	Nil	
69.	Filtration Equipment-Filter Presses,			

	Rotary Filters and the like	3	Nil
70.	Centrifugal Machines	3	Nil
71.	Distillation Equipment	10	Nil -
72.	Air and Gas Compressors and		****
	Vacuum Pipes	40	Nil
73.	Refrigeration Plants for Industrial use	21	Nil
	Fire Fighting Equipment and Fire		2 122
	Engines	4	Nil
75.	Speed Reduction units etc.	17	Nil
76.	-	34	Nil
77.	Agricultural Implements	38	Nil
78.	Plastic Moulded Goods	92	Nil
79.		13	Nil
80.	,	6	Nil
81.	3 1 ,	14	Nil
82.		12	Nil
83.		18	Nil
34.		13	Nil
35.	*	44	Nil
86.	• ,	22	Nil
87.	Tungsten Carbide	19	Nil
88.		21	Nil
89.	Tool Bits etc.	18	Nil
90.	Double-ended Spanners etc.	13	Nil
91.	-	25	Nil
92.	-	2	Nil
93.	Small tools etc.	3	Nil
94.	Other Misc. Mechanical and		
	Engineering Industry	45	Nil
95.	Razor Blades and strips	11	Nil
95.	Calculating Machines	10	Nil
97.	Airconditioners and Refrigerators	30	Nil
93.	Domestic Regrigerators	9	Nil
99.	Water Coolers	8	Nil
100.	Sewing and Knitting Machines	27	Nil
IO1.	Hurricane Lanterns	4	Nil
102.	Medical and Surgical Appliances	18	Nil
103.	Water Meters	23	Nil
104.	House Service Metres, Electricity		
	Metres etc.	56	Nil

105,	Indicating, Recording and Regulat- ing Devices for Pressure, Tempera-			
	ture, Rate of Flow, Weights, levels	•		
	and the like.	28	Nil	Two licences were issued to M/s, Bihar Instruments Manufactures Go. Ltd., Patna on 1.3.60 and to M/s Industrial Tools Private Ltd. 25 Swallow Lane, Calcutts on 6.11.61, but were revoked on 1.8.64 and 1.9.62 respectively.
106.	Weighing Machines	7	Nil	-
107.	Scientific Instruments	33	Nil	
108.	Mathematical, Surveying and Draw-			
	ing Instruments	13	Nil	
109.	Electrical Fans and Ancillaries	42	Nil	One licence was issued to M/s. Usha Automobile & Engineering Co. Pvt. Ltd. Ramgopal Ghosh Road Calcutta on 25.2.60, was revoked on 25.8.62.
	•	2046		

Appendix "B"

Bihar's Share of Approved Licences 1952-1971.

(Industries for which one or more licences were issued for Bihar)

	Name of Industry		pproved icences	Bihar's Share	Location of Head Office of Licence holder
	(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)
1.	Iron and Steel (Metal) Steel Billets and	Ingots	36	. 1	Ranchi (HEC)
2.	Iron and Steel Castings and Forgings	-	370	13	Five outside, Bihar (one each in Delhi & Bombay)
3.	Iron and Steel Structurals		183	6	4 outside Bihar (one in Bombay rest in Calcutta)
4.	Malleable Iron and Steel Pipes		21	2	One in Calcutta
5.	C. I. Spun Pipes etc.		70	4	3 in Calcutta
6.	Seamless Steel Pipes and Tubes		8	3	3 in Calcutta
7.	Hume Steel Pipes		4	1	Bombay
8.	E. R. W. Steel Pipes and Tubes		8	1	Calcutta

	Total	3278	128	J
45.	**	35	2	One Calcuttta One Jamshedpur.
4∔.		11	1	Dumraon
4 3.	Earthmoving machinery, Bulldozers etc.	51	3	All in Bombay
42.	Machine tools	277	2	One in Calcutta One Ranchi
41.		26	1	New Delhi
4 0.	Power Driven pumps	74	1	Dhanbad
3¢.	Lifts	11 ,	1	Dhanbad
38.	Cranes etc.	64	2	One in Bombay One Calcutta
37.	Crushers	12	1	Patna
36.	Paper Machinery	32	3	One Bambay 2 Dalmianagar
35.	Cement Machinery	11	1	Calcutta
34.	,	8	1	Ranchi (M. E. C.)
33.	•	42	7	6 in Calcutta
32.		153	1	Patna
31.	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	11	1	Bombay
30.	Bicycles (complete)	30	1	Patna (Sahayas)
29.		39	6	One in Calcutta
28.	Automobiles	221	1	Calcutta
27.	Railway Rolling Stock	64	7	2 in Calcutta
26.	Railway locomotives	14	2	Both in Bombay
25.	Electrical cables, conductors etc.	193	6	4 in Calcutta
	Electrical lamps	145	12	All but one in Patna
23.	Electrical motors	110	1	Patna
22.	Equipment for generation transmission and distribution of electricity	232	5	One in Calcutta
21.	Transformers	93	5	One in Galcutta
20.	Internal Combustion engines	99 8 5	1	One in Calcutta
19.	Copper sheets	26	2	New Delhi Calcutta
18.	Other Non-ferrous metal alloys	10	1	Calcutta
17.	Precious Metals Alloys	3	2	One in Calcutta
16.	Misc. Iron and Steel Products	71	4	Two in Bombay, one in Cal.
15.	Iron and Steel Wires etc.	100	3	Two in Calcutta
14.	Iron and Steel Containers	104	3	One in Calcutta
13.	Iron and Steel Bolts, Nuts etc.	68	1	Chakradharpur
12.	Iron and Steel Strips	14	2	One each in Bombay
11.	M. S. Bars etc.	69	1	Bombay
10.	Special Steel	41	4	2 in Calcutta

THE PUBLIC SECTOR—À DISHEARTENING PROFILE

SANTOSH CHAKRABARTI

At least three incidents of importance indicate the growing concern of the Government to lift the public sector enterprises from the morass of inefficiency: its decision to raise a special management cadre drawn from the Industrial Management Pool, the I. A. S., the private sector and the units' own personnel, the announcement of an upward percentage of bonus and the AICC's approval in appointing a committee to investigate the workings of this sickening sector.

There can be no denying that the earlier system of deputing civil servants to top and middle-ranking executive posts in the public sector had hardly anything to commend itself. For, the deputationists had the habit of relinquishing their parent services in favour of public sector posts only to wait in the wings to return to the former when good time prevailed. They did not have any scope for following a consistent policy towards labour and productivity. This has definitely done a great deal of harm to an already sick sector. The Government's decision to end this system and simultaneously to raise a special management cadre will help in administering to this sector the correct remedy of professionalised management.

However, a sense of irretrievable hopelessness seems to have gripped the policy-making body of the Government, as evident from Mr. C. Subramanian's frank confession, "We have diagnosed the disease of the public sector, we know even the medicine which has to be administered, but unfortunately we are not administering it."

This attitude contrasts sharply with the desire of the Government to extend its arm

over as many business fields as possible in its stride towards socialism. The recent takeover of the 214 coking coal mines through an Ordinance is self-expressive. But unless profitability is raised and greater efficiency ensured in this sector, the credibility gap will widen about the Government's wisdom. In tune with the cult of laxity in the Government enterprises, the Rourkela steel melting shop had a roof collapse in July entailing a loss cf about Rs. 37 crores in terms of production lag and repairing charges. Coming as it does after another accident that occurred in 1964 this recent one only pinpoints the need for greater efficiency and vigil in the maintenance departments of various plants.

Saga of Loss

In terms of production the public sector enterprises have a saga of loss to present. According to an estimate of the Economic Times, 16.6.70, 73 running concerns had shown a net loss of Rs. 27.7 crores during 1968-69. whereas the annual report of the Comptroller Auditor-General for 1969-70 puts the net loss of 78 Government firms at Rs. 332.94 Lakhs. Barring a few public enterprises most of the undertakings have registered a net loss in their accounts for 1970-71. Bharat Heavy Electricals (Rs. 65 lakhs), Hindustan Insecticides Limited and Hindustan Machine Tools are among the few showing profits, while or the debit side are such giant steel complexes as Hindustan Steel Limited whose cumulative losses stand at Rs. 178 crores in 1970-71. Mr. K. P. M. Sundharam (The Radical Humanist, No. 17), quoting a table from Lok Udyog shows that in 1967-68 industries like

Chemicals and Fertilisers, Petroleum, Shipbuilding, Trading and Aviation showed profits after depreciation but before interest on loan and taxes as percentage to effective capital employed. But business in Steel, Engineering, Mining and some other miscellaneous fields registered a net loss in the same financial year. Even after crediting Rs. 296 crores paid in excise duty from the year of production to its profit account, it may be said that HSL has incurred a net loss, not profit over the years.

Under-Utilisation

This sorry mess has been created by the severe capacity under-utilisation that prevails in almost all the public sector units. Idle capacity envisaged for 1970-71 in different units is as follows: HMT: 60%, HEC: 77%, Eurgapur: 62% and Rourkela: 44% Eurgapur's image is tarnished by work stoppages, production loss and inter-union rivalry. Against an estimated capacity of 1.6 million tonnes, production has been whittled down to 7,60,000 tonnes only.

Of the many problems that plague this sector the most serious is the bad management-labour relationship. According to Mr. K. T. Chandy, HSL Chairman, man-hour lost in Rourkela in 1970-71 was 2,92,000 while in Durgapur it was a staggering 17,60,000. At the Alloy Steel Plant it was 8,10,000. If Bhilai Steel Plant has registered a net profit in 1970-71, it is due to the fact that it suffered no loss of man-hour.

There is thus a strong case for an improvement in this tenuous relationship. The Government's recently adopted personnel policy is expected to show better results, because it is only professionals who can tackle the labour issue most effectively. But trade unions should also recognise their social responsibility. An enhanced bonus rate may minimise bonus disputes, but intractability on

the trade union front in this regard will complicate matters. INTUC, HMS and AITUC are still insisting on 8.33% as minimum bonus. Unless optimum capacity utilisation is achieved, the public sector will hardly have a self-sustaining growth. The only answer to over-manning (HSL alone employs a very high number of workers: 1,11,564) is this optimum utilisation of capacity.

Other factors governing its viability are better marketing device and enlargement of foreign markets. There is enough scope for exporting Indian engineering goods. In fact it is better performance which has earned BHEL a Rs. 10 crore export order from Malaysia recently.

It is earnestly to be hoped that the National Productivity Council's efforts in creating a "productivity consciousness" among workers will succeed. Already it has offered to labourers' representatives good terms for sharing productivity gains but they have not been found acceptable to them. Labour representation on the management can help matters immensely. Merger of splinter unions may increase their bargaining position and may save the public sector plants from severe inter-union rivalry that hampers production.

After everything is said, it remains to be seen how the Government's awareness of granting more autonomy to the public enterprises is translated into practice. The shoddy manner in which Mr. B. C. Ganguli, Chairman of the Railway Board, has been retired points the direction in which the wind of autonomy consciousness is blowing in Government circles. The little that emerges from the maze of allegations and counter-allegations in the murky Hanumanthaiya-Ganguli affair suggests that if the ex-Rail Board Chairman acted in an authoritarian manner since last June, the Railway Minister's interference in day-today administration cannot be denied.

GANDHIJI'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO MANKIND

BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

This being the birth centenary year. which ends on October 2, 1970, it is therefore pertinent to study Mahatmaya's (Singhala) contributions to India in particular and mankind in general. He was aware of the reasons for the decline of the Indian civilization, mainly due to the decadence of her social structure. He was also aware that the Asokan era of Indian history (3rd century B. C.) was one of the greatest periods in the human annals. It was a period of moral excellence rather than a period of military grandeur Naturally Gandhiji, as a saintly politician, favoured a democracy with moral and ethical excellence.

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Albert Einstein was a great admirer o Gandhiji and he said of him, that Mahatma's great contribution of our time lay in his determination to moralize politics. Gandhiji, like the Buddha and Asoka before him, constantly insisted that the same moral law must be applied to politics as in private life, and he tried throughout his life—like Asoka—to apply moral law to his political actions.

Gandhiji liked a true democratic self government. He said that a democracy will not come by the acquisition of authority by a few, but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when it is abused. That is to educate the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority. Therefore it is not surprising that India and Ceylon have maintained ancient traditions,

a blend of Indo-Ceylon wisdom, left ovefrom Buddhist councils of ancient times, with modern Anglo-American democratic principles.

Mahatmaya once wrote on the weaknesses of the democratic system:

"There is no human institute that has no defects. The greater the institution, the greater the chances of abuse. Democracy is a great institution and therefore it is liable to be greatly abused. The remedy, therefore, is not avoidance of democracy but the reduction of the possibility of abuse to a minimum."

That Buddhism helped greatly in the evolution of democratic forms of government in ancient India is borne out by what Marquess Zetland, a former Viceroy of India, says in his introduction to the book, "Legacy of India". Lord Zetland says:

"We know indeed that political science-Sanskrit-was a favourite Arthasastra subject with Indian scholars some centuries before the Christian Era. The Social Contract as the origin of Kingship is discussed in the now famous work attributed to Kautilya, the Chief Minister of Emperor Chandragupta, about the year 300 B. C. And it would seem that the people who contracted for a king in these early days did so in order that there should be some external authority capable of ensuring that the laws and regulations cf the various corporate bodies which had come into existence, were respected. 'The King,'

Yajnavalkya, 'must discipline and establish again on the path of duty all such as have erred from their own laws, whether families, castes, guilds or associations.....' It is notable that the tendency towards selfgovernment evidenced by these various forms of corporate activity received fresh impetus from the Buddhist rejection of authority of the priesthood and further by the doctrine of equality as exemplified by its repudiation of caste. It is indeed to the Buddhist books that we have to turn for an account of the manner in which the affairs of these early examples of representative self-governing institutions were conducted. And it may come as a surprise to many to learn that in Assemblies of the Buddhists in India, Ceylon and Burma two housand or more years ago are to be found the rudiments of our own parliamentary practice of the present day. The dignity of the Assembly preserved by the appointment of a special Officer—the embryo of 'Mr. Speaker' in our House of Commons. A second Officer was appointed whose duty it was to see that when necessary a quorum was secured, the prototype of the Parliamentary Chief Whip in our own system (British). Α member initiating business did so in the form of a motion which was then open to discussion. In some cases this was done once only; in others three times, thus anticipating the practice of Parliament in requiring that a Bill be read a third time before it became law. If discussion disclosed a difference of opinion the matter was decided by the vote majority, the voting being ballot."

As Lord Zetland says the Buddha's doctrine of equality made a profound impression on the social and political life of the people of India and Ceylon, and other parts of Asia where Bhuddhism prevailed, and this influence has lasted to this day to some degree.

Therefore it is not surprising that India

and Ceylon since attaining new independence have adopted and sustained democratic values successfully for the last 20 years, with adult franchise granted to both sexes.

The preamble to the Indian constitution bears striking resemblance to the Declaration of Rights of the American Constitution. fundamental rights of all citizens guaranteed under the Indian Constitution. which countenances no discrimination on the grounds of race, religion, creed and sex. "Untouchability" has been abolished and the practice of it is made a criminal offence under the law. The freedom of speech and expression, assembly and association, migration, acquisition of property and choice of occupation or trade are guaranteed. There is perfect liberty to follow and practise one's own religion, and minorities are especially protected in respect of their language, religion and culture.

Ceylon, on the other hand, following British Parliamentary practice, assumes all unwritten traditions of the British Constitution, which are considered equal to the above. Furthermore, India and Ceylon strive towards the goal of economic democracy and their foreign policies promote peace and security and maintain just and honourable relations between nations. The foreign policies are based on Buddha ideal of peace and universal goodwill.

Thus Ghandiji is a realist, a modern democrat as Asoka was in ancient India. Dr. Rasgota states:

"Ghandiji wanted women of India to be free and to assume their proper place and role in the free society in New India. He would be pleased to see women of today's India, in their thousands, occupying high places as Members of Parliament, as doctors, nurses, teachers and technologists,"

The women in Indian society in the Buddha's time did not receive much recognition. It was the Buddha who raised the status of women. The Buddha foresaw the danger of admitting women to the SANGHA, and had not granted Yasodara's quest three times to be admitted to the order as a Bikkhuni. But later, observing the zeal of both Pajapathi and Yasodara for leading a religious life, he no longer could resist it, and assented to have them admitted to the Sangha. When Venerable Ananda asked the Buddha whether women are competent to lead a Bikkhuni's life, He declared them to be competent to be admitted to the Sangha and to attain release from a wearisome repetition of rebirths and to attain sainthood. The equality in social, economic and political life of women with men in Hindu-Buddhist lands is not at all surprising. India and Ceylon have produced women Prime Ministers in these modern times. Mrs. Sirimo Bandaranaike of Ceylon and Mrs. Indira Gandhi are shining examples. These two great women symbolize both the womanhood and motherhood of their respective countries.

Thus Gandhiji reaffirmed the Basic Rights of women that had existed in ancient India but disappeared in her decadent times.

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There are people who claim that Gandhiji did not want industrialization of India. What Mahatmaya had in mind was a balanced technological development of India without multiplying problems for peasants who are the backbone of India. He devised the spinning wheel and rural education, as more sophisticated systems of universal education and industrialization would take another two to three decades to spread all over India, to cater for the illiterate peasants who are nearly one-third of mankind.

The following passages will indicate that Gandhiji was inspired and strengthened in a

new India by not abandoning her ancient heritage, and when he stated: "In the midst of all this India remains immovable and that is her glory. Many thrust their advice on India and she remains steady. This is her beauty."

In the practice of Buddhism knowledge and wisdom are stressed. During the reign of Asoka educational institutions sprang up in every temple in the land. And thereby every Buddhist temple became a veritable centre of learning, some of which later grew up into world-famous universities, from the second century C. E., at Nalanda, Taxilla, Wickramsila, etc.

The Buddhist civilizations of India, Burma and Ceylon were the first to have university education in the annals of mankind. Admittance was based on competence and not on wealth, race or creed. Students from Afghanistan to China resided in these centres of learning. The universities flourished up to around the 10th century C. E., and they were totally destroyed by the invading Mogularmies from the North—in the 14th century C. E., onwards.

During the 3rd century B. C., both India and Ceylon had hospitals for both man ancheast. These facts are noted in the Outlines of World History by H. G. Wells. Emperor Asoka was the first to establish hospitals in India and be encouraged, in the 3rd century B. C., the cultivation of medical herbs. No wonder the late H. G. Wells calls Asoka the noblest king in the history of mankind.

The Buddha laid the foundation for thir movement. Once it is said an old Bikkhu o' a surly disposition was afflicted with a loath-some disease the sight and smell of which was so nauseating that no one would go near him. It is said that the Buddha came to the Vihara where this unfortunate man lay, and on hearing his case he ordered warm water and

went to the sick room to nurse him. He administered unto this sick Bikkhu daily and as long as he stayed in that place, and declared, "Whoever monks nurse the sick will nurse me."

Mahatmaya occupied his life in fighting the evil of religious fanaticism of Muslims and Hindus of India; and he thereby upheld a cardinal principle of Basic Human Rights. He died at an assassin's hands in his lifelong efforts to protect the religious rights of all.

Upali, a disciple of Jaina Mahavira, accepted Buddhism, and the Buddha requested him to respect and support his old religious teachers as he used to (Upali sutta). Similarly Ascka proclaimed in an edict (pillar Edict II)—"All religions deserve reverence for some reason or other. By thus acting a man exalts his own religion, and at the same time does service to the religion of other people."

Gandihji spent only five cents per diem on daily personal diet and used to wear simple clothing, for which he was nicknamed "half-naked fakir." This symbolised the cruel poverty of his countrymen, expressing the Buddha's conception of compassion (Karuna) arm loving kindness (Maitreya) for all suffering humanity.

Bodhisattva Gautama did give up his royal attire (robes) for the rags of a poor peasant after his great renunciation from his father's palace, after taking a look at his son and wife. Mahatmaya often fasted to bring social and economic justice to the masses of his country, and to bring freedom and independence to India and other colonial countries. This most fascinating little 'giant' of a man not only achieved independence for his own mother India and her daughter Ceylon, but also retained the goodwill and friendship of the great British people—a great contribution to the peace and understanding of all humanity. Incarceration in British Indian jails did not

bring hatred but love and affection to the British rulers by his universal Karuna and Maitreya.

Gandhiji took great care of his ageing father, a civil servant whose health and career were both declining during his son's youth. In the Maha Mangala Sutta of the Buddha, which is highly cherished in all Buddhist lands, there is a comprehensive summary of Buddhist ethics. Here the support of mother and father, wife and children, are greatly stressed.

Here are three of twelve verses that pertain to this essay. The English translation from Pali is the work of Dr. R. L. Soni of Burma:

With the fool no company keeping, With the wise ever consorting To the worthy homage meeting; This, the Highest Blessing.

Mother, father aptly serving, Children, wife duly cherishing, Life's business coolly attending— This, the Highest Blessing.

Acts of charity, righteous life, From all alarms the kins protecting, Blameless pursuits fully rife— This, the Highest Blessing.

These verses indicate why the problems of the old are not so acute in Hindu Buddhist lands, as people look after their parents in their old age. Illicit traffic in women and slavery were abhorred by the public. Although no civilization is perfect, but at least the influence of Buddhist ethics dominated the life in these Asian lands. It is not surprising that these great teachings of the Buddha impressed Gandhiji.

Mahatma had a premature and in many ways a disastrons marriage, which left him with horror of sexuality, which also made impossible the monastic retreat to which developing religiosity might have led, especially in India.

The Prince Gautama gave up a premature married life to become the Buddha, but Gandhiji abstained from sexuality later in life to become a total practitioner of brackmachariyn (celibacy).

"Self restraint and holy
Witnessing Truths of noble might,
Vision of Nibbana's height—
This is Highest Blessing."
—Buddha—Maha Mangala Sutta.

Gandhiji always condemned India's hideous caste system as the Buddha did over 2,500 years ago. He recognized this as one of the factors of the decline of the Great Indian Civilization.

No man is noble by birth
No man is ignoble by birth
Man is noble by his own deeds
Man is ignoble by his own deeds.

-Vasala Sutta-Buddha.

Gandhiji transformed the image of India on mankind and turned the national idealism from its mere adulation of the past, to blend India's ancient wisdom with modern Western thought. He made Indian elite to face the reality that India is a poor, starving and helpless country, and the fabric of her civilization had been tarnished by a hideous caste system and that it should be repaired, and he showed the ways to bring social and economic justice to her masses.

RELIGION AS SAVIOUR OF DEMOCRACY

VIJENDRA SINGH

Present democracies are only 'formal democracies', Sarvodaya leader Jai Prakash Narain declares. "The present democracies are only democratic oligarchies in practical form. It is doubtful if the free spirit of man would even remain satisfied with it." Another very strong hit on democracy was made by another Sarvodaya leader in the following words: "It is in name only that authority resides in the people and that government is merely their servant. Representatives once elected do what they like, and it is a delusion to think that the people can control policy by changing them at the next election. In modern conditions, their tenure of five years or so are equivalent to the old regimes of fifty years. Within their five years they can do so much and of such a nature that their successors would not be able to undo it."2

True democracy can never be established through untruthful and violent means. Untruthful means will remove all opposition by suppression or extermination. Suppresion is another name of autocracy on the part of suppressors and of slavery on the part of suppressed. The suppression in all its forms will have to be done away with by the propagation of religious ideals. Fear of law can check the outward violence but not that violence which is seated in the mind or soul. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan has very aptly remarked; "Politicians are not generally reputed to take religion seriously, for the values to which they are committed, such as the political control of one people by another, economic exploitation of the poorer and weaker human beings, are so clearly inconsistent with the values of religion that the latter could not be taken too seriously or interpreted too accurately."3

Transgression of one's right is a common sickness. Therefore Sarvodaya lays special emphasis on man's duties and obligations. There should not be scramble for power. Fower hunger has increased to such an extent that a people's representative sticks to office like a leech. He does not hesitate to change the party for selfish ends without taking consent of those who elected him. This is but a herrayal of trust reposed in him. Whatever it may be, he is not ready to risk the loss of his seat or office.

Man's perfection is the panacea for all human ills. If religion is the carriage which takes the man to the goal of perfection, it means that it is a cure for all human maladies. Then why its necessity has been emphasized for the survival of demoaracy alone? In monarchy and aristocracy the power is concentrated in a few. Persons are not equal in these systems. But in the democratic system where all are made equal and are granted rights there is a necessity that a sense of morality prevails. Otherwise everybody would strive to get more and to offer less. The result would be all pervading grudge and communistic countries In influence of religion is not so necessary because there is concentration of power there also.

In democratic systems there is a necessity of moral sense in the electors and those who are elected for various offices. Though there are appropriate laws to check malpractices but laws in democratic systems have their own limitations. That is the reason why only one out of a thousand cases is held guilty by the courts. Malpractices adopted during electioneering can be checked only when fear of law is supplemented by religious fervour and moral sense.

Violence used in elections and after is also due to lack of religious fervour in the masses. In a despatch in the Hindustan Times, its London representative Mr. V. R. Bhatt, said that "The Archbishop of Canterbury has said that there is a wave of moral madness in the world which menifests itself in senseless and purposeless violence." After the brutal murders of President John Kennedy, civilrights leader Luther King and Senator Robert Kennedy in quick succession as a part of rampant violence in a big democracy, had obviously shaken the faith in the democratic system in the minds of great persons the world over.

Condoling the death of senator Robert Kennedy, aggrieved and shocked Radhakrishnan, former President of India remarked "We talk of democracy and profess to decide issues by discussions and give and take but gangsterism prevailed."5 Principles of truth, morality, religion and non-violence are capable of providing a device which would safeguard democracy from going to ashes. "To a world lost in error and beset by the illusions of time, Gandhi announces the value of the timeless principles of the truth of God and love of fellow men as the only basis for establishing right human relationships."6 Gandhiji struggled hard for doing away witn violence from the political life. "The greatest thing he taught us was that in our personal relations and in every phase of life, whether political or social, our behaviour must be forthright. Our objective may be very noble and high, but if the means employed are wrong it can not be truly achieved. Therefore the way of truth and non-violence is the only way to achieve our goal."7

In a democratic system power is wielded by people's representatives. It is therefore, likely 'to rouse their passion and exposes them to great temptations'. But if it is so, should we abandom the system? Instead of doing away with it we can try to resist those passions and temptations. Would we destroy a build-

ing which had developed certain cracks. Ghanhiji has a solution to overcome those cracks. His solution is "an abiding faith in the absolute value of truth, love and justice and a persistent endeavour to realize them on earth."

Democracy without religion is like a lame person walking without crutches. But one thing is there. If special efforts are not made masses are bound to degenerate. Spiritual advancement requires efforts. Nature of a man like water has a tendency to flow downwards, If it has to be taken to heights, checks are essential. Legal checks will not do. Religious or moral checks are essential for the uplift of man. Man can escape from the rigours of law but not from rigours of morality and religion.

Contemporary political philosophies study man psychologically but Gandhiji has studied him spiritually. He reestablishes a relationship between man and God. He wants to reconstruct the society with the help of religion. Truth and morality will prevail in it. Plato wanted a few to be philosophers for his Republic because he wished to establish an aristocracy but in democracy power vests not in a few but in all and hence all are required to become 'philosophers' to a certain degree. Philosophers in the sense that they should not be immoral, violent and irrelegious.

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INDIAN CULTURE IN SOUTH EAST ASIAN COUNTRIES

RAVI S. VARMA

Introduction:

India has played a very important role in forming the cultural tradition of Asia. The Indian colonies in the Far East must ever remain the high water mark of maritime and colonial enterprise of the ancient Indians. An awareness of the unity of all life; a love for the ultimate and the universal in preference to the immediate and the particular: colerance; cooperation; and pacifism are some of the elements contributed by India to these countries. The account of the process of this contribution is very interesting.

The Extension of Indian Culture:

Cultural institutions in Burma or Siam or Indonesia are just an extension of the Indian The territory stretching from institutions. Burma to Indonesia was known in the ancient days as the Land of Gold and Indian merchants and princes settled there and founded their nwn colonies and spread Indian cultural influences. The Buddhist missionaries carried the torch of a new religion to these ccuntries. All these people introduced Indian customs and manners, religion and philosophy, ritual, art and literature wherever they went. nised kingdoms soon came into being, either as a result of an Indian imposing himself on the native population, or else through a native chief adopting a foreign civilization.

The spread of Indian influence was in the nature of 'waves'. There were five such waves extending from the second or third century to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries when following the Muslim invasion of India Buddhist monks and teachers were forced to seek shelter in these countries. As a result of the impact of these waves there was total

'Indianisation' of some parts while in others Indian culture acted as a stimulus calling forth a rich response from the local genius. From this point of view we can put these countries into two zones—the Western and the Eastern. Ceylon, Burma, Siam, the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra which fall in the Western zone underwent a thorough-going Indianisation whereas in the Eastern zone comprising the parts of Indonesia and Indo China the local genius was not completely submerged by Indian influence.

The Western Zone:

Ceylon was the first of all outer lands to come under the Indian influence. Prince Vijaya landed here in the 5th century B. C., married a local princess and became the father of the Sinhalese people. Indian arts and crafts began to be practised in Ceylon as also the rice cultivation. In the 3rd century B. C. Ashoka sent his son and daughter to Ceylon with a message of Buddhism and King Tissa of Ceylon received them cordially and adopted Buddhism. He built the first stupa and the first monastery in Ceylon. King Dutthagamani constructed Ruanweli Degaba and the Brazer Palace. Several gigantic stupas reveal the influence of Gupta art and architecture. The paintings of Sigiriya are an extension of the Ajanta School.

The Burmese legends claim long association with India. Buddhism had become established in Burma by the Ist century A. D. and Prome the capital of Pyu became its chief centre. The Pyu alphabet is greatly influenced by Indian alphabet. Brahmanism also found a fruitful soil in Burma but finally Therawada

became the official religion and Pali helped the Burmese language "to grow, deepen and expand continually." Under the kings of Upper Burma Indian religion and learning, arts, music, architecture and sculpture flourished there.

Burma maintained close religious contacts with Ceylon and Pali Buddhism of Ceylon became dominant throughout the whole of Burma. Some eight hundred pagodas still stand in good condition in Upper Burma. When the Muslims invaded India a large number of Buddhist monks sought shelter in Burmese monasteries and brought a fresh influx of Indian ideas with them. The Indian influence is reflected in Burmese customs and manners, script and literature even today.

The Indianisation of Siam took place in the 2nd century A. D. when a colony which flourished till the 6th century A. D. was established at Pong Tuk. Dvaravati, Indianised kingdom of Siam ruled from Cambodia to the Bay of Bengal till the 10th century and Gandhar, another such kingdom for three centuries till it was conquered by Kublai Khan. Buddhism became the official religion of Siam and in the 13th century the Thai King built a Buddhist temple which was a replica of the famous Bodh-Gaya Temple. The Siamese language borrowed its script from India and Pali deeply influenced its development. Indian sanskars háve become a part and parcel of Siamese custom and ritual. The Ramayana and the Mahabharata have exercised a great influence on the Siamese literature and art.

At the site of ancient Kedah in the Malay Peninsula a Buddhist dedication of the 4th century has been discovered which shows an Indian settlement where the people followed Buddhism, flourlished there. The most impressive monuments in Malaya are at Chaiya and Nakhon Sri Thammar-at. The Kings bore

Indian names and Sanskrit was taught and understood in these kingdoms.

Indian ships and Indian religious missions visited Sumatra from the very early times. The Sumatran kingdom of Srivijaya rose to great eminence in the 7th century A. D. There were about a thousand Buddhist monks in the capital and the Buddhist colleges of Srivijaya were held in high repute.

The original home of this empire was at Palembong but soon it planted its colonies in Java, Borneo and Phillipines. The rulers of this empire were known as Sailendras. They reached the height of their glory in the 8th century A. D. but the empire came to an end in the 9th century A. D.

The Sailendra kings were ardent Buddhists and Mahayan spread under them. They were a great naval power and had frequent contacts with India. They introduced a new alphabet and adopted the name Kalinga for Malaysia. They built many important temples in central Java such as the Chandi Sevu and Chandi Plaosan groups in the Parambanam valley and Chandi Mendut in the Kedu plain.

The Chandi Kalasan temple devoted to goddess Tara is the most magnificent specimen of temple architecture.

The Chandi Lara-Jongrang group of temples consists of eight main temples. These temples contain beautiful images of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. The Shiva temple is the most magnificent.

The most renowned Buddhist monument is the famous stupa of Borobudur in central Java. It was built in the latter half of the 8th century and is notable for its massive proportions. It is built on a mountain top which has been carved into nine stone terraces, the lowest of which is nearly 400 feet long and the topmost has a diameter of 90 feet. From terrace to terrace, up the centre of each side, are staircases with covered gateways. The temple

has 432 images of Dhyani Buddhas and fifteen handred sculptured panels depicting the scenes from the life of Buddha. They are fine works of art and have many features in common with the classic Gupta Sculpture.

Matram was another Indianised Kingdom in central Java. It soon came under the sway of the Sailendras. In Eastern Java new kingdoms arose in 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th centuries. The kings erected many temples devoted to Hindu gods and goddesses. Sanskrit literature supplied the inspiration for temple sculpture. The Javanese Society also adopted a caste system but it was not so rigid as in India. The decay of Indian tradition started in the 15th century.

Another Indian colony Bali seems to have developed its culture independently of Java. King Ugra Sen ruled Bali in the second half of the 10th century. Bali retains its 'old and indigenous culture even to this day.

The Eastern Zone:

Indian culture played an important part in the history of ancient Indo China. This was known as Kambojdesha and consisted of two parts Funan and Chenala. The capital of Funan was Vyadhpura and its rulers descended from Kaundinya, a Brahmin who came from the Indianised colony of Malay in the third century A. D. and married a local Nagi princess. This kingdom ruled over the area for about five centuries and was very prosperous. More than a thousand Brahmins resided there.

It appears that there was a second wave of Indianization in Funan during the 4th-5th centuries. A second Kaundinya is said to have come from Panpan to reform the social and political institutions on the model of India. Kaundinya was succeeded by Jayavarman during whose time Shaivism, Vaishnavism and Buddhism flourished peacefully alongside of each other. Funan was annexed by

Kambuja after about a hundred years after the death of Jayavarman.

Kambuja or Chenala was founded by Rishi Kambu who married an Apsara called Mera. Their descendants were known as Khmers. They struck terror into the hearts of the neighbouring chiefs for eight long centuries. King Bhavavarman overthrew the kings of Funan and declared his independence, but the rise of Siam and wars with Champa brought about a decline of this kingdom in 15th century A. D.

The Khmer kings were Hindus and had Varmana. King their names ending in Yashovarmana founded the most glorious city of Augkor Thom in the heart of Cambodia in the 9th century. The city was surrounded by a high stone wall which had five gates with five great avenues each a hundred feet wide and running straight from one end of the town to the other. These avenues converge on the temple of Bayon which is a masterpiece of Kambuja architecture. Fifty huge towers surrounded by two hundred faces identified merciful Avalokiteshwara, the all Boddhisattva, still stand facing the vagaries of the weather.

The most famous monument of the Khmers is Angkor Wat, the largest temple in the world. In combined magnitude and magnificence, it stands alone. It was built by Suryavarmana in the 12th century. An idea of the massive character of this temple may be had from its measurements. A two and a half mile long and 650 feet wide moat surrounds the temple. The broad paved avenue which runs from the western gateway to the first gallery is 1560 feet long. The first gallery measures about 800 feet from east to west and 675 feet from North to South. There are three such concentric galleries each double the preceding one in height. The central stone

ower on the third stage rises to a magnificent height of 213 feet.

All this vast edifice has been chiselled into endless beautiful designs and patterns. Even the outer walls are sculptured. In the first gallery there are panels ninety or hundred yards long, depicting the stories from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Vishnu in all his incarnations reigns supreme at Angkor Wat.

The religion of the Khmers was a curious mixture of the cult of Devaraya and Tantric Hinduism. There was a spirit of religious toleration and the king supported all the temples irrespective of the deity to whom they were dedicated.

The Khmers patronised Sanskrit and their inscriptions were drafted in classical Sanskrit style. Very often these inscriptions excel in literary merits the inscriptions so far discovered in India. The Khmers had a higher and deeper spiritual view of life which is the true essence of all religions. Education was widespread in Kambuja and students went to Ashrams which were on the model of Indian ashrams. These ashrams were powerful centres of Indian culture in Kambuja.

Like Kambuja, Champa was also a great centre of Hindu culture. The earliest colonists came from India and the Hindu king Sri Mara established a dynasty in the 2nd century A. D. which lasted till the 15th century.

The Chams created remarkable sculptures and a highly original type of brick temple architecture. The best known groups of temples are at Myson Dong Duong and Po-Nagar. The Myson group has about sixty temples ranging in date from the 7th to the 12th centuries. The temple remains at Dong Duong date from the 9th and 10th centuries. The Cham figure sculpture closely followed Gupta models both in theme and technique.

Shaivism was the official religion of Champa but Buddhism also flourished there. A fine standing image of Buddha has been discovered at the Dong Duong site.

The people followed a caste system similar to that in India but the Brahmins, although holding a high position in the society, did not dominate the king. Hindu customs and festivals were prevalent and Sanskrit was the official language of the country. The Ramayana and the Mahabharata were widely studied besides Hindu Philosophy and sacred texts of the Shaivites. Champa disappeared from history in the 15th century.

Conclusion:

The achievements of the Indian colonists in the South East Asian countries have been very great. They introduced Indian religions, literature, philosophy, social and political institutions and art to millions of people who readily accepted whatever ancient India had to offer. The Indian expansion was purely cultural and there was never a military conquest or annexation. This cultural conquest produced brilliant results of an abiding value. India, thus, played the role of a great civilizing force in the life of the people of South East Asia.

DISCIPLINE IN INDUSTRY

TARUN KUMAR CHATTOPADHYAY

To obey rules, to mould one's life according to law, not to ask 'why' but to keep oneself ready to do and die-these are the very essence of discipline. It means a systematic training or instruction and control which produces self-control, orderliness, ob edience to some laws and regulations, and canzeity for co-operation. It is formulated to obey some principle and regulations to give a check to reckless conduct. Again discipline may be defined as a systematic training intended to develop the mind along certain lines to teach restraint, respect for and willing obedience to recognised authority. Discipline reigns supreme on everything; from the solar system to the tiniest ant we can find a strong seme of discipline.

Discipline in every walk of life is the most essential factor in a civilized society. In fact, discipline is the backbone of civilization and it is essential to a useful and happy existence. Tris applies to the individual and to the group, of which the factory is an excellent example. Therefore, discipline is essential in any undertaking where there is to be order instead of chaos. It helps towards maximum productivity. In order to increase production i the industries-it is essential that the workers put in their best as a disciplined army of artisans. Discipline and industry are closely inter-linked. In the words of Sri G. L. Nanda; "Where the workers lose their sense of discipline, they and the community have lost Without a high smething very precious. standard of discipline, there can be no prospect of either improved productivity or any effective participation of the workers in Menagement."

Now discipline can be defined as the 'orderly behaviour of subordinates'. It is a means of motivating employees. Discipline wants that each employee should work for the good of all and should not interfere in the rights of others.

In every sphere of industrial life discipline is necessary. "An industry without discipline is Iske a crowd without a purpose". Foyol has said that it is 'absolutely essential for smooth running of business and without discipline no enterprise could prosper'. Discipline in the broad sense means orderliness—the opposite of confusion in the plan and other "It is a condition" segments of society. write Koontz and O'Donnel, "to be achieved in the interests of the future welfare of the firm". It is all the more essential because the prosperity not only of the worker but of the entire nation, depends on the sustained growth of industrial development. It should not be considered as medium of punishment. Punishment is necessary to compel minimum performance, so that discipline is not broken further in future.

Morale and discipline are inseparable; if the morale is good the discipline will be excellent. A Personnel Manager who is sensible in all these things both tangible and intangible which build up and maintain good morale, the right spirit, the right attitude of mind in the men and women who work with and for him, will have little or no trouble in maintaining discipline. Discipline starts from the top. The people at the top must set examplary conduct to be followed by the people at lower ranks. A consistent Personnel Managerial action throughout the organization is necessary

to ensure discipline. Discipline has to be reformative and punitive. It has to be basically founded on leadership, loyalty and dignity of labour.

There are three types of discipline:

- (1) Command or Enforced or Army Type.
- (2) The discipline which guides and instructs.
- (3) The Self-imposed discipline.

This (1) or (2) type of discipline is neither necessary nor acceptable in Industry. The Self-imposed discipline is the highest form of discipline and should be encouraged and desired. In it, all are regulated; and all are force.

Under self-imposed discipline the employees themselves feel to maintain orderly behaviour for the prosperity of all. They place common interest above their personal interests. Such is essential for any co-operative work. But the environment or employment climate must be so created through effective management that such a spirit is developed spontaneously.

Problem of Disciplinary Action

The causes of indiscipline among the workers in India can be traced to rivalries among Trade Unions, ignorance and illiteracy among the workers, instigation and misguidance by outsiders and a fear psychology. With the advent of time, emergence of the concept of a social welfare state, the development of trade and industry and placing of numerous Acts on the Statute Book since the Independence of India, there has been a general awakening. The worker has started realising that he is an important component in the machinery of industry and is more critical about his rights and privileges. Naturally the master too has started feeling the pulse of his workmen. He cannot afford to be at the cross with the workers. Thus both master and workmen, in their respective fields, desire to have amicable relations with each other. It is now a legend of the past

when the services of an employee could be dispensed with, with one stroke of pen at the likes and dislikes of one person occupying the chair of the employer. Once a worker is taken into employment he starts feeling that his future is secured and so long he would discharge duties entrusted to him faithfully, diligently and sincerely, nobody can deprive him of his livelihood. But there are workers who, inspite of the fact that all facilities and comforts have been provided to them in their working condition, do not play a fair-game. Wherever the conduct of such workers are deemed to be incompatible with the faithful performance of the duties entrusted to them in the employment of the management, it would amount to "Misconduct" broader sense which may warrant their dismissal from service. In order to get rid of such delinquent workers, disciplinary action has got to be instituted against them, so that they may not succeed in the furtherance of their evil deeds.

The code of discipline symbolises the current policy of Government to build up an industrial democracy on voluntary basis and to preserve industrial peace with the help and co-operation of employers and workers. It represents a voluntary moral commitment and is not a legal document. It becomes a living force in the day to day conduct of industrial relations. A good disciplinary policy involves two major factors:

- (1) Sound principles
- (2) Effective administration

As such a supervisor must be concerned quality, production cost, methods and any number of other things; certainly one of his most important concerns is people. And one of the more difficult 'aspects of the art of handling people is handling discipline.

The present industrial relations situation is bedevilled with indiscipline and defiance of legitimate authority. The working class. natably the younger generation, is being stirred with such ideas of democracy and egzlitarianism that it tends to regard the authority of the management as inimical to freedom and equality. The frustration of rising expectations is compounding the spirit of revolt. The social context is such that discipline can no longer be imposed on an enduring basis by the mere exercise of menagement power. Labour legislation and the growth of the Trade Union movement have put severe restrictions on the erstwhile management prerogatives. The days of master ordering the 'servant' have gone or if they have not yet gone in some sectors, they are bound to go ere long. Much of labour indiscipline at the present juncture seems to z-se from a situation in which the autocratic Enthority of management is no longer effective and there is nothing else in its place to fill the væcuum. Perhaps here lies the most important role of workers' education. 'Discipline'

must now acquire a meaning and entirely different modes have to be adopted for realizing it.

It should mean the voluntary acceptance by the workers in general of the legitimacy of management authority based on the realisation that no organisation can reach its goals without adherence to the necessary rules of the game by all concerned. Such an understanding can be promoted only through what may be called 'political education' in the sense of an education in the true nature and purpose of authority and the real significance of democracy. It is the function of workers' education to clarify misconceptions and to harmonise current social values and ideologies with economic necessities. In conclusions we can say, strong Trade Unions, proper education, labour management co-operation and human relations in industry can, therefore, lead to discipline among the workers. We must remember that "One step of discipline was indeed a giant step for industry".

THE GENESIS OF GENOCIDE AND BANGLADESH

K. C. JOSHI

That a state is answerable for its barbarous acts aimed at eliminating a particular tribe or race within its political sway was first proposed in 1933 by Dr. Raphael Lemkin to the International Conference on Unification of Criminal Law held in Madrid. His proposal was, no doubt, rejected then but in 1945 the German war criminals were indicted, Inter alia, on the charge of genocide.

Genocide is a hybrid of Greek and Latin words. In Greek 'genos' means race, nation or tribe. In Latin 'cide' denotes killing. The concept of genocide was developed by Dr. Lemkin in his important work Axis Rule in

Occupied Europe published in 1944. He defined genocide as involving a wide range of actions, including not only the deprivation of life but also the prevention of life and also devices considerably endangering life and health. The intention behind this offence is permanent destruction of or crippling a human group.¹

This idea was carried by Dr. Lemkin to the United Nations and the result was the adoption of a unanimous resolution by the general assembly of the United Nations on December 11, 1946. The general assembly in this resolution affirmed that 'genocide is a crime under international law'. It also said that the 'principals and accomplices' committing the crime 'are—punishable'. Thus, genocide was declared a new international crime similar to piracy.²

The general assembly of the United Nations adopted at its Paris session a resolution on December 9, 1948 approving the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. The representatives of twenty states including that of Pakistan signed the Convention on December 11, 1948. Thus, the Convention on Genocide emerged in international law.

Genocide, which, is only a species of crimes against humanity,3 under the Convention means and includes acts committed with intent to destroy in whole or in part national, ethnic, racial, or religious groups. In article 1, the contracting parties only confirm (and therefore, do not create a new crime) that genocide is an international crime which they undertake to prevent and, in case of commission, to punish the persons who commit it. It does not matter whether the crime of genocide is committed in peace time or during war. All persons whether they be constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals are covered by the Convention if they commit, incite or conspire the crime. The plea of act of state will therefore not be available to the states also.

The very important provision of the Convention is article VI which provides for the trial of persons charged with genocide by a competent tribunal of the state in the territory of which the act was committed or by an international penal tribunal having the jurisdiction.

Applying the provisions of the Convention to Bangladesh, there is not even an iota of doubt that open genocide was committed in Bangladesh by the Pakistani Junta. The

criminal intent of liquidating the Bengali group is sufficiently proved by the indiscriminate and systematic killing of men, women and children since March 1971. About one lakh people were alone killed in Khulna town.4 Therefore, Humayun Rashid Chowdhury. the head of Bangladesh mission in India was perfectly right when he declared that his country would set up tribunals to try Pakistani soldiers who were guilty of the crime of genocide in his country.5 In fact, it is the only competent authority to try and punish those charged with genocide for there is no international penal court for the purpose. The trial of the criminals in this case will have to be vouched by providing the observance of the rules of natural justice. Though not obligatory for Bangladesh government. it would add to the objectivity of the trial if the noted jurists of the world and observers of the International Commission of Jurists are also invited to observe the trial.

There should not be any question of the jurisdiction of the Bangladesh courts for the trial of genocide perpetrated before the emergence of that state. International precedents are not lacking where persons were prosecuted for their offences before the state came into existence. The Yugoslav court of cessation has ruled that the courts of the country had jurisdiction to try and punish crimes committed on the territory before it came to form part of Yugoslavia.7 Similarly, in the Eichmann case (1962), the Supreme Court of Israel, sitting as a court of appeal. relied in part upon the principle of universal jurisdiction in upholding the conviction by a court in Israel of Eichmann, a Nazi German war criminal, for war crimes against humanity, thereby overruling the objections that the offences were committed before Israel was actually founded.8 The same proposition of law is applicable to the Bangladesh and she can try the criminals and punish them for the mimes they had perpetrated in clear breach of existing law by killing not less than three million Bangali peoples.

Connected with this is the question of extradition of the Pakistani army officers and soldiers prisoners of war in India. Article VII of the Genocide Convention specifically stipulates that genocide and other acts listed in article III shall not be considered as political crimes. The contracting parties pledge for extradition of such criminals in accordance with their laws and treaties in force.

There is no extradition treaty yet between India and Bangladesh. But the Indian law of extradition is consolidated and codified in the Extradition Act, 1962. Under the Act, a foreign state may make requisition for the surrender of fugitive criminals and upon such requisition the Central government may direct a magistrate to enquire into the case.9 The magisterial enquiry is judicial and if he considers that a prima facie case is made out, he w.ll commit the fugitive criminal to prison and report to the Central government. Central government then decides on the requisition for extradition. The extraditable offences under the Indian Penal Code are listed in the second schedule to the Act. The offences of genocide are covered under the

Penal Code. However, the Central government can specifically add the offence of genocide to this schedule by notification.¹¹

The question of protection to the Pakistani prisoners of war in India under the Geneva Conventions also does not arise in extraditing the prisoners. The Geneva Conventions do not protect the war crimes and crimes against humanity. Moreover, the Genocide Convention is applicable for such crimes whether they are committed in peace or in war.

- 1. 41 American Journal of International Law 145 (1947).
- 2. Ibid at 150.
- 3. Gerald Fitzmaurice in Horlzons of Freedom 52 f. n. 17 (1968).
- 4. The Statesman, Delhi, February 5, 1972 p.7.
- 5. The Indian Express, New Delhi, February 2, 1972 p. 2.
- For the need of such court, see A. K. Kuhn in 41 American Journal of International Law 430 (1947).
- 7. See A. G. Noorani in The Indian Express, New Delhi, Feb. 1, '72.
- 8. Starke Introduction to International Law 248-49 (6th edn.).
- 9. The Extradition Act, 1962 Ss. 4-5.
- 10. Ibid Ss. 7-8.
- 11. Id Sec. 2 (C).



ÎNDIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN RETROSPECT : THE NEW FRONTIERS GIRISH CHANDRA ROY

One of the significant facts emerging from the war of liberation of Bangladesh is that India has emerged a powerful nation in the world. India's emergence as a power was not due to the military supremacy which was demonstrated in the recent small range war with Pakistan. Rather the supremacy could account for the long needed change and turn, in the policy levels, which this country gave through her historic leadership, in the greater field of international relations. Those who wanted to blunt this immanent surge for the turn were sadly defeated and now are engaged in the act of heart searching—to find faults in their previous policies. A major defeat in this respect was suffered by the United States of America, which had, in an arbitrary way, dwelt in the self-created theory of balance of The military planning and the power. deployment of American forces had basically followed the same pattern in the post World War II period, to cope with a set of realities, as were generated by this theory. The chief motive, inherent in the balance of power theory was that, it was to preserve the status quo power relations, if not to create new changes in the American favour. This means, the pattern in the international relations were to continue which were a product of the colonial period as far as the new, developing nations were concerned in relation to the developed, Western nations; and a status quo balance of power relations were to be preserved which were created after World War II, as far as the Western nations were concerned. Both of these goals, it should easily be recognized, were antithetical to the concept of freedom which India sought to establish in

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the international relations field, for herself and for others after achievement of her freedom.

After World War II, the American foreign policy has been guided by the one ostensible objective, that of 'containing Communism.' This has accounted for the American one-sided and rather obsessive interpretations of the new realities in the international world. The new nations not only were dependent for the economic and technical aid for their material advancement on the advanced and rich nations, but they also have faced the internal pressures for change, in their internal social relations, consequently demanding adjustments in external relations. The programmes of Western and American aid have pressurized the forces of change, depriving the Governments of the newly independent nations options to seek new associations, to recognize new realities, in the interest of preserving the old system.

The new societies have consistently sought leadership not only to find means of material progress and change for attaining greater measures of prosperity for their peoples, but also they have felt the demand for overcoming many of the confused entanglements and obstacles which restricted their freedoms for free action. This contradictory set of demands, emerging from a relationship with the advanced and powerful nations in relation to the newly developing, poorer nations, has exercised pressures on the Governments of these nations, making them unsteady in the domestic field and in their foreign decisions. In some basic respects, the freedoms of smaller and dependent nations almost have

been strangulated because of the overriding concerns of the super-powers.

The creation of the non-aligned group, the third block countries in relation to power blocks, was only a stop-gap measure, before actually reaching any meaningful equillibrium sought after by the new nations, after the end of World War II, and after their freedom from colonial rules. India provided the main leadership to the organization of the non-aligned nations, giving the group a credible philosophy and a recognizable platform, but later the non-aligned group lapsed only to the status of a pressure group, sinking down in the mires of power block politics.

The policy of non-alignment, which has from time to time been the object of severe criticism-for diverse reasons-at home and aproad, has been the foundation stone, and the pivot of Indian foreign policy, after independence. In 1962. in the United Nations General Assembly, Prime Minister Nehru in his memorable speech, quoting Furldha, said that India worked for a world crder where all nations were equally victorious, and none vanquished. This in fact lays down the basic objective of non-alignment. Nonalignment as a polity did not evolve only after the formulations of the Panchasila, when as an independent nation India had to work out her relations with such close, immediate neighbours as China and Burma, in 1953, which further led to the staging of the Bandung conference of the Afro-Asian nations in 1955, in Indonesia. The basic principle of non-alignment has been intrinsically the part of India's historic freedom struggle, representing the ethos of the traditional culture of India. To seek truth through the means of non-violence has been the characteristic part of cultural aspect of India's independence movement. One can say without exaggeration that, the historic links of the

non-alignment policy extended farther back to her cultural history, and her cultural way of life as a historic nation. The military threats and the exigencies of modern power politics could not crush this thrust in India's cultural life. As the modern component of an ancient policy, the policy of non-alignment essentially sought to secure the basic liberties of nations, to safe-guard the freedoms of peoples to pursue their own creeds, to preserve their integrity and sovereignty and to pursue the political systems of their choice to work for the benefit of their peoples. The nonalignment policy was to sustain a dynamism in international relations, allowing nations to exist truthfully and to work for their own prosperity exercising their own faculties freely to select the avenues of cooperation of their choice in the international field.

The role of Pakistan, in the international field, in fact consistently went to contradict India's thrust for seeking out larger modes of integration and truthful modes of interrelations in the international field. In fact, Pakistan was an inimical creation which violated the very spirit of India, and was created by the colonists to demolish it. The two-nation theory, placed convincingly before the British by the late Mr. Jinnah, were to create two nations in the Indian sub-continent on the basis of communal representations. This contention of the Moslem League was rejected by the Indian National Congress from the very start to the end. (See: Rupert Emerson, From Empire to Nation, Harvard University.)

In case of India versus Pakistan, the American policy was to favour Pakistan. It is not difficult to understand why. The United States sought to neutralize India's sphere of influence by arming a small power in the sub-continent which was a rival, as a wedge against India's thrust to seek new dimensions

in international relations. It is not entirely true, as is stated in propaganda, that the American policy failure in the recent Indo-Pakistani conflict was due chiefly to President Nixon's favouritism to Pakistan, or his anti-Indian bias. (Reference: Publication Anderson papers.) For, President Nixon was not the true architect of the long-term American policy, in relation to the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. Even the Americans themselves were not the real framers of this policy. They only pursued the balance-ofpower theory, after their country became a super-power in all fields, after World War II. The real framers of the historic policy in this respect were the British. The Western policy in the Indian subcontinent were a product of the colonial entanglements; the 'divide-andrule' policy of the British further aggravated the Hindu-Moslem rivalry in this sub-continent, which led to the partition, because it was in their interest.

With the successful emergence of Bangladesh, as an independent, sovereign, secular nation, India has been able to recover the concept of freedom which had been lost in 1947 due to the partition on the communal formula. The liberation of Bangladesh sustains the continuity of a historic trend, which has been the life-principle of this nation. The wide-spread joy and rejoicing which was experienced in the national life in our country recently was due to the recovery of this freedom, and a resustenance of those objectives which the people of a nation hold precious.

It is said that the people of Bangladesh owed their freedom in a large measure, to the help they received from this country in their freedom struggle, and they are in historic indebtedness to us. The truth is that, it is the heroic stand, and sacrifices borne by the people of Bangladesh, to which this country emains in historic indebtedness. It was not

within the range of any one's expectations that the political map of India would alter so easily, within such a short period of time and this country would be free from the clutches of the communal tyranny, the seeds of which were planted only in 1947 by the creation of Pakistan. There is in this respect an indispensable link between the events. India and Bangladesh are in this respect historically linked, forming parts of one and the same culture. Pakistan is not only now a vanquished nation, as a concept it stands liquidated for ever. For this, our country also owes a great deal to the visionary leadership of our Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, in the fateful hour.

In the international world India attained new measures of recognition and it has emerged as a new power, at least in the Asian continent. In the immediate future it would require consolidation of India's position in relation to the nations of South-East Asia, and the greater world. This way, as a power it could work to create new dimensions in the emerging field of international relations. The new mode of approach, in relation to the immediate neighbours and other countries on a bilateral basis, would naturally include three specific and broad avenues of relationships. First, the diplomatic field, which would include the programmes of cultural exchange, and the exchange of technical knowledge; second, trade and the extension of technical cooperation; and third, foreign aid. these may require judicious planning, austere assessments of needs, and implementation of plans of change through the means of sound technical knowledge.

In the foreign policy field, it may prove of prime importance to abide with the policy of non-alignment with singular firmness. In the new surge of national enthusiasm for 'power', the country should be cautious to avoid

international power and military alignments. It may prove obvious, in course of time, that any abstention from the non-alignment policy would lead to national policy debacles. The recent Indo-Soviet treaty of Peace, Friendship and Frogress, which was criticised as marking a departure from non-alignment, was a step in a vance to strengthen the non-alignment policy. The major powers, as the experience proves, tried to prevent the rise of nonalignment policy in the international relations as a positive policy. The policy of nonalignment seeks to safeguard the basic liberties. of nations against the super power domination, and thus it is a policy of positive modes of action. If thus examined, the treaty with Russ a proves to be a significant landmark in the evolution of the non-alignment foreign policy. As the Prime Minister has stated, similar treaties with other nations could be signed, in keeping with the basic set of objectives of non-alignment.

In the recent conflict, it was revealed that the role of the U. N. O. was a 'passive' one. This was a factor of frustration to the many major powers also. It is only implicit in the nature of an organization, that when an organization grows old it becomes static and a preserver of the status quo. The United Nations as a world body was created by the Western nations, as a legacy to the League of Nations to preserve the balance of interests, to tackle an unsettled situation which was present after World War II. As far as the

new nations were concerned, it was clear that any real change of a revolutionary nature in international relations, could not come mainly from the precincts of the U. N. O. This fact should not be ignored as of minor importance, since it imposes graver responsibility on the new powers, prescribing positive roles of leadership for them. In this respect, to create new patterns in the international relations, after the old stagnant form, India's leadership comes to be of an exemplary nature, and proves a crucial factor in the field.

In the domestic field, broader modes of social control by the state, in the vast domain of economic and social life would be increasingly necessary to attain a minimum degree of social welfare in relation to the down-trodden masses in the population in the country. This internal development is significant for all purposes. Liberty actually has not flourished in a society which has not sustained a planned programme of social welfare, introducing social developments as an effective measures of social change in an integrated way in a society. To allow the broader segment of society to participate in the broader field of social welfare would actually permit the population to develop the concept of liberty in its true sense. On this fact would depend India's adequacy to play powerful roles in international field. This is the original role of our country in the international field envisaged by Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru, a society of truthful relations and constructive prosperity through the non-violent way.



REMINISCENCES OF 1943 BENGAL FAMINE & PUNJAB'S GENEROSITY

S. N. ROY

West Bengal has passed through many calamities since the Partition but none so great as the present one. The refugees, the flood and the cyclone have each contributed their full share to the mounting distress of this unfortunate state. But even this pales into insignificance in comparison with what overtook the whole of undivided Bengal in 1934. A million and a half people died in the famine of that year. Nine millions of refugees have come over to India since April, 1971, yet the number of death has not exceeded ten thosand. And most of this was due contracted on the way during the long journey and extreme exhaustion caused by malnutrition but none died of starvation in India.

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The disaster of 1943 was the result of the utter callousness of the British Government if not of its vindictive policy.

I was in Lahore during this time as a teacher in the D. A. V. College. Punjab, the land of Lala Lajpat Rai, was then in the forefront of all great movements in the country-political, social, and educational. A number of the most outstanding people could be pointed out in every walk of life. Apart from Lala Hansraj, the founder of the D.A.V. group of schools and colleges, great figures like Sir Gangaram, the philanthropist and Sardar Dyal Singh Majithia, the founder of the Tribune, Dyal Singh College Dyal Singh Public Library, had left their mark on our comtemporary history. Punjab indeed was throbbing with a new life.

As I have said before, famine had broken out in Bengal. The immediate cause was no doubt the natural calamities like flood and cyclone followed by a tidal bore from the Bay, twenty feet high, sweeping everything before The British rulers, instead of coming to the rescue of the people, aggravated the distress by their scorched earth policy. The Japanese had overrun southeast Asia like a whirlwind and were poised on the border The I. N. A. led by Netaji of Bengal. Subhaschandra Bose had penetrated into the Manipur state. Lord Wavell, the then Viceroy, was shaking in his boots on the Simla heights. His advisers became so panicky that all food stocks in the eastern districts were burnt and all boats were sunk to prevent the movement of the enemy. Food could not be moved from one part of the country to another. This was what was then known as the Denial Policy. The Government could have reduced the ferocity of the famine by statutory rationing if it was so minded, but did nothing in the matter.

It must be remembered that the British Government had all along been callous in such cases. Whether in the earthquakes of Quetta or of Champaran or in the East Bengal cyclones or in the North Bengal floods, it had never come forward to help the people. All relief work was undertaken by private agencies. At the time of the Bengal crisis, Mahatma Gandhi was in jail and Acharya P. C. Ray, who had always taken a

lead on such occasions, was lying seriously ill. Besides, it was beyond the power of private agencies to do anything when the Government was in a mood to punish the pecple for their sympathy with the freedom fighters.

Rice and other kinds of cereals were to be found in plenty outside Bengal. In Punjab no one felt any pinch. Even Basmati rice was available at Rs. 15/per maund, then considered a very high price. But not an ounce could be brought to Bengal. Hungry people roamed from village to village in search of fcod and unscrupulous hoarders made piles of money. (One Haryana merchant, who later on became a wellknown philanthropist, was one of them.) The coastal invaded Calcutta—an invasion of beggars, alas, rather than of fighters. People in a sirilar situation now would take their food out of the bulging bellies of overfed people and would not die without a protest. While these people were dying like flies on the footpaths of the city, the more fortunate looked on helplessly and thanked their stars that they had two square meals, minding not what the costs were and how they were met.

This tragic situation touched the hearts of some Arya Samai leaders headed La.a Khushal Chand (now Swami Anand Swarup Maharaj), the editor of the Milop. E∈ and the other leaders of the Samai (amongst whom Dr Mehrchand Mahajan was one) decided to raise funds and work amongst the unfortunate people. Their appeal had an immediate effect and a sum of three lakhs and a half was collected and more promised in cash and kind. One Amritsar cleth merchant promised one lakh and a half in cash and rice.

The work was then taken up in right earnest and Lala Suraj Bhan, then Head Master of the D. A. V. School, Lahore, (now ViceChancellor, Punjab University) was put in charge of the mission.

But as he was a complete stranger to this city, it was decided that I should accompany him and do the spade work. I recollect with pleasure how during my short association with the D. A. V. College I could earn the goodwill and confidence of the leaders of the Samaj, particularly of Dr. Mehrchand Mahajan, Lala Khushal Chand, Principals Mehrchand and Sain Das.

The 1942 movement had caused great damage to the railway line and bridges. The Punjab Mail, instead of travelling by the usual route, followed a circuitous course and we arrived at Howrah late on the third night instead of in the early morning of the third day. The midnight sight of the Calcutta streets was heart-rending. There was a black-out and with great difficulty we went through the crowds of hungry people crying for food and pathetically striking their empty stomachs to show how empty they were.

We reached our destination, the house of a relative of mine in Ballygunge, at about 1 A. M. When we were about to take our late meal, the ground floor dining room was surrounded by people piteously crying for just a little morsel, the leavings of our plates. It was impossible to eat anything. We were overwhelmed with grief. The dining table next morning was shifted to an inner room to save us from embarrassment.

The first thing we could think of next morning was to plan our strategy for relief work. The local Arya Samajes were to be utilized for opening the langarkhanas (free kitchens) but the question was where to get rice or any other kind of cereals. Rice, as I have said before, was cheap in Punjab in spite of the war. We had been promised a free supply of the food-stuff. But it could not be brought to Bengal unless the Govern-

ment permitted it. The first thing we decided upon was to consult Dr. Shvamaprasad Mookerjee for guidance. He knew me rather intimately and was glad to receive Mr. Bhan. He advised us first to meet Mr. Shahid Suhrawardy, then Food Minister in Nazimuddin Government in Pre-Partition Bengal. Like Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, the political star of modern Pakistan, he was a rhetorical sort of personality, swaggering and theatrical. After a long wait when we were admitted to his presence, he asked us: "Hello, Ray and Bhan, what's your game?" When we explained the purpose of our visit, he flatly refused permission to bring rice from outside Bengal. I suspect he took us for traders in rice seeking F a smooth business under a philanthropic garb. At any rate it suited his lofty pose.

Thus baffled, we met Mr B. B. Sen Gupta, the Managing Director of the U.P.I., to whom we were introduced by my esteemed friend, Mr. S. C. Roy (Padma Bhushan), now a wellknown industrialist and social worker. Mr. Sen Gupta was kind enough to circulate an account of our mission. This published in all the local newspapers which in their turn spoke rather flatteringly about Tus and the purpose of our visit to the city. This started a little thaw in the Government circles. Eventually we came to know of the presence in the city of Sir J. P. Srivastava, then Member-in-charge of Food in the Central Government. He was staying at the Great Eastern Hotel. An interview with him was no difficult matter. Listen-to our case, he held out the promise to do all in his power to help us in our difficulties.

After a short interval, we received the necessary permission to get our supply of rice fram Punjab and eventually rice did come. Langarkhanas were opened at four or five places in Calcutta and Howrah and about a lakh of starving people facing sure death were

saved. Later on a centre was opened at Munshigunj (Dacca district) at the request of Shri Suryyakumar Basu, Managing Director of the Dhakeshwari Cotton Mills. I conveyed a request of Mr. Fazlul Huq, the former premier of Bengal, to the leaders of the Samaj for help in cash to start a centre in his own district, Barisal. But as Mr. Huq fell seriously ill in consequence of a boat accident while touring his constituency, the proposal did not materialize.

I was in Calcutta for about three weeks in connexion with the relief work. When the work got going, I resumed my work at the college leaving Mr. Suraj Bhan behind in charge of the operations. He was succeeded by Lala Bhagwan, now Principal of a D. A. V. college in Punjab.

In one sense, it was a great relief (a shamelessly selfish sentiment no doubt) to be away from the horrible sights of Calcutta. Young and healthy people walking the streets in search of food fell dead before me on the pavement as though struck by thunder. In front of the European hotels, the Great Eastern and the Grand, resounding with the hilarious shouts of tommies, yankees, army contractors. smugglers and the new rich, desperate people fought for the leavings of their table. Even the vomit of the drunken revellers was not spurned. I have seen such scenes in front of the Great Eastern Hotel facing the Governor's house where a scramble for the dustbin was a familiar sight.

Brothels sprang up everywhere in the city, but particularly between Dharamtala street and Park street, where the unfortunate girls drifting abroad in search of food sold themselves for a morsel. If Calcutta has become what it is today, one must go back to those dark days to look for a special meeting of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha presided over by Lala Khushal Chand. I was asked by Lalaji

to give a first-hand account of our activities in Calcutta and other parts of Bengal. I did this in my faulty Hindi but was acclaimed by the vast crowd that had assembled. There were eloquent speeches by the leaders of the Samaj, including one from the President who at the end held out a piece of cloth between his outspread hands asking for donations. I was thrilled to find how money came pouring in. At the end of the meeting a lakh and twenty five thousand was collected on the spot with promises of more. A skein of khaddar yarn spun by some political prisoners in the Lahore jail fetched three thousand rupees.' This was an unforgettable scene which I vividly remember even after twentyeight years. These were the glorious days of Punjab and it was a proud privilege to be associated with such a novel work.

There was a small Brahmo community in

Lahore those days. On my return to the city, I approached some of its leaders to do their bit in those momentous days. I am glad to remember that a small committee was formed with Rai Bahadur Dr. Jiwan Lal, Professor of Pathology of the Lahore Medical College, as Chairman and myself as Secretary. We managed to raise about five thousand rupees, Dr. Jiwan Lal having paid nearly half of the amount. Prof. Upendra Nath Ball, formerly Professor of Dyal Singh College, was then living at Contai (Midnapur district) after retirement. He started a relief centre with our money. The Sadharan Brahmo Samaj of Calcutta augmented its funds later on.

I left Lahore in 1944 and, as far as I remember, those dismal days continued till the end of the war. Then came the Great Calcutta killings in 1946 to be sollowed by the Partition and the exodus of the Hindus from East Bengal to this part of Bengal in 1947.



SOME CONSTITUTIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE REPORT OF THE CENTRE-STATE RELATIONS INQUIRY COMMITTEE, TAMIL NADU

D. N. BANER JEE

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The object of this article is to discuss in brief some constitutional implications of the Report of the Centre-State Relations Inquiry Committee, 1971, which had been appointed by the Government of Tamil Nadu on 22nd September, 1969. This Committee had been constituted with a view to examining "the entire question regarding the relationship that should subsist between the Centre and the States in a federal set-up, with reference to the provisions of the Constitution of India, and to suggest suitable amendments to the Constitution so as to secure to the States the utmost autonomy." It consisted of Dr. P. V. Rajamannar as Chairman and two other members, Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar and Mr. P. Chandra Reddy. It will be referred to hereinafter as the Rajamannar Committee.

It seems to me from a careful perusal of the Report of the Committee that its members had started in their argumentations, as will appear from what follows, from a wrong assumption about the true nature of the Indian Union. This has materially influenced their recommendations as recorded in the Report. The Committee has said in the course of its Preface to its Report:—

"In making our recommendations, we have

not disturbed the essential framework of the Constitution (of India); nor have we jeopardised the integrity of the country. Our aim was not to destroy the present Constitution and frame another in its stead."

As we shall see later on, it is difficult to agree with this view. This observation of mine is practically confirmed by the following remark of the Committee in the concluding part of its Preface:—

"We believe that if our recommendations are accepted and implemented, our Constitution will provide for an ideal federal system of government."

As will appear from what is stated below, the provision for an "ideal federal system of government" was not the objective, for various reasons to be indicated later on, of the authors of the Constitution of India which came into force on 26th January, 1950.

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It should be evident from a careful examination of the main provisions of our Constitution with regard to the legislative, administrative and financial relations between the Centre and the constituent States of the Indian Union, that there might be, under these provisions, specially during emergencies, a tremendous concentration of power—legisla-

tive, administrative and financial—at the Centre. Under what category, then, should our Constitution-Unitary or v⁄∈ place Federal? "Unitarianism", says Professor Direy (Law of the Canstitution, 9th Ed., p. 157), in short, means the concentration of the strength of the state in the hands of one visible screreign power, be that power Parliament or Czar." And Federalism means the distribition of the force of the state among a number of co-ordinate bodies each originating in and controlled by the constitution." The British Constitution is a good example of unitarianism, and the United States America presents, to quote Professor Dicey (izid., p. 118) again, "the most completely ceveloped type of federalism." The principles underlying our Constitution are a comproraise between the demands of regionalism and local patriotism and the requirements or unitarianism. As a result, our Constitution has in it some of the characteristics both of federalism and of unitarianism. It is, therefore, neither truly federal nor truly unitary. It is quasi-federal in character. That is to say, it is federal in form, with a pronounced untary bias in certain circumstances. In normal times it is federal in form and character, but in times of emergency it has been so "designed as to make it work as though it was a unitary system." I may note in this connection what Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Czairman of the Drafting Committee of the C-nstituent Assembly of India, stated before the Constituent Assembly on 4th November, 1948, with reference to the nature of the Indian Constitution as envisaged in the Draft Constitution of India. "The Draft Constitution", he said, "is Federal Constitution in smuch as it establishes what may be called a Dual Polity. This Dual Polity under the proposed Constitution will consist of the Union at the Centre and the States

(being) endowed at the periphery. each sovereign—the 'autonomous' with term perhaps have been better-powers would to be exercised in the field assigned to them 🟃 respectively by the Constitution. This Dual Polity resembles the American Constitution. The American polity is also a dual polity, one of it is known as the Federal Government and the other States (Governments) which correspond respectively to the Union Government and the States Government(s) of the Draft Constitution. Under the American Constitution the Federal Government is not a mere league of the States nor are the States administrative units agencies of the or Federal Government. In the same way the Indian constitution proposed in the Draft Constitution is not a league of States, nor are the States administrative units or agencies of the Union Government. Here, however, the similarities between the Indian and the American Constitutions come to an end....All federal systems including the American are placed in a tight mould of federalism. No matter what the circumstances, it cannot change its form and shape. It can never be unitary. On the other hand, the Draft Constition (of India) can be both unitary as well as federal (sic) according to the requirements of time and circumstances. In normal times, it is framed to work as a federal system. But in times of war it is so designed as to make it work as though it Once President (of India) unitary system. issues a Proclamation which he is authorised to do..., the whole scene can become transformed and the State becomes a unitary State. The Union under the Proclamation can claim if it wants (1) the power to legislate upon any subject even though it may be in the State list, (2) the power to give directions to the States as to how they should exercise their executive authority in matters which are

within their charge, (3) the power to vest authority for any purpose in any officer, and (4) the power to suspend the financial provisions of the Constitution. Such a power of converting itself into a unitary State no federaton possesses. This is one point of difference between the Federation proposed in the Draft Constitution, and all other Federations we know of."

The logical corollary to this statement of Dr. Ambedkar with regard to the nature of the Indian Constitution as envisaged in the Draft Constitution is that the proposed Constitution was not really intended by its authors, as the Rajamannar Committee appears to to be a truly or ideally federal Constitution. I, therefore, reiterate, in view of the provisions of our Constitution in regard to the legislative, administrative and financial relations between the Centre and the constituent States of the Indian Union, that our Constitution is quasi-federal in character. It may be argued that this quasi-federal character of the Constitution may mean, in effect, in certain circumstances, a considerable erosion of "State" autonomy. I agree. We have, however, got to put up with this in view of the past history of our country and the danger of centrifugal forces still operating in it in the shape of regionalism, linguism, and other anti-national, fissiparous tendencies, sometimes working even under foreign inspiration. Events in our country since 1950 justified the political foresight and statemanship of the authors of our Constitution in framing it as they did. Indeed, the unitary elements in our Constitution are great safeguards against any possible operation of the forces of disintegration in the country. Thus, they are rather ultimate controls for ensuring efficiency and stability to the working of its constitutional machinery. Without them our country may go the way of the Republic of the Congo in 1960-61.

I may also note here what that distinguished jurist, Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, a member of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly of India, stated before the Constituent Assembly on 23rd November, 1949, on the question of Centre-State relationship under the (proposed) new Constitution of India. He observed:—

"In regard to the distribution and allocation of legislative power, this Assembly has taken into account the political and economic conditions obtaining in the country at present and has not proceeded on any o priori theories as to the principles of distribution in the constitution of a Federal Government. regard to distribution, the Centre is invested with residuary power, specific subjects of and all-India inportance being national expressly mentioned. A large list of subjects has been included in the Concurrent List to enable the Centre to intervene wherever there is necessity to intervene and override State legislation, though normally, when the coast is clear, it would be open to the State legislatures to legislate. The existence of a large list of Concurrent subjects is calculated to promote harmony between the Centre and the Units, and avoid the necessity of the courts having to resolve the conflict if there is to be only a two-fold division of subjects. In order to meet unforeseen national emergencies and economic situations, special provisions have been inserted providing for Central intervention. In this connection, it has to be remembered that the whole concept of federalism in the modern world is undergoing a transformation. As a result of the impact of social and economic forces, rapid means of communication and the necessarily relation between the different units in matters of trade and industry, federal ideas themselves are undergoing a transformation in the modern world.....The problem in one to be faced by each country according to the peculiar conditions obtaining there, according to the particular exigencies of the particular country, not according to a priori or theoretical considerations. In dealing with a matter like this, we cannot proceed on the footing that federalism must necessarily be of a defined or a standard type."

Further:

"The break-down provisions in the Constitution are not intended in any way to hamper the free working of democratic institutions or responsible Government in the different Units, but only to ensure the smooth working of the Government when actual difficulties arise in the working of the Constitution.....The Central Government in India in future will be responsible to the Indian Earliament in which are represented the people of the different Units elected on adult franchise and are responsible to Parliament for any act of theirs. In one sense the breakdown provision (sic) is merely the assumption of responsibility by the Parliament at Delhi when there is an impasse or break-down in the administration in the Units."

(iii)

Considerations of space do not permit me to quote any further view on the question of the Indian Union. I agree, however, with the authors of our Constitution that there are advantages in describing India as a Union of States rather than a Federation of States, although the Constitution is ordinarily federal in form and character. According to Dr. Ambedkar, the use of the word Union in the description of India is deliberate, and no State in it has any right to secede from it. "The Federation" (of India), he observed on 4th November, 1948, "is a Union because it

is indestructible. Though the country and the people may be divided into differnt States for (the) convenience of administration, the country is one integral whole, its people a single people living under a single imperium derived from a single source. The Americans had to wage a civil war to establish that the States have no right of secession and their Federation was indestructible. The Drafting Committee (of the Constituent Assembly) thought that it was better to make it clear at the outset rather than to leave it to speculation or to dispute."

The Rajamannar Committee appears to have given practically no importance in its Report to the observations of Dr. Ambedkar and Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, as quoted before. This will be evident from what follows.

(iv)

I have explained above, with reference to the views of some of the authors of our Constitution, the true nature of our Union as contemplated by them. I propose now to deal with the particular recommendations of the Rajamannar Committee, the acceptance of which will produce, to my mind, disastrous consequences on the unity, integrity and progress of our country. It may be noted here that it is not possible to discuss within the scope of an article like this all the recommendations of the Committee.

With a view to ensuring the stability, vigour, effectiveness and the workability of the Indian Union, the authors of our Constitution provided in it for the issue of directives by the Centre to the constituent States of the Union in certain circumstances. For instance, under Article 256 of the Constitution, the executive power of every such State is to be so exercised as to ensure compliance with the

laws made by Parliament as well as with any laws existing from before the commencement of the Constitution and applying to that State, and the executive power of the Union is to extend to the giving of such directions to any such State as may appear to the Government of India to be necessary for that purpose. (There is an additional provision in this connection for the State of Jammu and Kashmir, for which reference may be made to the Constitution.)

Again, under Clause (1) of Article 257 of the Constitution, the executive power of every constituent State, is to be so exercised as not to impede or prejudice the exercise of the executive power of the Union, and the executive power of the Union is to extend to the giving af such directions to the State as may appear to the Government of India to be necessary for that purpose. And under Clause (2) of the Article the executive power of the Union is also to "extend to the giving of directions to a State as to the construction and maintenance of means of communication declared in the direction to be of national or military importance" (sic). But nothing in this Clause is to be taken as restricting the power of Parliament to declare highways or waterways to be national highways or national waterways, or the power of the Union with respect to the highways or waterways so declared, or, again, the power of the Union to construct and maintain means of communication as part of its functions with regard to naval, military and air force works.

Further, under Clause (3) of the Article the executive power of the Union is also to extend to the giving of directions to a constituens State as to the measures to be taken for the protection of the railways within the State.

The Article has provided, however, that if, in carrying out any direction given to a

State under its Clause (2) or Clause (3) as shown above, costs have been incurred in excess of those which would have been incurred in the discharge of the normal duties of the State if such direction had not been given, then there must be paid by the Government of India to the State such sum as may be agreed upon, or, in default of any agreement, as may be determined by an arbitrator appointed by the Chief Justice of India, in respect of the costs so incurred by the State.

It should be evident from what has been stated above that the Centre can give, under Articles 256 and 257 of our Constitution, directions to the constituent States of the Indian Union in certain circumstances. There are some other provisions in the Constitution. such as Article 353 and Article 360 thereof, under which also the Centre can give directions to the constituent States in certain circumstances. Now, a question legitimately be asked as to what would happen in the event of the failure on the part of a constituent State to comply with, or to give effect to, any such direction given by the Centre. The Constitution has adequately provided against any such contingency. Under Article 365 of the Constitution,-this Article does not apply to the State of Jammu and Kashmir,—if "any State has failed to comply with, or to give effect to, directions given in the exercise of the executive power of the Union" under any provision of the Constitution, then "it shall be lawful for the President (of India) to hold that a situation has arisen in which the government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions" of the This implies that Article 356 Constitution. of the Constitution will be immediately brought into operation against the recalcitrant State and that the President will take necessary action under it.

I may refer in this connection to a very instructive discussion in the Constituent Assembly of India on 15th November, 1949. Grave objections were raised by some members of the Constituent Assembly to the insertion of the proposed Article 365 in the new Constitution of India, on the grounds that it wculd be a very drastic provision; that it wculd place in the hands of the Centre arbitrary powers which might be used by it capriciously; and that such powers might thus be abused by the Centre to a great detriment of the autonomy of the constituent States of the proposed Union of India. the other hand, it was argued by some members of the Constituent Assembly that the insertion of the proposed Article in the new Constitution of India was very necessary for strengthening the position of the Centre in the Indian Union; that it would conduce to the unity, stability and vigour of the entire system of government in the country; that it would act as a great safeguard against the operation of any centrifugal forces in its politics; and that it would considerably help the new Constitution to work effectively.

For instance, what Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly, stated in this connection the Constituent Assembly November, 1949, is particularly worthy of note here. "It is quite clear in the judgment of the Drafting Committee", he observed, "that this is not only necessary but consequential, for the simple reason that, once there is power giver to the Union Government to issue directions to the States that in certain matters the7 must act in a certain way, it seems to me that not to give the Centre the power to take action when there is failure to carry out those directions is practically negativing directions which the Constitution proposes to give to the Centre. Every right must be followed by a remedy. If there is no remedy, then obviously the right is purely a paper right, a nugatory right which has no meaning, no sense and no substance. That is the reason why the Drafting Committee regarded that such an Article was necessary on the ground was a consequential Therefore, my contention is that Article 365 does not introduce any new principle at all. It merely gathers together or assembles the different sections in which the power to issue directions is given and states in general terms that wherever power is given to issue directions and there is a failure, it would be open to the President (of India) to deem that a situation has arisen in which there has been a failure to carry out the provisions of this Constitution....The object of Article 365 is to make the thing complete...This provision, if I may say so, is very necessary because we all know-those of us who were Ministers during the time of the war, how these mere powers of giving directions turned out to be infructuous when the Punjab Government would not carry out the food policy of the Government of India. The whole Government can be brought to a standstill by a province not carrying out the directions and the Government of India not having any power to enforce those directions. very important matter and I submit that the change (i.e., the proposed insertion of Article 365 is the new Constitution of India) made is not only consequential but very necessary for the very stability of the Government."

These arguments rightly prevailed upon the Constituent Assembly and Article 365 was very wisely incorporated by it in the Constitution of India (The Constituent Assembly Debates of 15th, 16th and 17th November, 1949).

It appears that the Rajamannar Committee did not attach any importance to the observations of Dr. Ambedkar quoted above, as well as to those of some other members of the Constituent Assembly like, for instance, Mr. Brajeshwar Prasad and Mr. Mahavir Tyagi, who also strongly supported, in view of the past history of our country, the insertion of the proposed Article 365 in our new Constitution. Otherwise the Committee would not have recommended that "Article 365 should be repealed". It has made this recommendation obviously on the ground of the incompatibility of the Article with its conception of the autonomy of the constituent States.

The Rajamannar Committee has also recommended that Articles 256 and 257 of our Constitution to which I have referred before. should be deleted. It has held that these Articles are "repugnant to federal constitution", and "contrary to the federal principle". They are, therefore, "objectionable and constitute a serious intrusion into the executive field" of the constituent States. Further, they are "unprecedented and affect the autonomy of the States". The Committee seems to have ignored the fact that our Constitution was rightly intended by its authors, as I have shown before, to be a quasi-federal Constitution and not an ideal federal Constitution. It has suggested, however, an alternative that if Articles 256 and 257 are to be retained, then no direction, "as contemplated in Articles 256 or 257 should be issued, except in consultation with, and with the approval of," an Inter-State Council to be constituted in the manner and with the functions proposed by it in its Report. an alternative would practically defeat the purposes for which Articles 256 and 257 have been inserted in our Constitution. I consider, however, that these Articles and some other Articles of this nature in our Constitution as linchpins of our constitutional mechanism. Deletion of these Articles in the interest of

the so-called autonomy of our constituent States would ultimately lead our country to its reversion to its eithteenth century condition. This would result in the disintegration of India as some political parties with their extra-territorial loyalty mischievously desire.

The Rajamannar Committee should have borne in mind that, as Professor Wheare has shown in his Federal Government (2nd Ed., pp. 20-22 and 238-39), "the law of the constitution is one thing; the practice is another.... Legal powers which might turn Canada into a unitary state have been subordinated to the federal principle in practice.... The fact is that Canada is politically federal and that no Dominion government which attempted to stress the unitary elements in the Canadiar Constitution at the expense of the federal elements would survive."

Again:-

"Although the Canadian Constitution is quasi-federal in law, it is predominantly federal in practice. Or, to put it another way, although Canada has not a federal constitution, it has a federal government. Its constitution is, as a matter of law, not completely federal; it is quasi-federal. But its constitution in practice, its system of government, is federal predominantly. For the student of the working of federal government, it is obvious that the practice of the constitution is more important almost than the law of the Constitution."

I have no doubt in my mind that in actual practice usages and conventions will also grow —if they have not already grown—in our Union which will prevent unnecessary in erference by the Centre with the autonomy of its constituent States. At the same time, I must emphasize that the Centre must interfere, and interfere effectively, if such interference becomes necessary in the interes s of the unity

and solidarity of our nation and for the maintenance of law and order in the country.

It should also be noted here that we should not be very dogmatic in regard to any particular form of government for a country. Those who argue that the centripetal elements in the Constitution of India militate against the spirit of federalism, should not ignore Montesquieu's doctrine of the relativity of political institutions. "Federal government", to quote Professor Wheare (op. cit., pp. 33-34) again, "is not always and everywhere good government. It is only at the most a means to good government, not a good in itself. And, therefore, while I have maintained that it is necessary to define the federal principle dogaratically, I do not maintain that it isnecessary to apply it religiously. The choice before those who are framing a government for a group of states or communities must not be presumed to be one between completely federal government and completely nonfederal government. They are at liberty to use the federal principle in such a manner and to such a degree as they think appropriate to the circumstances. Strict federalism in a few matters, or modified federalism in all matters, or any other variation in the application of the federal principle may be the wise solution to a particular problem. Whether federal government should be adopted at all, and, if so, to what extent, are questions the answer to which depends on the circumstances of the case."

This is political realism and the authors of our Constitution have shown a due deference to it in framing the Constitution. The Rajamannar Committee appears to have ignored this important aspect of the question. What we wanted for our country was a strong centre along with an adequate autonomy for the constituent States. The Constitution has, on the whole, provided for this, and that is its best recommendation.



THE PLAGUE OF 1897-1907 AND ITS SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS

GANESHILAL VERMA

The plague epidemic, with varying intensity, had been there in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, for nearly a decade (1897-1907). The plague had actually followed on the heels of famine there. The North West Province and Oudh had suffered a terrible famine in 1895. The plague was a new, widespread and dangerous disease; its origin was not known even to the medical men. The uncertainty of the causes of plague had led to. a number of conjectures, hypotheses and rumours. The government was not oblivious to the danger of plague epidemic and had adopted a programme to fight and eradicate The Anglo-Indian and the vernacular journals too had their own view of the The behaviour pattern of the common people showed that they too were guided by certain notions and apprehensions about the plague and anti-plague rules. All these diverse factors, associated with plague had left an impact on the social and political life of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.1 An attempt has been made in this paper to study these diverse factors, to enable to us understand the socio-political repurcussions of the plague epidemic in that period of history.

1. The Plague: Nature and Duration

The bubonic plague ravaged India in the closing years of the 19th century and the

opening decade of the 20th century. In the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the plague lasted in epidemic form, between 1897-1907. It started at the fair of Haridwar in 1897. A few hundred cases of plague were detected there after the fair was over. The number of plague casualties was stated to be 73 only.2 In 1898, too, the plague was mostly confined to Haridwar, Kankhal and Jwalapur areas. The number of plague victims in that year was 116.3 In 1901, however, the plague assumed serious epidemic form in Allahabad, Ballia, Benares and Jaunpur. Small outbreaks and sporadic cases occurred in other districts as well. Altogether 9,778 deaths from plague were reported in that year.4

The plague showed an increased mortality in 1902. It claimed 40,223 lives. In 1903, the plague established itself in epidemic form in all the divisions except Kumaon and Rohilkhand. 27 districts were severely attacked and 84,449 lives were claimed. Plague virulence increased further in 1904, hitting the eastern districts badly. The total number of deaths in that year was 179,082. The height of calamity was reached in 1905, in which year 383,802 lost their lives.

The plague thereafter began to subside. The death rate was reduced to 69,660 in 1906. In 1907, plague-mortality decreased further.⁵

Numerically speaking the plague was not the main agency of the destruction of human lives between 1897-1907. For even in 1905 (climax year of the plague) the deaths from fever were nearly three times more.6 The deaths, caused by cholera, small-pox, dysentery, diarrhoea and similar other diseases were many times more than those caused by the plague. Yet the plague was the most dreaded disease. This was so because of two reasons. Firstly, the origin of the plague was a mystery even for the medical persons. The doctors were not able to diagnose the real cause of the plague epidemic. Many hypotheses were prevalent among them such as the contagion might be carried through human agency, or through merchandise; through grains, etc.; insanitary living might be responsible; rats might carry it. Secondly, the disease was highly contagious. In India it had at first broken out in Bombay in 1896. It was supposed that plague's contagions unwittingly imported with the goods from Hongkong, which suffered plague's ravages in the preceding years. In Bombay, however, the plague had spread with alarming rapidity. In September 1896, about 20 cases were cetected there. In October 276 persons died as a result of plague. In November of the same year, there was further increase in the plague-mortality. In December (1896) there were 1160 deaths from plague, while in January (1897), nearly 1,700 people were lying per week. The Bombay plague was causing anxiety in the Red Sea Littoral, the Mediterranean countries and other countries that traded in Bombay.7

It was natural, therefore, that anxiety and concern was felt in the official circle in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, when some cases of plague were detected at Haridwar in 1897.8

The Government's anti-plague policy and changes in the organizational set-up

The unusual rapidity profoundly influenced the British administrators in India. The Government of India had already passed the Epidemic Diseases Act and obtained the services of the doctors of international fame like Dr. Hoffkine, Dr. Yerson, Dr. James Lawson and Mr. Hankin to serve on the plague commission.⁹

The Government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, was headed at this time by Sir Antony MacDonnell, who enjoyed the prestige as the most efficient officer in the British India. When plague appeared, therefore, in 1897 in the villages near Haridwar, certain important changes were effected in the organizational set up, besides the instructions given to the Haridwar Municipality for enforcing sanitary measures. A system of circle organization and inspection established in the vicinity of Haridwar, in order to check the disease effectively. In 1899, when plague showed signs of increase in the areas of Punjab, health officers were appointed in all the large cities of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. A circular was also issued to the district magistrates, prescribing Act XX in all towns and villages. The maintenance of village sanitation body was made necessary and inspecting officers were directed to record their notes on the important features of local sanitation. 10

Meanwhile the plague spread menacingly in the Calcutta city. This brought danger close to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Large proportions of Calcutta's mill-hands, domestic servants, syces and punkha pullers, etc. belonged to Benares and Gorakhpur divisions. Owing to the alarm of plague in the Calcutta city, these men had

begun to return to their homes. The influx of these emigres made it necessary for the government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, to create special administration in order to cope with the situation. Special arrangements were enforced, therefore, in the eastern districts of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. There circles under European officers and with suitable medical staff were established. The circles divided into sub-circles, in charge of native officers. The duty of these officers was to inspect villages on a weekly or biweekly basis. Accompanied by the village officials and the landlord, these officers were to examine all the newcomers to the villages in order to find out the existence of any suspected plague case. 11 The arrangements for the observation of the plague cases, were made at all the important railway stations. The observers' aim was to intercept the suspiciously ailing travellers and to take down the names of all those passengers, who were not ill but who had come from the plague infested tracts. The destination of such persons were to be put into the registers and the officers at their destination were to be informed about their coming.

The fact that people's reaction against the anti-plague rules was very strong, led the government of the United Provinces of and Oudh to relax the preventive Agra measures against the plague. The emphasis thereafter was put on the sanitary measures. The Government of the Provinces of Agra and Oudh felt certain that the sanitary improvements would be welcomed by the people.12 As a result of this policy sanitary improvements were effected in the cities and towns of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Great attention was paid to drainage system. The construction of large and important drainage works

undertaken at Allahabad, Kanpur, Lucknow, Benares and Farrukhabad. The other important projects in connection with drainage were planned for Saharanpur, Kosi Hathrasa, Haldwani, Deoband and Dehradun. Important sanitary improvements were also effected at Mussoorie. 13

This shift in emphasis in anti-plague policy of the government was the result of rethinking on its part. The government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh increasingly left it to the people to adopt the preventive measures on their own. It had abandoned the practice of establishing the inspecting and reporting agencies because of the irritation of the people and the huge expenditure. The only alternative which remained for fighting plague and which was adopted by the government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, was the improved sanitation. Favouring the sanitary measures against plague, Sir James La Touche, the Lieutenant Governor had written to Lord Curzon that cleanliness was a great gain and that they should have some results for their expenditure in the shape of surface drains, paved lanes and cleaner towns. He also informed him (the Viceroy) that the one preventive, which the people would not object to was sanitation, and that they would welcome it in towns.14

The reaction of the press and people

The educated public was very much exercised over the mysterious nature and the seriousness of the plague epidemic. As the exact cause was not known various views were held about the origin and nature of plague. Broadly speaking, two kinds of views were prevalent in the contemporary Press. The Anglo-India Press ascribed the outbreak of plague to the filthy habits of the Indian people, who were not willing to live a clean life. According to them, the Indians lived like savages in dark, ill-ventilated and over-

crowced houses and not like civilized people in accordance with the laws of sanitary science. As a practical suggestion to check the revages of plague, the Ploneer (Allahabad) and other Anglo-Indian journals advocated the destruction of rodents. The efforts of the Anglo-Indian journals for the rat-destruction and for the sanitary improvements, had the support of many native newspapers such as the Nasim-I-Agra and the Gauhar-I-Hind (Bijnore).

The nationalist press was, however, not convinced of this view of the Anglo-Indian papers. According to the nationalist press the exact cause, for the outbreak and spread of the plague in the United Provinces of Agra and Judh and elsewhere, was the poverty and undernourishment of the people. For the greater number of death from the plague was among the classes, who were comparatively more clean, but who ware physically weak and could not efficiently feed themselves. 15 The Brahmans had lost heavily on account of plague, but none could accuse them of being filthy. Among the Sudras, the Ahirs were not as filthy as other lower castes were, yet they too had lost larger numbers han other lower castes had done. 16 The nationalist newspapers had asserted that plague followed on the heels of famine and that there was a close connection between the wo calamitious visitations. The best preventive, according to nationalist the journals, was improvement in the condition of the people. In the circumstances of poverty and pestilence, such measures as rodent destruction, which was, by the way, disagreeable to a large number of Hindus, would be inadequate and useless.17

This should not, however, give the impression that the nationalist journals were entirely against the preventive measures. In fact the Indian press, including the nationalist

journals, had protested against the policy of reticence, practised by the government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, after 1901. For instance in 1902, when the plague was bringing havoc in Allahabad, and people were fleeing to other places, many journals like the Advocate (Lucknow), the Hindusthan (Kalakankar) and the Oudh Akhbar (Lucknow) demanded stricter preventive measures. The Advocate (Lucknow) had demanded 'a clear statement of the number of attacks and deaths in every town and of the steps taken to eradicate the disease'.18 The Hindusthen (Kalakankar) after describing the situation at Allahabad, wrote: 'it behoves the authorities to take the strictest measures to suppress the epidemic or else there is great danger of spreading'. 19 The Oudh Akhbar (Lucknow) also wrote to bring to the attention of the government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the fact that owing to the increasing virulence of plague at Allahabad, 'a number of the people of that town had already sought refuge in Lucknow and many of them are coming in. The examination of passengers at Lucknow station should therefore strictest'.20

While the educated people of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh were engaged in controversy over the causes of the plague epidemic and measures to prevent its ravages, different kinds of rumours were spreading among the common people. The Riyal-ul-Akhbar (Gorakhpur) had described a number of rumours, which were current among the common people.21 These rumours are interesting as well as expressive of the ignorance of the masses. It was rumoured, for instance, that, inoculation was intended to discover 'Mahdi'. For 'Mahdi' veins, in accordance with Muslim superstition, would give out milk instead of blood. Rumours continued to prevail throughout the period. Such was the height of ignorance of the people that a large number of them attributed the spread of the plague to the British government itself. An old woman was reported to have asked the Municipal Secretary, in a sadly earnest accent, not to sprinkle any more red powder, as he had killed enough men in that quarter.22 Another interesting rumour had also reached the ears of Sir John Hewett, the Lt.-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, when he was to visit Agra in November 1907. It was rumoured that the Lieutenant-Governor was going to Agra in order to spread plague there. As a precaution, to ensure the success of His Honour's special object, the strike was said to be engineered on the East India Railway, by the Government itself, so that the people might not escape from the city of Agra.23

As a result of these wild rumours, plaguephobia took possession of the people's mind. They had begun to fear plague rules more than the plague. There was panic among the people. They used to run away approach of doctors. In a fancy show Fyzabad. a rumour about the impending visit of a lady doctor, made the people run helterskelter.24 The Etawah Punch had described the effect of plague inspection at the Etawah railway station to the following effect. There was consternation both among the people and the villagers. The latter had given up travelling by rail and avoided going to the towns. The bazaars looked gloomy and the courts were deserted.25 The mere inspection at the railway station had given the impression to the people there that plague had broken out in their area.

The Kanpur riot was also the result of such apprehensions and uneasiness, felt by the people. The feelings in the people there ran high, when an only son of a stradesman was removed from his house in the Nawabganj

mohalla of the Kanpur city. A rumour to the effect that two children had also been taken to the plague-hospital, made the people excited and they rushed to the plague-hospital, burned it to the ground and killed 5 hospital attendants. The riot was a serious one. The army had to be called in to restore order and peace was ultimately established by the Lt.-Governor, Sir Antony MacDonnell, himself.²⁶

Reason for common people's opposition to the anti-plague measures

At first, this kind of the behaviour of the people seems strange and devoid of any knowledge of health and sanitation. opposed anti-plague measures, which were for their welfare and when normally cooperation could be expected of them. That this opposition to the anti-plague policy of the Government had been confined to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, was not the case. A more militant opposition to the anti-plague evident inthe Bombay measure was Presidency. Yet the important and very interesting part of the situation was that the common people in the native states were respective cooperating fully with their governments for the eradication of plague. The example of the native state of Baroda can perhaps help here. There also, the plague was raging violently and had claimed 10,196 lives in 1902-3. The number of plague deaths in 1903-4 was 14,946 in Baroda State.27 The Government and the people had tried to face the calamity of plague in cooperation with each other. The Sanitary Commissioner (Dr. Krishnarao Vishwanath Dhurandhar) and other high officers were touring the state and inspiring confidence in the people. Popular lectures were delivered on sanitary subjects, such as personal care of health,

cleanliness, purity of water, uri and soil, mosquitoes and malaria, etc. By the command of the Maharaja, small tracts on sanitary subjects were published in the vernaculars and distributed broadcast.²⁸ The fumigation of houses with the neem (indica nimbolia) was tried. A pill, prepared by the chief medical officer Dr. Shamsuddin Suleman, was wicely distributed among the people.

The people's cooperation was admirable in all the measures that the Government of Baroda State took for fighting plague. The people, there did not even incculation. 51,198 persons got themselves vaccinated in 1902-3. 52,802 persons were vaccinated next year.29 The educated people had extended their unstinted support to the state government for fighting the plague. There was no controversy in the press, because the administration had already accepted their view on the origin of the plague. admitted that famine and plague were closely li-ked calamities.30 In fact the Government of the Baroda State had continued the famine relief measures, such as suspension of land revenue, remission of accumulated arrears, a vances in the form of Tagavi to cultivators on a large scale, during the time of plague.31 Moreover, the Baroda State shared the responsibility of fighting plague with newly organized Panchayats. The village panchayats, with the help of the school teachers were to take care of village sanitation. The village panchs and sarpanchs were to zrange for the removal of rank vegetation from the vicinity of wells, the assignment of places [for washing, the regulation of manure heaps and repairs of roads, etc.

This explains the difference of approach for fighting plague, that was adopted in the Eritish Provinces and the native States. In mative states, people's cooperation was sought in order to eradicate plague; in the provinces

the emphasis was on the efficiency of the antiplague organizational set-up. The efforts of the anti-plague administration were crippled for want of sympathy and cooperation on the part of the people. The racial and social differences had made the cooperation in the British provinces between the people and the government well nigh impossible. One had to agree, perforce, with the view expressed by Maulana Mohamed Ali who had said at that time that 99 Indians out of every hundred did not understand the Englishman and without any exception feared them.32 The two races practised social aloofness and that had produced suspicion and misunderstanding between them. This was why, the simple antiplague measures provoked resentment and caused riots in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and elsewhere in the British administered provinces.

The effects on society and literature

The plague had the effect of uniting the Hindus and Muslims. As the anti-plague rules infringed the privacy of ladies, the Muslims and Hindus alike felt the prick, because of the observation of 'Pardah' by the house-wives. The two communities had shed animosities to each other and became united in opposition to the anti-plague rules. The contemporary press had noted the cordiality developing between the Hindus and Muslims, with satisfaction. The Dabdaba-i-Qaisiri (Bareilly) found the Hindus and Muslims, making mutual advances for friendship and love and was more than satisfied with this 'good out of evil', as the preceding 8 or 10 years were marked by Hindu-Muslim riots.33 Hindusthani (Lucknow) wrote more in a martial tone about the Hindu-Muslim unity. The journal said that the cordiality between the two communities was surprising causing discomfiture and sham the professional mischief-mongers.34 Sir Antony

MacDonnell had related a very interesting incident, which throws remarkable light on the plague's contribution to the Hindu-Muslim unity. In Azamgarh and Ballia districts, there was likelihood of an anti-cow killing agitation in 1899. The secret meetings of the Hindus on the one hand and the Muslims on the other, were going on. A Hindu-Muslim riot seemed imminent. Shortly afterwards the plague spread to Azamgarh and Ballia and the plague inspectors came for observation. was enough for the Hindus and Muslims to end their enmity. The possibility of plague had induced them to end antagonism and to unite in opposing the anti-plague rules.35

The plague had its effects on the educated classes also. Their social conscience was aroused by the suffering of the common The educated people seemed to recognize the value of the preventive measures. Through their efforts, the sick people got themselves admitted into the hospitals. 1904, the number of persons, treated at dispensaries of all kinds, amounted to about one-tenth of the population of the province.³⁶ In fact, it was felt that the province needed a larger supply of hospital assistants and a college for training assistant surgeons. In the closing months of 1904, a movement was started to found a medical college at Lucknow as a memorial to Prince of Wales' visit. The popularity of the proposal was shown by the spontaneous liberality with which all classes contributed to the cost.37

The misery and the suffering of the common people, during the years of plague ravages, deeply touched the hearts of sensitive and literary persons. In fact, there happened as a result of this phenomenon a great change in the style and motivation of the popular Hindi literature. Henceforth the Hindi literature had begun to reflect the true condition of the society. The foremost

literaryman of the period, Pt. Mahabir Prasad Dwivedi had advised his fellow poets and prose-writers to stop writing novels like 'Rasa Kusumakar' and 'Jasvantjasobbusan', which degenerate the taste of society. He called upon them to write about the great ancestors and emancipators of the past; for that would be an immense gain for the Hindi literature. It is noteworthy that most of the Hindi writings of this period, reflect the criticism of the British rule. It is particularly remarkable, for in the last decades of the 19th century, the Hindu poets had been profuse in the praise of the British rule. 39

The Political Repercussions

Certain political repercussions too followed as a result of the plague calamity. The view of the educated people about the origin of the plague was that the famine and the plague were inevitable twins, that the latter must follow the former. The true causes of the plague, in the opinion of the educated people, were the poverty, and the undernourishment of the people. In fact. there was an acrimonious and long controversy between the educated classes and the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, over the issue of the poverty of the Indian people. former held and latter denied that the Indian people had become poorer under the British rule and the repeated occurrences of calamities like plague and famine were the result of the impoverishment of the Indian people. As a result of this controversy, the criticism against the British rule grew and became sharper. The people were pointing out to each other that while the Indians were dying in shoals like birds and flies, there was no end of concerts and parties among the rulers, who considered themselves immune.40

As a result of the growing dissatisfaction against the British rule, militancy was gaining ground in the common people. In the press

tco, there was the carping criticism of the Brirish rule in India. Even the moderate papers like the Advocate (Lucknow) had urged upon the government to suspend railway programmes and to starve other spending departments in order to spend every pie for preventable deaths from plague, because it was the first and foremost duty of the government.41 That the militancy was growing was admitted by the responsible British officers. Sir Antony MacDonnell had written to the Viceroy that there was a grow ing spirit of independence, apparent among the people; that the control of the British officers over the masses was getting weaker and that the movements of the Maulvis and Mullahs was ncticeable.

Cenclusion

The plague was a bad thing. For nearly a decade or so, it hit our society hard. There were blessings in disguise in it. The Hindu-Muslim unity was a good thing. The new motivation in the Hindi literature was a change of immense significance. The attention of the educated people and the government was turned towards the problem of public health, medical facilities and public senitation. Last but not the least was the growth of militancy in the national movement. Certainly these were not the direct results of the plague but nobody would deny that these socio-political factors were greatly strengthened by the plague epidemic of 1897-1907 in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

- 1. North-Western Province and Oudh was renamed 'The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh' in 1901.
- 2. The United Provinces of Agra & Oudh Administration Report 1897-98 (Allahabad, 1900), p. 168.
- 3. Ibid, 1899-1900, p. 177.
- 4. *Ibid*, 1901-2, p. 59.

- 5. All these figures have been taken from the chapter on 'Health and Sanitation of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Administration Reports' of the relevant years.
- 6. Plague deaths=383,802
 Fever deaths=1063,596
 Source: The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Administration Report 1905-6, chap. on health and sanitation.
- 7. The Report on moral and material progress and condition of India, 1896-97, as laid before the House of Commons, by the Secretary of State for India, pp. 29-30.
- Sir Harcourt Butler's letter to Margaret, April 27, 1897; Harcourt Butler Correspondence.
- 9. The Report on the moral and material progress and condition of India 1896-97, op. cit., p. 30.
- 10. The U. P. Administration Report 1898-99, op. cit., p. 169.
- Sir Antony MacDonnell's letter to Lord Curzon, dated April 7, 1899. Curzon Correspondence.
- 12. Sir James La Touche's letter to Lord Curzon, dated June 10, 1903. Curzon Correspondence.
- 13. The U. P. Administration Report 1902-3, op. cit., p. 51.
- 14. La Touche's letter to Lord Curzon, June 10, 1903. Op. cit.
- 15. The Advocote (Lucknow), March 13, 1902.
- 16. Ibid., April 20, 1902.
- 17. The Bharat Jiwan (Benares). August 25, 1902.
- 18. The Advocate (Lucknow), March 13, 1902.
- The Hindusthan (Kalakankar), February 24, 1902.
- 20. The Oudh Akhbar (Lucknow), February 25, 1902.
- 21. The Native Newspapers Report of the United Provinces of Agra & Oudh, 1902, p. 170.

- 22. Afzal Iqbal (ed.), Select Writings and Speeches of Maulana Mohamed Ali (Lahore, 1944), pp. 18-19.
- Sir John Hewett's letter to Dunlopsmith, December 5, 1907. Minto Correspondence.
- 24. The Oudh Punch (Lucknow), June 23, 1898.
- 25. The Native Newspapers Report of the United Provinces of Agra & Oudh 1902, September 1, pp. 556-57.
- 26. Sir Antony MacDonnell's letter to Lord Curzon, April 29, 1900. Curzon Correspondence.
- 27. Baroda Administration Reports 1902-4 (Bombay, 1905), p. 208.
- 28. R. C. Dutta, Baroda Administration Report (Bombay, 1906), p. 164.
- 29. Baroda Administration Roport 1902-4 (Bombay, 1905), p. 208.
- 30. Ibid., pp. 116-17.
- 31. Baroda Admnistration Report 1904-5 常識 [(Bombay, 1906), p. 277.

- 32. Afzal Iqbal, Select Writings of Maulana Mohamed Ali (Lahore, 1944), p. 18.
- 33. The Dabdaba-i-Qaisiri (Bareilly), March 23, 1898.
- 34. The Hindusthani (Lucknow), June 15, 1898.
- 35. MacDonnell's letter to Lord Curzon, dated April 21, 1899. Curzon Correspondence.
- 36. The U. P. Administration Report 1904-5, p. XII.
- 37. Ibid.
- 38. Mahabir Prasad Dwivedi, Kavi Kartavya Saraswati (Allahabad, 1901), p. 252.
- 39. Lavmisagar Varsneya, Bhartendu ki Vichardhara (Allahabad, 1948), p. 3.
- 40. The Advocate (Lucknow), March 13, 1902.
- 41. Ibid., April 20, 1902.
- 42. Sir Antony MacDonnell to Lord Curzon, September 29, 1899. Curzon Correspondence.



Current Affairs

Farakka Barrage and Feeder Canal

Dr. K. L. Rao has spoken about the Farakka barrage and the feeder canal which is expected to carry 40000 cusecs of water from the dam to the Bhagirathi river at Calcutta. His words have two points which require to be examined by the public of West Bengal. Point one is that Dr. Rao considers 20000 cusecs good enough for maintaining the easy regreement of steamers in the Calcutta Port. He being a person who deals with irrigation. should not have made a statement of this sort. People who have made a special study of the subject of movement of steamers in Calcutta Port have found that 40000 cusecs would be required to increase the depth and flow of water here, and Dr. K. L. Rao should not have expressed a contrary opinion just because it suits his purpose. Using river water for irrigation is not an absolute necessity. Well irrigation is widely practised in Uttar Pradesh and there are no special reasons why well irrigation should not be availed of to mest the requirements of the farmers of Uttar P≡desh. There are many lakhs of Uttar Predesh citizens in Calcutta who earn their living here by working directly or indirectly ir connection with the traffic of goods and persons handled by the Calcutta Port. If the farmers of Uttar Pradesh require Ganges water so badly that the interests of the Calcutta Port should be sacrificed for their irrigational needs, then all Uttar Pradesh dwellers should be asked to leave West Bengal, so that this state has fewer persons to provide employment for. If Calcutta has to maintain

10/20 lakhs of Uttar Pradesh people, then the health of the Calcutta Port has to be maintained in full strength and the farmers of Uttar Pradesh have to find water for their fields from sources other than the rivers which feed the Ganges. Further, Dr. Rao has said that 20000 cusecs could be spared for two months for the Cauvery project. He also says that Calcutta should get 20000 cusecs only for two months. If that is so then a dam should be built somewhere in Uttar Pradesh for accumulating the 20000 cusecs for two months and then using that water for irrigation later on without interfering with the working of the Farakka project.

The main thing to remember is that W. Bengal has an economic structure which can be kept going only if the Port of Calcutta functions effectively. A very large number of South Indians and people from North Indian States live in West Bengal. All these people and the managers of their States of origin should know that unless every help is given to West Bengal to run her economy smoothly, West Bengal would not be able to play host to all South and North Indians who choose to come to this State for trade. commerce, industry or service. If West Bengal has to depend entirely on her own immediately available resources, she will have to recast her economy in a new pattern which may not accommodate a few million outsiders.

Confiscation of Savings a National Policy?

If a technical person or some one who has excelled in the sciences or the arts chooses to

go out to a foreign country, he or she can command a salary which might work out at 100000 rupees per annum. Even after paying income tax and other dues and expenses in foreign countries one may save about 10000/ 20000 rupees per annum out of this income. The accumulated total of these savings for 25 years would be 400000/800000 rupees. In India a person will first pay out a major portion of his or her income in taxes and if a good standard of living is maintained the expenses may just about leave a saving of 10/20 percent which may accumulate to 5/6 lakhs of rupees in 25 years working life. Our national managers are now busy working out how much they will permit an earning of society to keep as savings. Rajasthan being a land of profit and saving makers has chosen to declare that 2½ or 3 lakhs of savings should be enough for a family of five persons. They will, perhaps, decide that earnings too must not exceed Rs. 50000/gross per annum. That means all well qualified persons in India will get half the salary that they will be able to obtain in other countries. There is a brain drain from India and thousands of Indians have already gone out to other countries as wage earners. As even sweepers earn higher salaries abroad compared to what Magistrates or Professors earn in India; this drain of skill will be intensified as "Socialism" takes clearer shape in India. In another twenty years, "Socialism" develops along the lines laid down by our politicians, India will be a land of third raters and all good workers, scientists, artists, scholars and technicians would find it better to leave the country. One may think that the state will force people to stay and work in the country at the rates of wages fixed by the state. Everyone knows this does not work out in practice as envisaged. People will go abroad as salaried workers at low rates of wages and then qualify to earn higher wages. They will not come back thereafter to India. Even in Russia the minimum wage paid is about a very low percentage of the highest wages paid to qualified persons. In India if the minimum wage is fixed at Rs. 2000/- per annum, the highest wage rate must come to about Rs. 150,000 per annum. Such wage rates will have their savings which may come to 20000/25000 rupees per annum. How would all that fit in with the economic norms that our politicians dream of?

The Sorrows of Railway Travel

In pre-independence days the Indian railways had four classes for passengers. First, Second, Intermediate and Third were the four classes. There were many more lavatories and much more privacy in all classes. One must however admit that the third class passengers had a raw deal, though they paid very low fares which were considered the lowest in the world. Now-a-days we have four classes too, viz. A. C. class, First class, Second class and Third class. All classes have sleepers and a system of reservations. But the lavatories are fewer proportionate to the number of passengers and the compartments are connected by corridors. As the locking arrangements are quite often found defective, safety is not assured. There are many cases of crimes committed in railway trains and the reasons are mainly found in lack of safety devices. When one comes to other comforts one has to say that the Indian railways are ill equipped to travel by, unless one travels A. C. class which is very expensive and the increases in fares are still continuing. The food supply used to be very good during the British managed days. But when independence came our politicians, as has been their practice, saw profits and gains where there were none or only normal profits existed, and wanted to abolish the contractual system of food supplies. After a trial of direct food supply the contractors came back with reduced competence to do their work. Then they were sent out again for reasons best known to our all knowing politicians. The food supplies became execrable and the tourists who visited Incia went back highly dissatisfied. contract system has been reintroduced by Sari Hanumanthiah again and his choice of contractors has not been happy. We found the waiters in A. C. class compartments on the Kalka Mail dressed in blue jeans and the food served was inedible. Shri Hanumanthiah possibly has food habits of the congress ascetins; but when one pays a good price for focd one expects something better than goards boiled in chilli water. The fish was unrecognisable and the chicken hacked to pieces in a manner which would cause a nervous break down to good cooks. We were told the contractor supplied food to members of Parliament. We have not studied the health reports of M. P.s but we may assume that they have iron constitutions to survive after partaking of the Hanumanthiah menus. In any case, we North Indians like ic admire South Indian cooking from a good distance and not by actually eating it. We suppose this reaction is similar in South Indians when they are gnien North Indian God. But South Indian railways have no North Indian managers.

Pollution From Thermal Power Station Concerted Timely Action Needed

Although electricty is a clean from of energy at the point of consumption and it can have growing uses for environmental protection purposes, such as mass transit systems to replace the growing demand of automobiles, in recycling wastes and for other murposes, thermal power production is also a

formidable source of pollution. Large quantities of waste products from thermal power plants in the form of solids, liquids, gases or heat are discharged into air, water or on the land.

There is increasing concern about the effects of such discharges on the environment and the resulting problems. These concerns have led to greater attention being given to pollution control and aesthetics in the planning, construction and operation of power stations. Many of the environmental problems, however, are inherent in the technology and a considerable research and development efforts are needed and are currently under way in advanced industrial countries to overcome some basic drawbacks.

Although the problems in the Indian context have not quantitatively reached alarming dimensions which they have reached in some advanced countries, the problems have already started showing up at certain locations. But in the dynamic context of as rapidly growing sector, this is at best a brief breathing spell not to be wasted in complacence but for planning ahead, exercising foresight and taking timely action to farestall or mitigate potential environmental hazards.

POLLUTION SOURCE

The gaseous and solid effluents due to burnnig of coal and oil in the thermal power plants create hazards. Smoke is not normally emitted by power stations except for short periods when lighting up from cold or when a station is used as a peak load station. Power stations are potential sources of serious pollution by grit and dust partly because of vast quantities of coal consumed and partly because much of it is fired in pulverised form.

In India the oil sources arc meagre. There are however abundant reserves of low grade high ash (nearly 30-40 per cent) coals which has become the primary fuel in thermal

power generation. The high ash content of coal gives rise to problem of fly ash when the escape rate of fly ash in the atmosphere becomes very high. Some power stations have to burn middlings and rejects from washeries having nearly 35-45 per cent ash content.

Pulverised fuel fired boilers are normally provided with mechanical collectors which arrest 80 to 85 per cent of the fly ash in the fuel gas. Electrostatic precipitators, when provided singly or ln combination with mechanical collectors, can collect 98 per cent nof the fly ash in fuel gas. With the use of tall stacks and by using high efficiency precipitators the pollution can be reduced to a desired level.

Disposal of the solid ash either retained at the bottom of the furnace or arrested by the mechanical collector and electrostatic precipitator always presents a major problem for the power station. Most of this ash is used for dumping and land filling. The unplanned operation of ash filling in the low lying land may cause serious problems of pollution of water course during rainy seasons. A possible use to which this ash can be put is in the manufacture of concrete. It can find use in brick making as additive clay and also in road making.

Large quantities of sulphur dioxide are emitted daily by the thermal power stations using coal oil. These emissions beyond a certain level can cause danger to human health. Exposure to sulphur dioxide have been found to damage the animal and plant life and also materials. Long exposure to sulphur dioxide at low concentration level can be dangerous.

To meet the growing demands for power, it is expected that by 1981, nearly 50 million tonnes of coal will be burnt in the various power stations, producing (on the basis of

complete burning) nearly 15 million tonnes of ash. If no methods are adopted nearly 20 per cent of this ash, i. e. 3 million tonnes per year or 8800 tonnes per day will be getting into the atmosphere. With the use of mechanical collectors, this quantity gets reduced to 1,325 tonnes per day and with electrostatic precipitator, this quantity can further be brought down to nearly 180 tonnes per day. At a site having a 100 MW station the ash getting into the air, after adopting all methods, will be nearly 1 tonne per day.

Although Indian coals have low sulphur per-centage (0.5 to 0.6) 50 million tonnes of coals will discharge nearly 600,000 tonnes of sulphur dioxide per year into the air, as no provision can be made to reduce this quantity. Thus 1600 tonnes of sulphur dioxide per day will get into the atmosphere.

So far, environmental considerations have not been taken into account in India in any systematic manner in planning and siting of a thermal power station. The locations tended to be decided on factors like availability of water, and economic issues such as cost involved in coal transportation, power transmission costs etc. No laid down environmental criteria were followed. The precipitators wherever incorporated were done more for safety of equipment, rather than on environmental considerations.

ACTION NEEDED

Thermal power plants in India thus become the focal point for action to protect the environment. Construction of power stations is necessary to meet the growing power demand although such stations are sources of environmental degradation. The problem at hand is really to relate and if possible reconcile these conflicting public interests, namely, supplying more power and maintainting the environmental quality.

There is a necessity of identifying the

nature of environmental problems created by thermal power stations. The first step is to evaluate pollution making pontential of a proposed new plant. Comprehensive, well coordinated and timely evaluation of environmental implications should be available in the planning processes. By this process environmental questions can be examined, discussed and resolved well in advance of the scheduled construction.

The cost for environmental protection will have to inevitably find their way into the price of electricity. We should not penalise the future generations by foisting on them environmental degradation by refusing to incur the costs of environmental protection. A basic necessity for controlling the thermal power station effluents is the establishment of standards based on objective analysis of what can be discharged into the environment without doing undue harm.

The environmental effects of plants to be built over the next decade will be significantly much more important than those of existing station facilities combined. Installation of pollution control facilities could be mere expensive and difficult in the older power stations. It is much more economical to install pollution control equipment when the plant is being built. Economic improvements due to increase in sizes of units give another incentive to install pollution control equipment. Many older plants in India are located in urban areas where problems are more acute and probably a greater expense on pollution control in such power station is instified.

Decision about location of thermal stations should be based not only on considerations like availability of adequate land, water, minimum cost involved in coal transportation and power transmission costs etc. but weight

should be given to considerations of preserving air and water quality, assuming safety and a variety of ecological and aesthetic factors. A major power plant siting consideration is the disposal of waste heat into water course, since unplanned heat disposal might create problems of thermal pollution. The location has thus to satisfy both economic as well as environmental considerations.

Nature and scale of emissions, air quality and meteorological data provide the basic information for understanding the air pollution problem of an area. In India there is no 'emission inventory' of any place. It is of prime importance to have systematic monitoring of particulate matter and sulphur dioxide in areas in the neighbourhood of a thermal power station. Such an emission inventory is also needed for a location where a power station is being proposed.

Environmental quality management has to be backed up by research and development efforts. The research problems are to be carefully identified as major environmental benefits can be expected from them. A better technology is to be developed for using Indian coals in a manner compatible with the environmental concerns. The waste products both solid and gaseous have to be reduced and their emissions to air and water have to bn controlled. We have mechanical collectors and electrostatic precipitators for handling the ash but there is nothing to control the sulphur doxide. A proper technique for containing the sulphur dioxide has to be doveloped.

It is important to develop a better understanding of environment itself so that the intrusion of current and future technological advances can be minimised. Certain ecological and geological considerations also need study.

Indian and Foreign Periodicals

About Apartheid

The following extract is from Time.

South Africa's expanding economy has given nearly every white householder the means to afford black domestic servants. In Johannesburg, the nation's largest city, the demand for black maids, nannies, cooks, chauffeurs and gardeners has increased so sharply that blacks now outnumber whites by nearly two to one. But South Africa's white apartheid government does not want the domestic workers to live in the city. Reason: too many blacks on the street at night. Thus it has decided to force the servants to move into a complex of high-rise "hostels" on the outskirts of Johannesburg. The plan has set off a hot racial debate.

The barracks-style quarters, says Gerhardus van der Merwe, who is in charge of the project, are designed "to ensure that inmates will live and relax together under pleasant conditions"—and inmates is precisely the word. According to the government's plan, the twelve-building complex will provide accommodations (strictly segregated according to sex) for some 60,000 blacks, most of whom are married.

So far, two five-story structures have been completed. They have no elevators, no electrical outlets ("these people would just abuse them," said an official) and no heating ("to keep costs down"). The bathtubs—five for every 100 people—are not even full size. The government made sure, however, that the buildings included police offices and cells for potential troublemakers, as well as electroni-

cally controlled doors that can be used to seal off any part of the building "in case of unrest." The black workers, who earn between \$20 and \$50 a month, will have to pay \$8 a month for the privilege of sharing a room with three other people.

Orwellian Horror

last week, when the first were scheduled open, proposed living conditions had raised a storm of protest. Progressive Party M.P. Helen Suzman called the hostels an "Orwellian horror." White women, churchmen students staged placard protests. the shock felt by chic matrons over the city's "white by night" policy, as it is called, was undoubtedly at the prospect of having no servants to wait on candlelit dinner partiesbut by no means all of it was. At a jampacked citizens' meeting Anglican Bishop John Carter condemned the hostels as the work of "morally sick" people. Said one white housewife: "My maid, who is 66 years old, just wept and said to me: 'Madam, we are people, not cattle." "

The government did its best to defend the scheme. "It compares favorably with white migrant laborers' accommodations overseas," said Van der Merwe. Nonetheless, mindful perhaps that a similar attempt at a "white by night" policy aroused such eoncern in the nearby town of Randburg that the ruling National Party suffered seriously in local elections, the Johannesburg city council decided to postpone the hostel opening for

another two months. "We are putting in an open-air cinema, and the women's block will get a basketball court," explained an official. "V'e are also considering putting in heating."

Mctor Cars for Moscow Dwellers

People living in Moscow so far had very few cars. Things are changing and soon many more citizens of Moscow will have automobiles. The following account is taken from Time:

In Moscow last week, the 150,000 or so citizens who are privileged to own private cars were engaged in an annual spring ritual. First, they stripped the tarpaulins from their autos, most of which had been left under wreps all winter because of the ferocious frosts. Then the cars were carefully polished (a dirty auto can bring a \$1 fine), and inspected by police. Only after that could Moscow's mosorists stream out of the city for the budding birch woods and the May Day weekend, the first three-day holiday of the spring season.

They encountered few traffic jams, but that idyllic situation may not last long. For the first time in history, the Soviet government is making a massive, long-term investment in order to meet consumer demand. A main part of that drive is aimed at satisfying Russia's growing auto mania, or automobilizatula, which is now rampant from Tallin to Tomsk. Russians are stampeding to buy the \$5,500 Italian-designed Zhiguli cars, adapted from the Fiat 124, that are rolling off the new assembly line at Togliatti at the rate of 1.000 per day.

Social Impact. The auto age is already beginning to affect Soviet manners and morals in ways that the regime may not have entirely foreseen. Time Correspondent John Shaw cables from Moscow: "The new mobility provided by the auto is bound to make Russians more individualistic as it frees them from the disciplines of communal life. In this vast

country, where many Soviet citizens live in apartments not much bigger than the cars they hope to buy, the most important thing the auto offers is transport to solitude."

Russia's modest advance into the automotive age is also having an incalculable economic impact. The investment to meet consumer demand requires reallocation of steel, rubber and gasoline from the Soviet defense establishment. A gigantic highway construction program is needed, and so is a network of gas stations and repair shops, both of which are woefully scarce.

Some of the problems of automobilizatsia are all too familiar to Americans. In spite of the most stringent laws against drunken driving, half the traffic accidents in the Soviet Union, exactly as in the U.S., are caused by overimbibers. Other problems are peculiarly Russian. Most roads remain primitive in the extreme, and besides the perils of potholes, motorists must cope with farmers who thresh their wheat and build their log cabins right on the highways so that they can reach them more easily.

Symbolic Value. In spite of such aggravations, there is no more potent symbol of prestige than the auto in the Soviet Union today. The Communist state has paradoxically chosen not to produce "people's cars", but to build medium-sized vehicles that range in price from \$4,000 to \$11,000. Workers who make an average wage of \$180 a month can scarcely afford them. Even bureaucrats and professionals often have to save up for years to buy them, then have to wait as long as a year and a half for delivery.

Russian auto owners must defend themselves from a new breed of criminal—car thieves. Before leaving a parked car, the Soviet owner customarily removes the windshield wipers, gas tank cap and aerial, and locks them inside, out of the reach of pilferers. Some of the cleverest car thieves have now been thwarted for the summer. During the vinter a thief will often steal a car off the treet and substitute it for a similar model that has been put up for the season under a arpaulin. The police are left to hunt for a car that is hidden away—at least until spring, when the owner discovers that the shape under the tarp is not his own. By then, his car may have found a home 2,000 miles away in Samarkand.

Has the solar system got a tenth planet?

Time discusses possibilities of the existence of a tenth planet:

It has been 42 years since Clyde Tombaugh, at Arizona's Lowell Observatory, discovered the last and outermost of the solar system's nine known planets. But many astronomers have never given up hope of finding a tenth planet even farther from the sun. They have been encouraged in their search by irregularities in the orbit of the eighth planet, Neptune, which some suspect could be caused by the gravitational tug of a mysterious "Planet X." Until now, however, all efforts to sight Planet X have failed.

This week a University of California scientist announced that he may finally have found that elusive target. Writing in the journal of the Astronomical Society of the Pacific, Joseph L. Brady of the Lawrence Laboratory gave a description of the long-sought tenth planet, complete with its distance from the sun and its current position in the heavens. His "discovery" was made, not by scanning photographic plates, but by analyzing the erratic behavior of Halley's Comet, which comes into view every 76 years (next appearance: 1986), as it nears the sun in its elliptical and far-ranging orbit.

Checking historical observations dating

back nearly 1,700 years, Brady found peculiar irregularity: on each approach the sun, Halley's Comet shows up as many four days earlier or later than its predicted arrival date. That variation seemed to indicate that some unknown force must be influencing the comet's motion. Could it be the gravitational tug of a planet beyond Pluto?

For four years, Brady fed into computer mathematical models of a ten-plane solar system, seeking the characteristics of still undiscovered planet that would cause the irregularities in the comet's orbit. Gradual the description of Planet X emerged: it would be three times as massive as Saturn (second largest of the planets) and nearly 6 billion miles from the sun (more than half again far as Pluto). It would take 464 years complete a single trip around the sun, and the plane of its orbit would be tilted an ang of approximately 600 from the general orbit planes of the planets. Strangest of all, motion would be retrograde; that is, would travel around the sun in the opposit direction from all the other planets.

To convince skeptics, Brady has alread begun additional computation to check the gravitational effects that Planet X would have on the known orbits of the outer planets. Still the real test must be visual—a photograph of Planet X. At its great distance from the sun, however, Planet X would reflect only Brady's modicum of light. Furthermore, calculations indicate that the planet is now located in the Constellation Cassiopeia, which is cluttered with so many stars that the planet. would be hard to find. Nonetheless, Brady is hopeful that a sharp-eyed astronomer. scanning photographic plates, will some day detect a dim pinpoint of light reflected from far off Planet X.

flationalisation of Coal Mines

Coal Field Tribune says:

Since take-over of the 214 coking coal mines by Government in October last year and lack of Government's policy statement in regard to the future of non-coking coal mines, the Coal Industry in general and West Bengal in particular, which is producer of about 20 million tonnes of non-coking coal per year, is passing through a critical phase. While Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi is reported to have said at a meeting at Rae Bareilly that the Govt. would resist the temptation of nationalizing industries indiscriminately, the Chief Minister of West Bengal Shri Siddhartha Shankar Roy while inaugurating the fourth Coke Oven Battery at Durgapur Steel Plant is reported to have said that the days were not far off when all the coal mines and heavy industries would come under Govt. control. These two statements themselves are contracictory and will only confuse the industrialists and new entrepreneurs. On the other hand, Limost all the trade union leaders in the West Bengal coal belt are clamouring for nationalizalion of non-coking coal mines. Even, they are launching strikes with the slogan for "nationalization" of the coal mines as one of -beir main demands.

The atmosphare in the non-coking coal adustry is thus surcharged with suspicion and leading the industry to a crisis of confidence. Coal Industry is actually passing through a crisis of confidence. They are, as if, the 'culprits'; their only fault is, because they run the industry. It should not be forgotten that the industrialists are not less patriots and nationalism is not the monopoly of politicians and trade union leaders alone. Nobody is poposed to nationalization. What is opposed is drum beating and wild statements for nationalization. Another big question is—is notionalization of Coal Industry the panacea

of all ills? Almost all the nationalized industries so far failed to establish economic soundness. Inefficiency, corruption, favouratism and nepotism are rampant in almost all the nationalized industries and production is far below the rated capacity.

Bharat Coking Coal Corporation, which has been formed to run the coking coal mines, is reportedly not faring well and production is said to have gone down since take over. The reason of less production is said to be due to internal clique, narrow outlook and sectarian views of those who are managing it. Some of the top men who are seasoned mining engineers with wide experience in management and production are said to have left the concern and joined their previous firms elsewhere. Some others are said to be not happy over the state of affairs there. All these facts show that there is something behind it. And it is not congenial to the industrial atmosphere. A general cry for employment of the "sons of the soil" has recently developed in and around Coal Industry. It is but natural and nobody opposes it. But, employment should not be discriminated at the cost of national interest.

Non-coking coal mines are passing through a nightmarish condition and, as a result, development has been stalled. There is the shortage of wagons, there is the labourtrouble-cum-leader-trouble, i.e. inter-union and intra union rivalries and above all, threat of nationalization. The cumulative effect is making a casualty of production and causing shrinkage in employment potentialities. annual normal production of West Bengal collieries is about 20 million tonnes of coal but it is said to have gone down to 17 million tonnes last year. The reason of this less production is not far to seek. Accumulation of huge stocks at the pit heads due to shortage of wagon supplies by railways, erratic supplies

of wagons under the plea of route-restrictions, stoppage of supplies on piecemeal basis are the main hurdles the Coal Industry confronts. Trade union movement by some trade union leaders makes the things more complicated: in some cases it is politically motivated and breeds indiscipline and rowdyism among the workers themselves. In other cases it is to satisfy self interest. Both are impediments to production and above all, uncertainty in regard to future of the Industry.

Problems of the Coal Industry should be viewed in its proper perspective. Wild allegations of "slaughter" mining and similar other allegations against managements are no solutions nor it will help growth of the Industry. What is the need today is the declaration of clear and unequivocal policy of the Govt. in regard to the Industry and establish good relations between the Industry and the labour, and free and frank discussions between Govt., management and labour as to how to solve the problems.

Save the Constitution and the People's Freedoms

C. Rajagopalachari, writes in Swarajya:

I have been constantly reiterating the importance of defending the Constitution. This is because the Constitution guarantees the following: first, the complete protection of minority communities in the practice of their religions and their equality with the majority community in all secular rights and privileges; secondly, the complete protection of citizens in the enjoyment of their properties inherited or otherwise acquired legally and a guarantee that if the State desires to acquire any part of them, the State should give just and adequate compensation to make up for the loss; thirdly, the need for any acquisition and the adequacy of the compensation should be subject to judicial examination and the award of the courts should be fully respected. It is these guarantees inscribed in the Constitution that saves the citizens from dictatorship and serfdom.

If, therefore, the Constitution should be saved from being sabotaged in these respects, a party pledged to these guarantees and to resist totalitarian rule is absolutely necessary. The people may elect anyone they choose to rule over the affairs of the country subject to the guarantees briefly mentioned above. A party dedicated to defend these guarantees is as necessary as it is necessary to have a parliament and leaders dedicated to good government. The independence of the judiciary and the authority of the Supreme Court should not be interfered with directly or indirectly. These axioms of good government democracy should be explained clearly to the people and they should be warned against being misled into agreeing to a sabotage of the Constitution.

The economic policies of the Government should be so framed as to lead to social justice which is not impossible, if party politics is not allowed to interfere with genuine economic reform and steps are taken to maintain and improve respect for moral values. This is the fundamental basis for any good government. Leaders should be men and women of the highest character and competence. should lead and not be led by those whose votes may, by numbers, give power and authority over the citizens without considering what is good for the nation in the long run. A solid group of people who guard the Constitution and the rights of the people, the rights of the majority as well as of the minorities, is as important as a Prime Minister and President are necessary. Wtihout such a party it would be like a beautiful motor car without a brake.

The notion that the justification for the existence of a party is only that it can be an alternative government if it secures a sufficient

number of votes and that otherwise it may be dissolved and extinguish itself is wholly erroneous. A party of those who are dedicated to defend the core of good democracy is even mcre important than those who run governments according to the requirements of change in times. Politics is not merely a competition between groups for the acquisition of power. The fundamental articles with which the Swatantra Party was founded must be read over and over again by good men and women in the country and must be explained to the less informed section of the community. The desence of the Constitution is not less important than the defence of the country against foreign aggression.

It is treason for one to assist a foreign aggressor. It amounts no less to treason to assist the replacement of democracy by dictato-ship. Freedom is a husk without grain if we get our military forces to defend the country against the invasion of a foreign Power but we permit a dictator of our own to establish totalitarian rule, depriving citizens of any way of resistance to those who have seized authority over the people. is the reason why certain fundamental rights are inscribed in the Constitution framed by the fathers of our freedom. They had foresight enough to see that power corrupts people and in particular, absolute power absolutely corrupts.

On Rammohun Roy

We reproduce the following quotations from The Indian Messenger:

Rammohun Roy inaugurated the Modern Age in India........Rammohun was the only person in his time, in the whole world of man, to realise completely the significance of the Modern Age. He knew that the ideal of huuman civilization does not lie in the isolation of independence, but in the brotherhood of interdependence of individuals as well as of nations in all spheres of thought and applied this activity. He principle humanity with his extraordinary depth of scholarship and natural gift of intuition, to social, literary and religious affairs, never acknowledging limitations of circumstances, never deviating from his purpose lured by distractions of temporal excitement.

-Rabindranath Tagore.

It was his supreme moral and spiritual genius that made Rammohun Roy one of the heroes of humanity, who more than any other living soul shaped the course of human history at the beginning of the nineteenth Century. Indeed it may be said with truth that his character and personality changed the face of Asia and profoundly influenced Europe and European thought also.

-C. F. Andrews. 1938.

CHANGE-OVER TO PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM

Prof. NIRMALENDU BIKASH RAKSHIT

It is now perhaps widely believed that India's parliamentary democracy is at the cross roads. The disease could be diagnosed long ago but, it is pointed out; only the charisma of the late Nehru could have averted the inevitable pessimism and disillusion. After Patel's death and Rajaji's retirement, K. Santhanam writes, Nehru' became the defacto dictator of the Indian peninsula and the question of the pattern of government was only a matter of technical importance. well-disciplined and monolithic party with its formidable majority both at Centre and the States and with Pandit Nehru at its top, virtually softened the ugly features of our political landscape and some of the gross defects of our cabinet government could. hardly be discernible. But the changed political situation marked by the demise of the great national leader, emergence of different political parties in the administration of some of the States and split of the ruling party in Lok Sabha in 1970 all have engendered a violent convulsion in the minds of many thoughtful persons who are now seriously speaking for a change-over to the presidential system. The situation of unusual instability and uncertainty which characterises the present political stage of many of our states after the fourth general election has generated serious scepticism regarding the suitability of Cabinet system in Indian political life. It is now realised, in the context of frequent rise and fall of heterogeneous coalitions in some states due to inevitable rivalry in the midst of uneasy ties of convenience and opportunistic defections self-seeking political leaders, that the Makers were too optimistic about our political morality. The supreme need of our country is to dispel the sense of uncertainty and instability which has gripped the people at large. It seems that the British system of

Cabinet government which is flexible in character would not serve our purpose.

In the background of such a political turmoil some eminent writers have urged a revision of the system. P. N. Sapru a noted jurist and parliamentarian, has suggested the introduction of presidential form of government in the states. Political leaders like Ashoke Mehta and Balraj Madhok also have favoured presidential system of government. Mr. Justice K. S. Hedge of the Supreme Court has pleaded for the presidential government on the ground that it would dispel the situation of instability which characterises our present political life. According to B. P. Sinha, a former Chief Justice of India, Indian Constitution needs a revision so that the presidential system can be introduced. This is immediately necessary in the states where, the learned jurist thinks, we have been able only to produce confusion, if not chaos. Even K. M. Munshi, one of the members of the Drafting Committee who had championed the case of cabinet, system in India in the constituent Assembly, has honestly admitted that it has failed here.

Why Cabinet pattern was introduced:

It is widely recognised that despite the existence of the Presidential office as the highest executive rank, the constitution provides cabinet system of government. Thus, as Heckscher observes, India has a parliamentary system of government with an elected President at the head. The choice was deliberate and significant.

The Constitution, of course, only provides for a President (Art. 52). It does not mention whether he is the Head of the State or of the government. Prof. K. T. Shah, however, introduced an amendment in the Constituent Assembly by which the President was to be

designated as the Chief Executive and Head of the State. But Dr. Ambedkar emphatically pointed out that such a designation was only contrary to the nature of the office they intended to create in a Cabinet structure. In the same mood Nehru exclaimed: we want to emphasise the ministerial character of the government, that power really resided in the ministry and in the legislature and not in the President as such.

Prof. K. T. Shah, Kazi Karimuddin and Prof. Shibbanlal Saxena and others ably championed the case for a Presidential system of government as prevalent in America. G. S. Gupta suggested that the presidential office should be based on American model with, of course, slight modifications. Some speakers like Mahboob Ali and Baig Sahib Bahadur pleaded for the introduction of a plural executive of Swiss type and held that such a system would offer due representation to the different communities and factions of the Indian electorate, but at the same time combine responsibility and stability. These vriters emphasised that the weaknesses of the Cabinet government centred round its instability and flexibility and, they thought, that would disrupt the political democracy of the cascent country.

But, ultimately, the consensus of the Constituent Assembly was overwhelmingly in favour of the Cabinet system popularised by England. Thus, as Morris-Jones observes, there was no deep cleavage of opinion on the principle of cabinet government. The most powerful argument of the critics was that it was only by making the executive independent of the legislature that the stability and strength could be guaranteed. This was countered partly by the view that English experience showed that weak government was not a necessary feature of the Cabinet system, and partly by the point that the stable President

might precipitate a crisis by quarrels with the legislature.

Dr. Ambedkar opined that the chief merit of Cabinet system was its blending of stability with responsibility and that it definitely surpassed the presidential system in administrative qualities. Cabinet system, pointed out Alladi, placed the executive and the legislative in a harmonious relation and it avoided the frequent conflicts between the organs obvious in a presidential set-up. He pointed out that clashes between organs were not infrequent in America and that, in some occasions, it created constitutional stalemates. An infant democracy like ours, he observed, could not afford, under modern conditions, to take the risk of perpetual cleavage, feud or conflict between the legislature and the executive. Under the parliamentary system on the other hand, there is a daily and periodical assessment, as Dr. Ambedkar observed, of the responsibility of the government. Munshi countered all attacks on Cabinet system and held that this system produces a stronger government because the membership of the Executive and the Legislature are overlapping and the heads of government control the legislature.

There was also a further point peculair to India: if the Presidential government were set up in the unit also, how could the Rajpramukhs be fitted in the new democracy? But, Morris-Jones observes, the most telling of all was the simple argument of experience. The British model was familiar with the people of India for a hundred years. The British have been operating it in a qualified form in the provinces and shortly at the centre. So Munshi asked: why should we try a novel experiment?

Experience with the Constitution:

Our experiences of two decades have sufficiently shown that the intentions of the Makers have been frustrated enormously. Existence of some dozens of political parties none with well-knit national organisation and discipline and the resultant chaos and confusion both at centre and the states have let loose an orgy of political immorality, chaos and confusion which can hardly favour a cabinet system. But, presidential initiative is still lacking and we are perhaps steadily heading to a national crisis. In retrospect, cabinet system has failed in India and requires a change-over to an alternative system.

Cabinet system, admittedly, has failed in the states. The havoc which had befallen the congress in the general election of 1967 merely aggravated the situation and things have drifted from bad to worse. The congress did not enjoy a comfortable majority in the Parliament at one time and, on the eve of Bank Nationalisation Ordinance of 1970, it had divided into two clear-cut parties making the government dependent on the support of few vascillating parties. As K. Santhanam observed, it seems highly likely that not only most of the states but also the central government will be ruled by coalition.

So far this new phenomenon is concerned, it is safe to conclude that coalition governments in India have a lamentable legacy and general people of most of the states have heaved a sigh of relief as soon as such governments failed and Presidential administration introduced. As Mr. Ram Gopal has correctly pointed out, these parties are publicly at perpetual odds, but yet they have combined before or after the election with a menifesto or common programme in which the points of similarity have been amazingly numerous. They formed the government and soon precipitated crisis due to their inherent tendency to tarnish the image of their consti-The writer further adds that none of the coalition governments known to us failed due to clashes of ideals or fundamentals; they did so only when triffling matters of technicality or tactics proved infructuous. Often such coalitions have been torn assunder due to the cynical floor-crossing by the self-styled political leaders who have preferred to barter their political loyalty for certain personal gains.

This trend has often generated political turmoil and even people who condemned these defectors as traitors, have themselves subsequently encouraged this practice for their political gain. Thus, in less than a year, a dozen governments have emerged and fallen in the states where the congress lost the election-battle.

Pre-Conditions:

The essential pre-condition for the success of cabinet system is a strong opposition, preferably within the background of a bi-party system. As Dr. Leacock writes. It works evenly and well where two great political parties exist, which alternately hold the power of the government and of which each is gradually forced to give place to the other.' The cause of success of the cabinet system in England is that, as Finer puts it, from the first day of parly alignments, the British system has presented a two-party system, But Indian political condition has offered a lot of parties none able to hold the ground of the old party or to offer an alternative government. Perhaps this sense of frustration is the root-cause of disorderly scenes dispespect and unruly chaos within our legislatures, disrespect to the speakers and governors, physical assault even to the Chief Ministers and Marshalls of the Chamber.

In England, as Barker observes, 'the opposition is a regular part of our system. Her Majesty's opposition is second in importance, writes Jennings, to Her Majesty's government. The opposition knows that it has to take responsibility of its crsticism and if the government fails, it has to hold power. Thus, its behaviour is always constructive and it even forms hadow cabinet', as May writes, to take the task of directing criticism of government-policy. But Indian political parties, in utter despair, perform only their negative functions and often political controversies are

carried from the legislatures to the streets.

The British system is based on an understanding between the government and the opposition. They agree in the fundamentals and even formed coalitions in the past in times of national crisis. So Jennings observes, 'Pærliamentary debate is not a perpetual Trojan war'. But in Indian legislatures, behaviour of the parties are often unknown and often the different provincial units of the same party act differently.

The system, Bagehot rightly points out, offers a high degree of flexibility which is much needed in the political life. But in India flexibility has deteriorated into instability and uncertainty. If the much controversial Art. 356 were not there, constitutional deadlock would have wrecked our democratic life.

Conclusion:

In the context of all these, some people would suggest a change-over to presidential form of government. Under this system the Executive Head, who is also the Head of the State, would be elected for a fixed tenure and vould form his cabinet from among his favourites. These ministers will hold office during the pleasure of the president and egislative displeasure would not affect their service. Once they are chosen by the Head of the State, the ministers will function independent of the shifting will of the majority and manifectious designs of the defectors.

In a cabinet system, Laski held, the supremacy of the Prime Minister is obvious and he should have a free authority in chosing and dismissing the ministers. But in India. Frime Minister's choice in these fields cannot ensure his survival as the division in his party may change the numerical strength of political alignment in the popular chamber. But a residential system would would offer an unchallenged and unifying leadership which is urgently needed in the present political mess. This system, as Bryce once observed, would rectify the democratic recklessness of the legislature and ensure stability and progress.

In the states also the system would generate the spirit of certainty and rigidity. It will dispel the sense of political horror which sometimes the coalition governments have produced. We have even helplessly experienced coalition crises in which observes H. V. Pataskar, even the Chief Minister has so fast in protest of certain actions of a cons-

tituent party.

Munshi has frankly admitted the failure of the Cabinet system in India due to the failure to evolve a bi-party system. He warns that we are heading to a crisis in which either presidential form or a military take-over would be the only alternatives.

But we must at the same time, bear in mind certain historical facts. Presidential system of government, despite its success in America, has failed to produce similar results in some of the Latin American States. Thus, it can not be argued that it will, once transplanted in India, engender brilliant success by itself.

Secondly, the history of American constitutional system suggests that in such a system the legislature and the executive are often at odds and this may affect political efficiency. Gette further points out that in presidential system, as prevalent in America, the legislature functions through committees and that 'responsibility is hard to find'.

Thirdly, if the party to which the president belongs, failed to command the majority in the legislature, constitutional deadlock might be the result. In the multiplicity of parties in India, such an eventuality is not out of

probability.

Finally, although the office of a stable president has produced political stability in America, yet, Garner observes, on its executive side the executive is in large measure constitutionally autocratic and uncontrollable by congress. In India also, it may offer an irresponsible and ambitious statesman powers to national interest. We must detrimental remember that the vices of one pattern of government can be remedied, Gette, l points out, by taking the advantages of the other system. And, so, a change-over is not the boundén requirement. Moreover, without a fundamental change in our party-system and party-discipline and a revolutionary improvement in our national character and individual behaviour, a mere change of form of government can hardly produce the desired effect.

But twenty year's of crises has ruled out the prospect of the Cabinet system and nothing better can be expected in the present set-up. So, it seems that time is ripe to introduce a basic change in the form of our government at states at least as an experiment. Another twenty years may well be allowed to assess the merit of the new pattern. This is perhaps the only way to get rid of the damagogues whom the poor country has produced in abundance.

Founded by :
RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

JULY

1972

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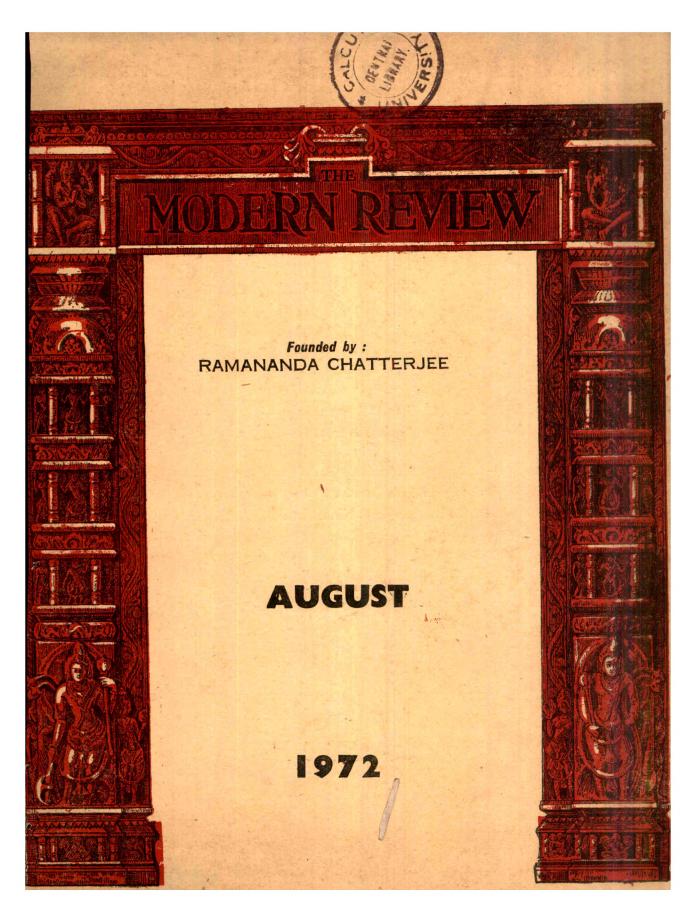
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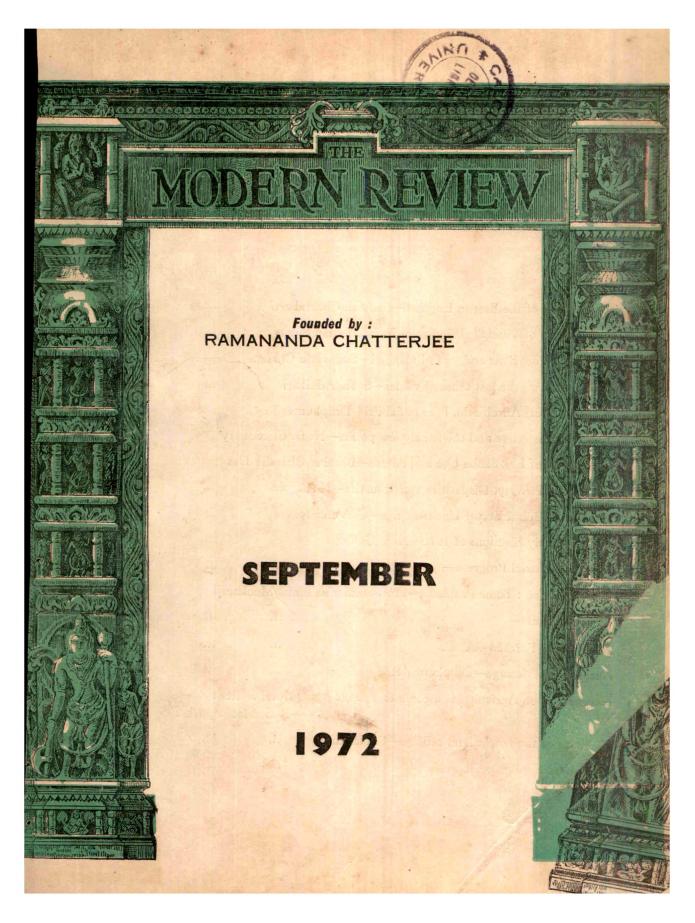
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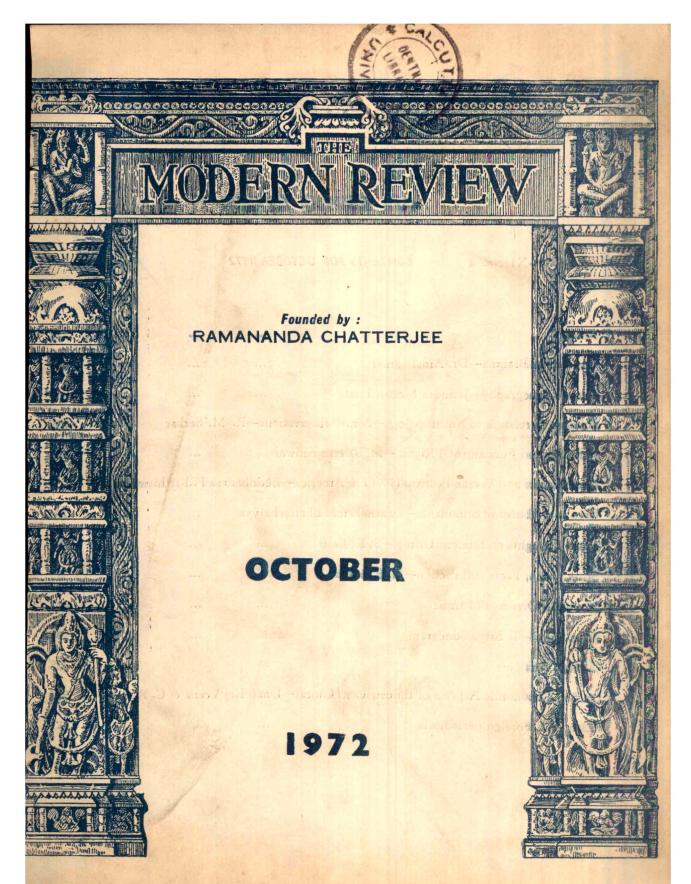
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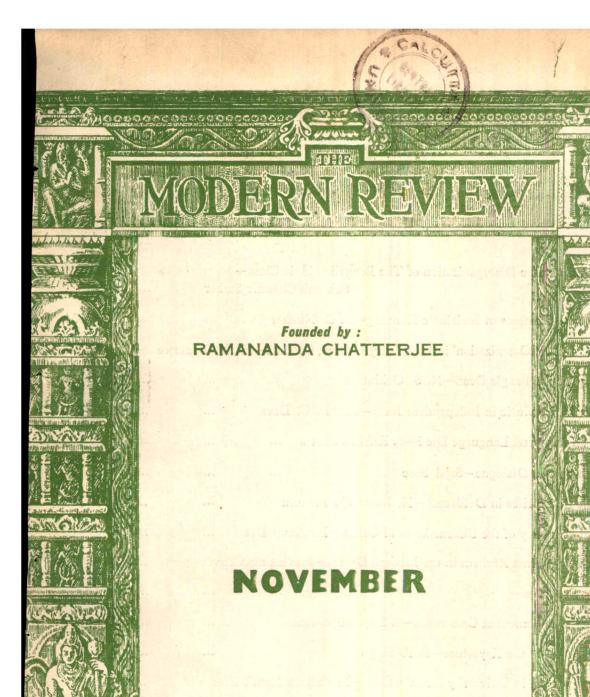
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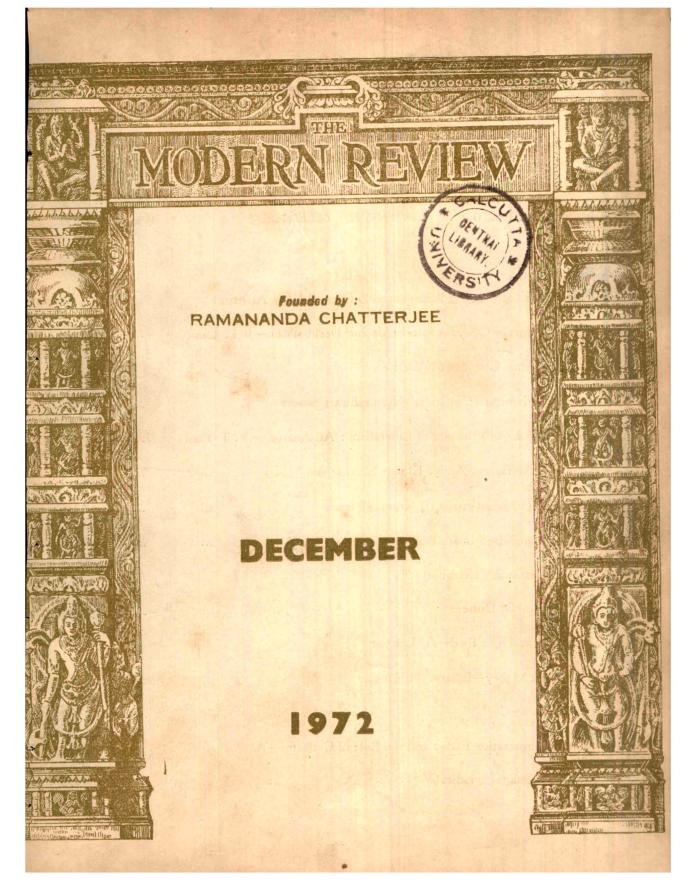
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(29th June 1893—28th June 1972)